A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

BY

MAURICE WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF INDOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY AT THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

VOL. II

BUDDHIST LITERATURE AND JAINA LITERATURE

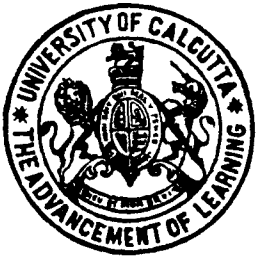
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN BY

MRS. S. KETKAR AND MISS H. KOHN, B.A.

AND

REVISED BY THE AUTHOR

Only Authorised Translation into English



PUBLISHED BY THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1933

PRINTED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

C. U. Press—Reg. No. 319B—February, 1934—B.

To

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Great Poet, Educator and Lover of Man

This English Version of the "History of Indian Literature"

is dedicated

as a token of loving admiration and sincere gratitude

by the Author

This volume has been awarded the prize from the Hardy-Foundation
at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Preface to the German Edition	ix-x
From the Preface to the German Edition ...	xi-xii
Preface to the English Translation ...	xiii-xiv
List of Abbreviations used in the Notes ...	xv-xix
Directions for Pronunciation of Indian Names and Words	xx
SECTION III. BUDDHIST LITERATURE ...	1-423
The Pāli Canon or the Tipiṭaka	1-21
The Vinayapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon ...	21-33
The Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon ...	34-165
1. The Speeches and Dialogues 34-76	
2. Narratives, Songs and Sayings 76-165	
The Abhidhammapiṭaka. Buddhist Scholasticism	165-173
Non-Canonical Pāli Literature	174-226
Buddhist Literature in Pure and Mixed Sanskrit	226-423
Remnants of the Sanskrit Canon 231-239	
The Mahāvastu 239-247	
The Lalita Vistara ... 248-256	
The Poet Aśvaghoṣa and his School 256-276	
The Avadāna Literature ... 277-294	
The Mahāyāna-Sūtras ... 294-341	
The Masters and Poets of the Mahāyāna 341-375	
Māhātmya, Stotras, Dhāraṇīs and Tantras 375-401	
Buddhist Literature and Universal Literature ... 402-423	

PAGES

SECTION IV. JAINA LITERATURE **424-595**

Jinism and its Literature 424-595

The Canons (Siddhānta) of the Jainas 428-474

The Non-Canonical Jaina Literature 475-595

Appendix I. The Year of Buddha's Death. Did a Gotama Buddha live? ... 597-601

Appendix II. What is Pāli? 601-605

Appendix III. Bhābrū-Bairat Edict of Aśoka ... 606-609

Appendix IV. Time and Life of Buddhaghosa 609-611

Appendix V. The Date ofKaniṣka's Reign ... 611-614

Appendix VI. The Year of the Death of Mahāvīra 614-615

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS **617-638**

INDEX **639-673**

PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, THE FIRST HALF OF VOLUME II

Just five years ago, when I wrote the preface to Volume I of this "History of Indian Literature," I had hoped that it would be possible to publish Volume II complete two years later; but the task of dealing, for the first time, with Buddhist literature presented far greater difficulties than I had foreseen. For this reason, even now only the first half of Volume II is appearing. I hope, however, that the second half—the conclusion of the work—will follow in the course of next year.

I am only too conscious of the fact that a presentation of Buddhist literature, which forms the subject-matter of this half-volume, is, at the present stage of our knowledge, a hazardous enterprise. A great part of this literature has only just been opened up, while a still greater part, especially of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but also some important Pāli texts, is still waiting for translators and researchers, and even for editors. In addition to this, with the small number of workers in the province of Sinology, the light which the Chinese translations throw upon the history of Buddhist literature has scarcely begun to shine. Here we may surely hope for help and improvement in the near future from French and Japanese scholars. We may also expect very shortly considerable enrichment of our knowledge of Buddhist literature and its history from the investigation of the Central Asian finds—the wealth of manuscripts which M. A. *Stein* has brought back from Khotan, and A. *Grünwedel* and A. von *Le Coq* from Turfan. Nevertheless it will take decades before all the results of these investigations will be available. An American colleague of mine hit the mark when he recently wrote to me: 'I can easily understand that your History of Buddhist Literature is the devil's own job to write.' And yet, the attempt to

present Buddhist literature had to be ventured now; for it simply will no longer do, now-a-days, to write a history of Indian literature without doing justice to the Buddhist literature. Buddhism, after all, is and remains that production of the Indian mind, which is the most important in the history of the world. And how can we understand Buddhism without knowing its literature? Just as in a history of Indian religion the religion of Buddha would have to occupy a large space, just as a history of Indian art could not exist without Buddhist art, so too the history of Indian literature would show a gaping chasm if Buddhist literature were not presented therein. Even though this literature is to-day more at home in Ceylon and Burma, in Nepal and Tibet, than in India proper, yet it grew up on Indian soil, it bears all the characteristics of a genuine product of the Indian mind, it has, through far more than a thousand years, influenced Indian spiritual life, and naturally is most intimately connected with all the rest of Indian literature. However defective a presentation of Buddhist literature must necessarily still be to-day, it is nevertheless of some use for the progress of knowledge. We must have the courage to err. Our errors will serve as stepping-stones over which the knowledge of future generations of scholars will stride to new truths.

The literary references in the notes give sufficient information concerning the works from which I have drawn and the scholars to whom I am indebted. I should not, however, like to omit in this place the expression of my sincere thanks to my honoured colleague, Professor Louis de *La Vallée Poussin* in Brussels, and my dear friend and former pupil, Professor Jyun *Takakusu*, for several valuable printed papers and written communications.

M. WINTERNITZ

Prague—Smichow,
17th October, 1912.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, VOLUME II, SECOND HALF

The second half of Volume II (p. 289 ff.) is devoted to the literature of the Jainas, which, as in the case of Buddhist literature is presented here for the first time as a connected whole.

Since the publication of the first half of this volume, seven years have elapsed. During this period much work has been done in the field of Buddhist literature. I have utilised everything of importance, in as far as I was informed of it,[1] in the "Corrections and Additions," as also the valuable reviews which individual scholars—J. *Charpentier* (WZKM 27, 1913, pp. 85-96), H. *Haas* (Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft 28, 1913, pp. 111-123), P. E. *Pavolini* (GSAI 25, 1912, pp. 323-325), T. W. *Rhys Davids* (JRAS, 1913, 479-483) and H. *Kern* (Ostasiatische Zeitschrift II, 1913-14, pp. 471-481)—devoted to my book. I had to deal somewhat more exhaustively (p. 357 ff.) with the latest studies of R. O. *Franke* and with the criticism which the same scholar has devoted to my book, as these concern the most essential part of my work. The fact that, in his views regarding the person of the Buddha and the historical significance of the Buddhist writings, *Franke* occupies a rather isolated position among the competent scholars, would certainly not be a reason against his being right after all. However, I

[1] Unfortunately much may have escaped my notice. The terrible world-war which lies between the appearance of the first and second half of this volume, has also hit our science badly, and made it very difficult, often impossible, for us to avail ourselves of the studies of our English, American, Indian, French and Italian colleagues.

hope I have shown that neither the extreme scepticism of *Franke* nor his attitude towards the Nikāyas, which diverges so very widely from the current conception, are so convincing as to induce me to make any essential alteration in what I have said about the Pāli canon...

I am indebted to my pupil Dr. Otto *Stein* for his assistance in the correction of the proofs of the second half of this volume and in the revision of the Index.

* * * *

During the time which has elapsed since the publication of the first half of this volume, death has made deep gaps in the ranks of the scholars whose studies afforded some of the most valuable basic material of this work. Heinrich *Kern*, the patriarch among Buddha researchers, Ernst *Windisch*, to whom we are indebted for some of the most valuable researches into Buddhist literature, Paul *Deussen*, the enthusiastic pioneer of ancient Indian philosophy, and Hermann *Oldenberg*, who had so profound a knowledge of both Buddhist and Vedic literature and religion, coupled with so great a talent in presenting them, who scarcely left a single field of the culture of India uncultivated, have passed away in rapid succession. My dear friend Leopold von *Schroeder*, too, who more than thirty years ago, undertook to write a history of Indian literature and culture, and to whom I was permitted to dedicate this work as a token of grateful admiration, and who ever followed its progress with affectionate interest, is no longer among the living. The memory of these men will not fade in the history of our science,—*na hi karma kṣīyate*— for "deeds are not lost."

Prague, *29th July*, *1920*.

M. WINTERNITZ

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Owing to various unfortunate circumstances both the revision and the printing of this volume have taken much longer time than I ever anticipated. As the German original of Part I on Buddhist Literature was published in 1913 and that of Part II on Jaina Literature in 1920 it is only natural that this volume, no less than Volume I, is not a mere translation, but a new edition as well, in which much had to be altered, added and, I hope, improved. I had to revise my presentation of Buddhist literature in the light of the numerous excellent publications we owe to the Pāli Text Society during the last twenty years, and I had to avail myself of the valuable work done during the same period by European, Indian and Japanese scholars in the field of Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

To Mrs. *Rhys Davids* I am greatly indebted for sending me, along with some valuable notes of her own, the critical notes which her husband, the late Professor *T. W. Rhys Davids*, had entered in his copy of my German book, and which I did not fail to make use of in the course of revising the chapters on Pāli literature.

Thanks to the zeal and efforts of the Jaina community a great number of Jaina texts, both in new editions and in translations, has become accessible since the publication of my German account of Jaina literature. But not only that. Not a few Jaina texts that were already published before 1920, were not available to me at the time when I first wrote on the subject. I owe a great debt of gratitude to my Jaina friends—above all to my revered friend the Itihāsa-Tattva-Mahodadhi

Vijaya Indra Suri, the worthy successor of the late venerable Jainācārya *Vijaya Dharma Suri*, but also to Mr. *Chotelall Jain* of Calcutta, to the Dharm-Sewak *Ummed Singh Musaddi Lal Jain* of Amritsar, and many others—for having provided me with a great number of rare and valuable publications, both old and new, which enabled me to make the section on Jaina literature in the English version far more complete than it was in the German original.

As the first batch of manuscript was sent to press already in 1927, and the last sheets were printed only in the summer of 1932, many "Additions and Corrections" became necessary, in order to bring the work up to date (that is, up to June, 1932). But I am glad to say, the number of printer's errors that had to be corrected, is comparatively small. For this I have to thank Dr. *Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti*, M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab.), Lecturer in Sanskrit at the University of Calcutta, to whom the difficult task of reading the proofs had been entrusted and who has done his work most carefully.

My thanks are due to the translators of the volume, Mrs. *Ketkar* and her sister Miss *Helen Kohn*, who have spared no pains to make as accurate and readable a translation as possible.

Finally I have to thank again my pupil Dr. *Wilhelm Gampert* for the great care he has bestowed on the compilation of the Index.

Prague, *February, 1933.* M. WINTERNITZ

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

ABA = Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse.

ABayA = Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Klasse.

AGGW = Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

AKM = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Album Kern = Album-Kern : Opstellen geschreven ter eere von Dr. H. Kern...op zijn zeventigsten verjaardag, Leiden 1903.

AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet (Paris).

Ann. Bh. Inst. = Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.

AR = Archiv für Religionsgeschichte.

ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

ASGW = Abhandlungen der Philol.-histor. Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

ĀUS = Āgamodaya Samiti.

Bagchi = Prabodhachandra Bagchi, Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, tome I, Paris 1927.

BB = Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris).

BEFEO = Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient.

Bezz. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausg. von A. Bezzenberger.

Bhandarkar, Report 1882-83 = R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83, Bombay 1884.

Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84 = R. G Bhandarkar, Report, etc., during the year 1883-84, Bombay 1887.
Bibl. Buddh. = Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad).
Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta).
BSGW = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-histor. Klasse.
BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution.
BSS = Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Cambridge History = The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ancient India. Ed. by E. J. Rapson, Cambridge 1922.
Comm. Wogihara = Journal of the Taisho University, Vols. VI-VII, in commemoration of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Unrai Wogihara, Sugamo, Tokyo, the Taisho University, 1930, Part II.
CUIS = Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, New York.

DJGK = Digambara Jaina Granthabhāṇḍāra, Kāśī Kā, ed. by Pannālāl Chaudhari, Benares 1924-25.
DLZ = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
Duff = C. Mabel Duff, The Chronology of India, Westminster 1899.

EB = The Eastern Buddhist (Kyoto, Japan).
Eliot = Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, London 1921.
Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.
ERE = Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings.

Festgabe Jacobi = Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe Hermann Jacobi zum, 75. Geburtstag...Bonn 1926.

GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GOS = Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
GSAI = Giornale della societa Asiatica Italiana.

Hiralal, Catalogue = Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS., published under the Orders of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur 1926.
HOS = Harvard Oriental Series, ed. by Ch. R. Lanman.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Hist. Qu. = The Indian Historical Quarterly, edited by Narendranath Law, Calcutta.
Ind. Stud. = Indische Studien, herausgegeben von A. Weber.

JA = Journal Asiatique.
JAOS = Journal of the Americen Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBTS = Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JDL = University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters.
JPTS = Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
JPU = Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhara.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Km = Kāvyamālā.

Lanman Studies = Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. 1929.
LZB = Literarisches Zentralblatt.

MDJG = Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā.

Nanjio = Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Oxford 1883.

NGGW = Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

NSP = Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press (Bombay).

OC = Transactions (Verhandlungen, Actes) of International Congresses of Orientalists.

Oldenberg, Buddha = Hermann Oldenberg, Buddha. Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde. 7. Aufl. Berlin 1920.

OTF = Oriental Translation Fund.

OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

OZ = Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.

Peterson, Report 1882-83 = P. Peterson, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, 1882-83 (JBRAS, Vol. 16, Extra Number).

Peterson, Report II = P. Peterson, A Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS., etc., 1883-84 (JBRAS, Vol. 17, Extra Number).

Peterson, 3 Reports = P. Peterson, Three Reports on a Search for Sanskrit MSS. with an Index of Books (JBRAS, Vol. 18, Extra Number). 1887.

Peterson, Report IV = P. Peterson, A Fourth Report, etc., 1886-92 (JBRAS, Vol. 18, Extra Number).

Peterson, Report V = P. Peterson, A Fifth Report, etc., April, 1892—March, 1895, Bombay 1896.

Peterson, Report VI = P. Peterson, A Sixth Report, etc., April, 1895—March, 1898, Bombay 1899.

Proc. I etc., OC = Proceedings and Transactions of the First, etc., Oriental Conferences.

PSS = Punjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore).

PTS = Pāli Text Society.

PTS Dic. = The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede.

RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Tübingen).
RHR = Revue de l' histoire des Religions, Paris.
RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali, Rome.

SBA = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.
SBB = Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London, Oxford University Press).
SBE = Sacred Books of the East (Oxford).
SBJ = Sacred Books of the Jainas (Arrah).
SIFI = Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica.
SJG = Sanātana-Jaina-Granthamālā.

Smith, Early History = Vincent A. Smith, the Early History of India. Fourth Edition, revised by S. M. Edwardes, Oxford 1924.

TSS = Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Weber HSS. Verz. = A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prakrit-Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

YJG = Yasovijaya Jaina Granthamālā.

ZB = Zeitschrift für Buddhismus (München).
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVV = Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin.

Directions for Pronunciation of Indian (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali) Names and Words written in Roman Characters.

Pronounce

Vowels

- a अ as a 'neutral vowel,' like English short *u* in b*u*t
- ṛ ऋ as a vowel, like *er* in Scots English bak*er*.
- e ए as long *ē* in English th*ey* and *ō* in English st*o*ne,
- o ओ without diphthongal character.

Palatals

- c च like *ch* in English *ch*ild.
- j ज like *j* in English *j*ust.

Cerebrals

- ṭ ट
- ṭh ठ
- ḍ ड
- ḍh ढ
- ṇ ण

like English 'dentals,' while the Sanskrit dentals t त, th थ, d द, dh ध, n न are pronounced like dentals in Italian and French.

Sibilants

- ś श (palatal)
- ṣ ष (cerebral)

like *sh* in English *sh*ip.

Nasals

- ṅ ङ (guttural) like *ng* in English si*ng*.
- ñ ञ (palatal) like *gn* in French monta*gn*e
- ṃ (Anusvāra) like *n* in French Jea*n*.
- ḥ (Visarga) "a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*) uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel."—*Whitney*.

SECTION III.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

The Pāli Canon or the Tipiṭaka.[1]

Vedic literature led us well-nigh into "prehistoric" times; and for the beginnings of epic poetry, too, we had to dispense with all certain dates. It is only with the Buddhist literature that we gradually emerge into the broad daylight of history, and we have seen that the darkness of the history of the Vedic and the epic literature is somewhat illuminated by this light. The approximate period of Buddha can be determined with some degree of probability, and that gives a starting-point, from which we can calculate the origin of a Buddhist literature. Gotama Buddha died probably a few years before or after 485 B. C.,[2] and according to a tradition

---

[1]) See H. *Oldenberg*, Vinayapiṭaka, Vol. I, London, 1879, Introduction; ZDMG 52, 1898, 613ff.; NGGW 1912, 197ff.; Reden des Buddha (1922), Einleitung; H. *Jacobi* and *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 34, 1880, 184ff.; 751ff.; *Oldenberg* and T. W. *Rhys Davids*, SBE, Vol. 13, Introduction; *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, London, 1903, 167ff.; Cambridge History I, 192ff.; W. *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache (Grundriss I, 7, 1916), p. 6ff.; R. S. *Copleston*, Buddhism, 2nd Ed., London, 1908, 45f., 167ff.; H. *Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism (Grundriss III, 8, 1896), 1ff., 101ff.; *Eliot* I, 275ff. The following are more or less sceptical about the authenticity of the Pāli Canon: I. P. *Minayeff*, Recherches sur le Bouddhisme (AMG, Bibliothéque d'études, t. 4, Paris, 1894); A. *Barth* in RHR, t. 5, 1882, 237ff.; t. 28, 1893, 241ff.; 277ff.; t. 42, 1900, 74ff. (=Oeuvres I, 340ff.: II, 156ff., 187ff., 356ff.; V. A. *Smith*, *Ind. Ant.* 32, 1903, 364ff.; L. de *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux (Mémoires.....publié par l'Académie roy. des sciences de Belgique, t. LV), Bruxelles, 1897, 1ff., 27ff., 44ff., 53ff.; Le Muséon, 1905, 213ff.; *Ind. Ant.* 37, 1908, 1ff., 81ff.; Bouddhisme, Paris, 1909, pp. 29ff., 155, 166ff., 248; ERE, Vol. IV, p. 179ff. (*Cf.* E. J. *Rapson*, JRAS, 1898, 909ff.); R. Otto *Franke*, JPTS, 1908, pp. 1-80; Dīghanikāya (1913), p. xliiff.; A. B. *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1923, pp. 3, 16ff.

[2]) See Appendix I.

whose authenticity we are scarcely justified in questioning, he attained the age of 80 years. As a young man of 29 years he is said to have taken up the life of a wandering ascetic, and thus begun to seek the way of salvation. After severe internal struggles he began, as a mature man, to proclaim the doctrine he had discovered. The activity of the Buddha might, then, fall into the period of about 535-485 B. C.: the foundation and propagation of that Indian religion which was destined to become one of the three great religions of the world. The Ganges district in North-East India was the scene of his activity. Here—in the kingdoms of Magadha (Bihar) and Kosala (Oudh)—he wandered from place to place, preaching his doctrine and gathering ever more adherents about him.

Does this work of many decades include any literary activity? Certainly not. It is true that in the Tipiṭaka, the Pāli canon of the Buddhists, most of the speeches and sayings are placed in the mouth of Buddha himself; it is even related exactly and circumstantially where and on what occasion the master delivered a speech or made an utterance. How much, out of all this, should really be attributed to Buddha, will probably never be decided; for Gotama Buddha has not left behind him any written matter, even as little as Yājñavalkya, Śāṇḍilya, or Śaunaka. However, as much of the contents of the speeches and utterances of these sages has probably been handed down in the Upaniṣads, so, doubtless, many speeches and utterances of Buddha were faithfully preserved in the memory of his disciples and handed down to posterity. We may, without laying ourselves open to the charge of credulousness, regard as originating with Buddha himself, speeches such as the famous sermon of Benares on the "four noble truths" and the "noble eightfold path," which recurs always in the same wording, not only in many parts of the Pāli canon, but also in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, some of the farewell speeches handed down in the Mahāparinibbānasutta,

which the master is supposed to have addressed to his disciples before his passing, and some of the verses and short utterances handed down as "words of the Buddha" in the Dhammapada, in the Udāna, in the Itivuttaka and in more or less the same form also in Sanskrit texts of Nepal, as well as in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Gotama Buddha, however, did not only preach his new doctrine of suffering and the end of suffering, but also founded a monastic order; he gathered around himself a community of disciples who, according to strict precepts, led a holy life in the way of the master, in order to reach the end of suffering—the much praised Nirvāṇa. And some of the rules and laws for this monastic community probably originated with Buddha himself, above all "the ten commandments for mendicant monks" (dasasikkhāpadāni), perhaps also the list of transgressions (pātimokkha), though in an earlier and shorter form than that in which we have it now.[1]

Now, though none of the works which belong to Buddhist literature can date back to the period of Buddha himself, isolated texts preserved in these works may probably be correctly regarded as words of Buddha. Also, among the first disciples of Buddha there must have been a few prominent leaders and some of the speeches, sayings and poems [2] contained in our collections might have been composed by some of these disciples of Buddha.

Almost the whole of the oldest literature of the Buddhists consists of collections—collections of speeches or conversations, of sayings, songs, narratives and rules of the order.

---

[1]) *Cf. Eliot*, I, 294f.; *Oldenberg*, Reden des Buddha, p. xxiiiff.

[2]) The metre, too, indicates that the verse aphorisms (gāthā) in particular are very old. According to *Oldenberg* (Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 9ff.) the metres of the Pāli gāthās are more archaic than those of the Rāmāyaṇa. See also R. *Simon* in ZDMG, 44, 1890, 83-97 on the śloka in Pāli, and *Oldenberg* "Zur Geschichte des Śloka" (NGGW, 1909, p. 244).

The Tipiṭaka is nothing but a great collection of such collections. It is clear that such collections can only form the conclusion of a considerable preceding literary activity, and that their component parts must belong to different times.

According to Buddhist tradition one such conclusion had already been made very early. It is recorded that, a few weeks after the death of Buddha, an assembly of the monks—the so-called first Buddhist Council—organised by the immediate disciples of Buddha, was held in the city of Rājagaha (the present Rajgir) in order to establish a canon of the religion (dhamma) and of the discipline of the order (vinaya).[1] The very fact that this report expects us to believe too much speaks against its trustworthiness in its oldest form, as it has come down to us in the Tipiṭaka itself;[2] for, it is absolutely impossible that the two great sections of the Tipiṭaka which deal with the doctrine and the discipline of the order—Suttapiṭaka and Vinayapiṭaka—should soon after the death of Buddha have been essentially such as we find them in our Pāli canon.[3] We need not, on this account, assume that the tradition is entirely unfounded. There is probably preserved in it a recollection of the not improbable fact that the elders of the community assembled immediately after the death of the master, in order to agree upon the principal points of the doctrine and of the discipline of the order.[4] But surely too

---

[1]) The Pāli *Dhamma* (*i.e.*, Sanskrit dharma) is the technical expression for the religion of Buddha, and *Vinaya* for the "discipline of the order," *i.e.*, rules and regulations for the order of mendicants.

[2]) Vinayapiṭaka, Cullavagga XI.

[3]) Other arguments against the authenticity of the tradition of the first Council have been raised by *Oldenberg* (Vinayapiṭaka, Introd., p. xxvff., ZDMG, Vol. 52, 625f.).

[4]) *Cf.* H. *Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 103; R. *Pischel*, Leben und Lehre des Buddha, 4 aufl., 1926, p. 11, 99f.; E. *Windisch* in OC XIV, I, 284f.; L. de *La Vallée Poussin, Ind. Ant.* 37, 1908, 2ff.; S. *Lévi* (JA, 1915, s. 11, t. V, 401ff.) has compared the reports as to the first Council in the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka, the Udāna, the Divyāvadāna, as well as the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the Sarvāstivādins, and has shown that they hark back to an early age.

short a time had elapsed immediately after the death of Buddha for the compilation of a canon of sacred texts such as our Tipiṭaka. The tradition of a second council, which is supposed to have been held at Vesāli, a hundred years after the death of Buddha, is more credible. According to the older report,[1] however, the sole object of this gathering was to do away with ten heresies regarding the discipline of the order. Only the later reports [2] add that at the same time during a session of eight months a revision of the doctrine took place. If we keep to the earlier report, we may accept it as an historical fact that, about a hundred years after the passing of the Buddha, a schism occurred, which stirred up so much controversy that a great assembly of monks had to be summoned, to decide what should be regarded as right with reference to the debatable points. Now this pre-supposes that there was in existence at that time some criterion or other for the decision of such questions, and that could only have been some canon of precepts for the life of the monks such as we find in the Vinayapiṭaka. Hence, though the first century after Buddha may not have witnessed the formation of a canon, at least a fundamental stock of texts for such a canon must have been formed.

According to the report of the chronicles of Ceylon, a real canon of sacred texts was compiled on the occasion of the third Council, at the time of the famous King Aśoka. It is certain that, at that time, the Buddhist community was already divided into a number of schools or sects.[3] For this reason it is not at all unlikely that the need for compiling a canon of texts for orthodox believers, *i.e.*, those who wished to be regarded as the adherents of the original doctrine of

[1]) Vinayap., Cullavagga XII, s. SBE, Vol. XX, p. 409ff.

[2]) Thus Dīpavaṃsa V, 27ff., Mahāvaṃsa IV.

[3]) 18 different schools are mentioned. We are familiar with the fact that the number 18 is a favourite number in India; hence the existing schools, whether they numbered more or less than 18, were fitted into a scheme of 18.

Buddha, was felt. Moreover, it is likely enough that a compilation of this kind should have been made precisely during the reign of King Aśoka, the great patron and adherent of the Buddhist community, for, in one of his edicts, the king himself decrees that heretical monks and nuns shall be excommunicated.[1] Consequently, it would have been only natural for him to take an active interest in establishing what tenets constituted the true religion of Buddha. On the other hand, we find no mention in any of his numerous edicts of a council to determine the canon. It is true that he would have had no reason for so doing, because, even according to the tradition, it was not the king himself, but the learned monk Tissa Moggaliputta who, 236 years after the death of Buddha, convened an assembly of a thousand monks in the city of Pāṭaliputra (Patna), with the object of compiling a canon of texts of the true religion or the Theravāda, *i.e.*, the "doctrine of the elders," the immediate disciples of Buddha. The school of the Vibhajjavādins,[2] to which Tissa, the President of the council, belonged, adhered to this Theravāda, and it is the canon of this school which was compiled during the nine months' session of the Council of Pāṭaliputra. Tradition has it, too, that Tissa also compiled the "Kathāvatthu," a book refuting all the heretical doctrines of those times, and incorporated it with the canon.

---

[1]) See E. *Hultzsch*, Inscriptions of Aśoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, X, Oxford, 1925, pp. xliii f., 160 n. 5.

[2]) There is no distinction in the chronicles between Theravāda and Vibhajjavāda ; but *Theravāda* is probably a general term meaning merely "authentic doctrine." The word is used in this sense also with reference to the schools of Buddha's predecessors (Majjh. 26, I. 164f.). The *Vibhajjavādins* declared that they taught the Theravāda. However, the same thing was also maintained by other sects, such as the Mahīśāsakas and the Sarvāstivādins (s. *Kern*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 110f.). In Majjh. II, 197 (99) Buddha says, referring to himself, that he is a vibhajjavāda, *i.e.*, "one who explains everything with careful distinctions," and not an ekaṃsavāda, "who answers questions from one point of view only." *Cf.* Majjh. III, 208 (136); Aṅgutt. III, 67 (I, p. 197); Milindap., 144f.; Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Points of Controversy, p. xl sq.; M. *Walleser*, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 13f.

It has been much disputed whether or not there is any historical foundation for the tradition about the councils.[1] In the nature of things it is likely that, in the course of time, the orthodox Buddhists would feel the need of compiling a canon of doctrines, monastic rules and authentic texts as a defence against the schismatics; and this could only be done by one or several meetings of monks. This would be an argument in favour of there being at least a nucleus of historical truth in these reports, even though they are not attested in all their details. It has been rightly remarked [2] that the tradition about the councils would not have arisen, had not at least one council been a historical fact. As a matter of fact, it is probable that even more than three councils were held. Singhalese and North Indian records of a "great council" (mahāsaṅgīti) which is said to have led to the schism of the Mahāsaṅgītikas or Mahāsaṅghikas, would seem to indicate that the council of the orthodox Buddhists at Pāṭaliputra was preceded by a great assembly of the schismatics. It is true, nevertheless, that these reports contradict one another very considerably. It is possible that the canon was not compiled all at once, but at several meetings of the monks, the most important of which was the Pāṭaliputra session.

The chroniclers of Ceylon then go on to relate that it was Tissa, the President of the council, who first sent out missionaries to the North and the South and prepared the way for the propagation of Buddhism in foreign lands. A pupil of Tissa was Mahinda, the younger brother (according to another tradition, the son) of Aśoka, who is supposed to have brought

---

[1]) *Cf. Kern*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 101ff., *La Vallée Poussin* ERE IV, 1911 170ff.; *Geiger*, Mahāvaṃsa, Transl., p. li ff.; *Eliot* I, 254ff.; Nalinaksha *Dutt*, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, London, 1925 (Calcutta Oriental Series), pp. 225ff., 249ff. See also p. 1 note 1 above.

[2]) By *Copleston*, Buddhism, p. 174f.

Buddhism and the Buddhist texts to Ceylon. It is conceivable that legends took up this apostle of Ceylon; and even though we shall not believe the chronicler when he says that Mahinda and the monks who were accompanying him flew, like flamingoes, through the air to Ceylon, yet we need not reject the whole tradition,[1] but may suppose that underlying the many legends, there is the one historical fact that Mahinda actually introduced Buddhism into Ceylon and brought with him the texts of the canon. These texts are said to have been first transmitted orally, until, under the Singhalese king Vaṭṭagāmani, in the first century B.C., they were committed to writing. This again sounds quite trustworthy.[2]

Now, in the opinion of the Buddhists of Ceylon, that canon which was compiled at the third council, was brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, and was recorded in writing under Vaṭṭagāmani, is the same as our Pāli canon or Tipiṭaka, as we still possess it to-day. This Tipiṭaka—the word means "three baskets"—consists of three so-called piṭakas or "baskets,"[3] namely:

1. Vinayapiṭaka, "basket of the discipline of the order." This section contains all that refers to the monastic community (saṅgha), the rules of the discipline of the order, precepts for the daily life of the monks and nuns, and so on.

---

[1]) As is done by *Oldenberg*, Vinayapiṭaka, Introd. p. li ff., for the opposite view, *cf. Kern*, Manual, p. 116f. When the chroniclers report that Mahinda was sent to Ceylon and Majjhima to the Himavat (Dīpavaṃsa VIII, 10) and when we find a reliquary in the stūpa at Sānchi with the inscription: "(relics) of Majjhima, teacher of Himavat," it speaks strongly in favour of the authenticity of the Ceylon chronicles. (*Copleston*, Buddhism, p. 173f.).

[2]) See Vol. I, p. 32f. The Chinese pilgrim *Fa-hien* (s. A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms...transl. by J. *Legge*, Oxford, 1886, Chap. XXXVI), when he travelled through North India during the years 399-414 A.D., did not as yet find any manuscripts of the Vinayapiṭaka, but only oral tradition. It was not until he came to Pāṭaliputra that he found a copy of the Vinaya in a Mahāyāna monastery.

[3]) In the opinion of V. *Trenckner* (JPTS 1908, p. 119f.), which is accepted by T. W. *Rhys Davids* (SBE, Vol. 35, p. 28 note) the word *piṭaka* does not mean "receptacle" but

2. Suttapiṭaka, "basket of the Suttas." The Pāli word sutta corresponds to the Sanskrit sūtra, but with the Buddhists it has lost the old meaning of "short rule," [1] and here means "discourse," "sermon." Every long or short explanation, frequently in the form of a dialogue, on one or more points of religion (dhamma) is called a sutta and often also suttanta (Sanskrit sūtrānta). The Suttapiṭaka consists of five nikāyas, *i. e*, great collections of these suttas or suttantas.

3. Abhidhammapiṭaka, "basket of the higher subtleties of the doctrine." [2] The texts contained in this section, like those of the Suttapiṭaka, deal with the religion (dhamma); but they do so after a more learned and catechistical fashion, in the form of dry enumerations and formal divisions, which refer chiefly to the psychological foundations of Buddhist ethics.

In the Tipiṭaka itself there is in various places [3] mention of a division of the Canon into 9 Aṅgas or "limbs," *viz.*, 1. Sutta,

---

rather "tradition." In ancient times, when excavations were in progress, baskets were used which were passed along the line from one labourer to the next, in order to remove the dug-out earth from the site of the excavation : thus the treasure of the doctrine was transmitted in the "piṭakas" down a long line of teachers and pupils from olden times down to the present day. The Majjhima Nikāya 95 (II, p. 169) speaks of a "basket-like tradition" (piṭakasampradāya) of the ancient Vedic mantras. But is it not simpler to interpret it as receptacles in which gems, family treasures, were preserved from generation to generation? According to G. *Bühler* (on the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, Indian Studies III, 2nd Ed., Strassburg 1898, p. 86ff.) *piṭaka* is a basket, in which manuscripts were preserved, so that the division of the Buddhist sacred texts into piṭakas would be evidence of their having been *written*, though it is true that, according to Singhalese tradition, this would not have happened until towards the close of the first century B. C. Cf. *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 24 n. 2.

[1]) See Vol. I, 268ff. The Buddhist "sūtras" are generally very prolix. *Trenckner* also tried to explain Sutta as "thread of tradition" (JPTS 1908, p. 121), but this is improbable.

[2]) According to Buddhaghosa (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 18 : Atthasālinī, p. 2) *abhi* in *abhidhamma* means "higher," "especially," "specifically." Side by side with *abhdhamma*, *abhivinaya* also occurs ("the higher subtleties of the Dhamma and of the Vinaya"), thus Vinayap., Mahāvagga I, 36, 12f.; 37, 11; Dīghanikāya III, p. 267; Majjhimanikāya I, p. 472; Milindapañha, p. 344 (SBE, Vol. 36, p. 237 n.).

[3]) Majjh. 22 (I, p. 133) and in several passages in the Aṅguttaranikāya. Cf. Milindapañha, p. 345; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī I, p. 23ff.; Atthasālinī, p. 26; Gandhavaṃsa in JPTS 1886, p. 57; H. *Kern*, Manual, p. 7. E. *Senart*, JA 1901, s. 9, t. XVII, p. 407f. The texts

prose sermons, 2. Geyya, sermons in a mixture of prose and verse, 3. Veyyākaraṇa (Vyākaraṇa), explanations, commentaries,[1] 4. Gāthā, stanzas, 5. Udāna, pithy sayings, 6. Itivuttaka, short speeches beginning with the words: "Thus spake the Buddha," 7. Jātaka, stories of former births of Buddha, 8. Abbhutadhamma, reports of miracles, 9. Vedalla, teachings in the form of questions and answers. This division[2] does not allude to a canon complete in itself, or to definite books, but is only meant to classify the various types of Buddhist texts according to their form and contents.

The list of the Aṅgas is evidence of the fact that, at the time when the Canon was compiled in its present form, all these diverse forms of Buddhist literature were already in existence. Moreover, there are other passages of the Canon which show us that there was at that time a great mass of short texts, rules of the order, speeches, dialogues, aphorisms in verse, and even minor collections of texts,[3] which passed as "the word of Buddha" (Buddhavacanam), and were memorised and recited by the monks. They were recited as a kind of recitative, as all sorts of sacred texts are still recited to this day in India and Ceylon.[4] Among the monks there were

---

dealing with Vinaya also belong to the "Sutta," whilst the Abhidhamma texts—at least according to Buddhaghosa—belong to the Veyyākaraṇa. However, they might also be included in the "Vedalla." Lord *Chalmers* (SBE V, pp. 93, 207ff.) renders *vedalla* by "miscellany." But it is doubtful whether there is any thought of Abhidhamma texts in the list of the Aṅgas.

[1]) In Buddhist Sanskrit, *vyākaraṇa* frequently means prophecy, especially the prediction of a future Buddha; thus also in Pāli in the Nidānakathā (Jātaka ed., Fausböll, pp. 34, 44).

[2]) A similar division into 9 Aṅgas, sometimes into 12 Dharmapravacanas, is also found in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Cf. *Kern*, l.c.; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka II, 48 (SBE, Vol. 21, p. 45); Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka in SBE, Vol. 10 (i), p. xxxiii.

[3]) Such as the Aṭṭhakavagga, which we now find in the Suttanipāta, and which is already mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka (Mahāv. V, 13, 9) and in the Udāna V, 6, (p. 59). Cf. Dhammapada 19, 20, 102, 185, 352; Suttanipāta 87.

[4]) Cf. *Rhys Davids*, SBE, Vol. 20, p. 72 n. 3. The reciters (or leaders of a common recitation) were known as sarabhāṇakā "intoners." Later on, the entire Canon was divided into "lessons" (bhāṇavāra) for the purposes of recitation. Cf. SBE, Vol. 20, p. 415ff. In Cullavagga V, 3, it is expressly forbidden to *sing* the texts of the Dhamma to melodies, as if they were songs.

Suttantikas, reciters of the Suttantas, Dhammakathikas, preachers of the doctrine, and Vinayadharas, experts in the discipline.[1] In order to ensure the continuance of the knowledge of the doctrine and the rules of the order, the texts had to be memorised, recited and expounded again and again. When, during the rainy season, many learned monks assembled at a place, there was an opportunity to obtain enlightenment on knotty points. It happened that some learned monk or perhaps a whole community of monks in some monastery would declare as Dhamma or Vinaya something which had first to be investigated before it could be sanctioned as being really in accord with the "teaching of the Master" (satthusāsanam).[2] This means that there must have been authoritative texts which could be consulted. It is often said of prominent monks that they are "very learned, masters of the tradition, and well versed in the Dhamma, Vinaya and the Mātikās."[3] The Mātikāsare the "lists" or "tabulated summaries" of those ideas which are of importance in the doctrine and the monastic order. These Mātikās were subsequently worked into the texts of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.[4] From this it would appear that the texts of the Abhidhamma were merely in their beginnings before the Canon was compiled.

In our Pāli Canon we find the Kathāvatthu, traditionally ascribed to Tissa, as one of the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.

---

[1]) Cullavagga IV, 4, 4 and in many other passages. Cf. N. *Dutt*, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism, p. 207f. Upāli is mentioned as one of the first Vinayadharas, Cullavagga VI, 13; IX, 5; XI, I, 7 ff. Cf. SBE, Vol. XIII, p. xiii.

[2]) Aṅgutt. VI, 51; IV, 180; Dīghanikāya XVI, 4, 7-11. The fact that there is always mention here of the Sutta and Vinaya but not of the Abhidhamma, proves that, at the time when this Sutta was completed, only *two* Piṭakas were recognised as authorities.

[3]) Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāv. II, 21, 2; X, 1, 2; Cullav. I, 11, 1; XII, 1, 9f.; 2, 1; Dīgha. II, p. 125; Aṅgutt. I, p. 117. The phrase is: bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikādharā.

[4]) In the Sanskrit Buddhist texts the corresponding word *mātṛkā* is used for "Abhidharmapiṭaka." Cf. *Kern*, Manual, pp. 3, 104; *Oldenberg* and *Rhys Davids*, SBE, Vol. 13, p. 273; Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, 2nd Ed., pp. ix, cv-xiii.

It presupposes oot only the texts of the Vinayapiṭaka and of all the Nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka, but other books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka too.[1] It is therefore certainly one of the latest works of the Tipiṭaka, and, in the nature of things, it would be quite feasible to assume that this book was not written until the time of the compilation of the Canon by Tissa himself, and that the members of the Council appended it to the whole work by way of a crowning piece.

We must, however, consider the question as to whether we can agree with the Buddhist believers of Ceylon that the Canon compiled at the Third Council is really the same canon which has come down to us in the Pāli Tipiṭaka.

First of all, the language of our Tipiṭaka can scarcely be the same as that of the Canon of the third century B. C. Buddha himself spoke the dialect of his native province Kosala (Oudh), and it was most likely in this same dialect that he first began to proclaim his doctrine. Later on, however, when he wandered and taught in Magadha (Bihar) he probably preached in the dialect of this province. We must, however, take into account the fact that, in the early days of Buddhism, little importance was attached to the linguistic form of texts. An utterance of Buddha has come down to us, in which he affirms that he cares not for mere wording, but only for the meaning itself.[2] When, in course of time, the doctrine spread over a large area, the monks of various districts preached each in his own dialect. It is probable that monks coming from Brahman circles also attempted to translate the speeches of Buddha into Sanskrit verses. In the Vinayapiṭaka, however, this procedure is expressly declared as a transgression against the monastic discipline, because it "contributes neither to the conversion of the unconverted nor to the augmentation of the converts," and it is declared to be right that each one

[1]) Cf. Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Points of Controversy, pp. xxixf., 401ff.

[2]) Majjhimanikāya, 103 (II, p. 240).

should learn the doctrine in a version adapted to his own language.[1] The monks who compiled the Canon in Pāṭaliputra, most probably used an ancient Māgadhī dialect. *Pāli*,[2] however, the literary language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, though called "Māgadhī" by these people themselves, deviates essentially from the dialect, otherwise known to us through inscriptions, literary works and grammarians. On the other hand, it agrees just as little with any other dialect. The fact is that Pāli is a literary language, which was used exclusively as such only by the Buddhists, and like all literary languages, it developed more or less out of a mixture of dialects. Of course a literary language of this kind, even if it represents a kind of compromise between two different dialects, could at all events only have proceeded out of *one* certain dialect. This was very likely an old Māgadhī, so that the tradition which makes Pāli and Māgadhi the same, though it is not to be taken literally, has some historical background.

The time and place of the origin of this literary language cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.[3] It is probable that, during the period immediately after Aśoka, when Buddhism had already spread throughout the whole of Central India and in the North-west too, it developed as a compromise between the various dialects spoken in this vast territory, among the monks engaged in handing down the Theravāda Canon. It is for this reason that Pāli bears traces of so many different Indo-Aryan dialects.[4] When the Canon of the Vibhajjavādins was written down in the first century B.C., there was already an older and a more modern

---

[1]) Cullavagga V, 33; SBE, Vol. 20. p. 150f. W. *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 5, offers a different explanation for this passage, s. Appendix II.

[2]) See Appendix II.

[3]) See Appendix II.

[4]) Cf. S. K. *Chatterji*, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, I, 55 ff.

form of Pāli,[1] so that, even at that early period, Pāli must have been a language with a considerable development behind it. The monks of Ceylon were, however, bent on preserving and passing on the texts written in the language once established for them in India.[2] In all probability these monks were just as conscientious regarding the contents as regarding the language, and preserved and handed down to us the texts of the Tipiṭaka which was written down in the Pāli language, with rare fidelity during the last two thousand years. However, *before* they were fixed in Pāli and had reached Ceylon, they probably also passed through changes in contents.

Thus, as regards language and contents, our Pāli Tipiṭaka, though closely approaching the canon compiled under Aśoka, is yet not identical with it. For we must admit that, in the period from the third to the first century before Christ, when the writing-down took place, and occasionally even still later, the texts suffered many a change, that especially much was added, and that in many cases commentaries penetrated into the texts and became mixed with them. Thus the collections as well as the separate texts contained in them, must have increased in extent. The centuries have surely not passed them by without leaving traces. This accounts, too, for the

---

[1]) Cf. *Geiger*, l. c., p. 1 f.

[2]) The fact that a Pāli Canon was known in North India as late as in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., is proved by a quotation (from the Saccasaṃyutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya ?) about the "four noble truths" in an inscription dating from this period in Sarnath, s. *Konow*, Ep. Ind. IX, 1908, 291 ff. and Dharmananda *Kosambi*, Ind. Ant. 1910, 217. In inscriptions from Swat in the extreme North-west of India, written at the close of the first century B.C. or in the first half of the first century A.D., we find Sanskrit verses which seem to be literal translations from the Pāli of verses of the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the Dhammapada (G. *Bühler*, Ep. Ind. IV, 133ff.) A fragment of the Cullavagga discovered by C. *Bendall* (OC XIII Hamburg 1902, p. 58ff.) would seem to prove that the Pāli Canon was in existence in Nepal in the 8th and 9th centuries. But it is possible that the MS. was taken from Ceylon to Tibet. So also, when we find that Chinese and Tibetan translations betray familiarity with Pāli texts, it is possible that the translators had been in Ceylon.

numerous contradictions within the Canon,[1] the many instances of juxtaposition of early and late traditions, and the frequent occurrence of the same texts in different collections.[2]

With these reservations and limitations, we can nevertheless say that our Pāli Tipiṭaka, at least the Vinaya and the Suttapiṭaka,[3] does, on the whole, correspond to the Māgadhī Canon of the third century B.C. Our main witnesses to this are the inscriptions of King Aśoka. Not only do these edicts breathe the same spirit as the moral maxims which have come down in our Pāli Canon,[4] but they show verbal similarities to

---

[1]) Such contradictions have been pointed out, for instance, by R. Otto *Franke* (WZKM 24, 1910, 1ff.). Cf. also *Minayeff*, Recherches, etc., p. 62ff., and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Psychology, 2nd Ed., London, 1924, pp. 280 f., 291 f.

[2]) In particular, the same Gāthās occur in various collections, s. the concordance of the Gāthās, by R. O. *Franke* in ZDMG 63, 1909, 1ff.; WZKM 24, 1910, 1 ff.; 225 ff.; 26, 1912, 171 ff. However, these repetitions and the contradictions occurring in them are not sufficient reason for our immediately jumping to the conclusion, as has been done by *Franke* (ZDMG 63, 1909, 8 ff.) that the entire Canon is "not authentic and not original." For, if a verse is ascribed in the one text to Buddha, and in the other to Sāriputta, or if an utterance was, according to the one text, made at Rājagaha, and according to the other at Benares, it merely proves that these legendary adornments are not authentic, but does not in any way confute our assumption that the verses and utterances are "authentic" in themselves, *i.e.*, that they faithfully reproduce the old doctrine of Buddha. The arguments of *Franke* and other critics destroy the belief of the orthodox Buddhist that every single word of the Canon is genuine and was spoken by Buddha himself, but they prove nothing against the hypothesis of those scholars who acknowledge the Canon to have a certain, though limited, genuineness and reliability.

[3]) Doubts against the Abhidhammapiṭaka are justifiable, because, with the exception of the Vibhajjavādins, only the Sarvāstivādins have a corresponding Abhidharmapiṭaka, and the latter contains totally different texts from the Pāli Abhidhammapiṭaka. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 44; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 68 f.; *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 22. When, in the Dīpavaṃsa V, 35-37, we are told that, at the "great Council" of Vesāli, the Mahāsaṅgītika Bhikkhus rejected certain passages of the Suttas and the Vinaya, especially the Parivāra, Abhidhamma, Paṭisambhidā, Niddesa texts and portions of the Jātakas, and wrote down other texts in their place, it is noteworthy that it is precisely these texts which we, too, are inclined to suspect of being later additions to the Canon.

[4]) Parallel passages from the Dhammapada, which are in accord with the Dhamma of Aśoka, are quoted by *Hultzsch*, Inscriptions of Asoka, p. xlvii ff. We can only compare such texts as have reference to the morals of the laity, as Aśoka had only these in view, and not the philosophy and dogmas of Buddhism.

the texts of our Canon, and quotations which can also be traced in our texts with but slight deviations.[1] But this is not all. In the edict of Bairāt (or Bhābrū) of the year 249 B.C., the king says to the monks of Magadha: "All that the Lord Buddha has said, is well said," and he names the titles of seven texts, the study of which he most particularly recommends to them. These texts have been traced in our Suttapiṭaka, though not all in an entirely satisfactory manner.[2]

The majority of the inscriptions on the famous stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchī are written in the same characters as the inscriptions of Aśoka, and the stūpas were formerly regarded as monuments of the time of Aśoka. Now-a-days, however, authoritative archæologists are inclined to ascribe the bulk of the sculptures rather to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.[3] The

---

[1]) Cf. G. *Bühler*, ZDMG 48, p. 57 ff.; F. W. *Thomas*, JRAS 1903, p. 831 ff.; K. E. *Neumann*, WZKM 11, 1897, p. 156 ff. However, when the last named scholar (Reden Gotamo Buddhos, III, p. 41 note) speaks of Aśoka as "brought up on our texts," he is saying more than he can prove. E. *Hardy* (JRAS 1901, 314) compares Aṅgutt. III, pp. 247, 340: yena...saddhammo ciraṭṭhitiko hotī ti, with Aśoka's Bhābrū Edict: hevaṃ sa dhammo cilaṭhitiko hāsatī ti.

[2]) See Appendix III.

[3]) The stūpa at Bharhut (Bharahut, Bharaut, Barāhat) was discovered by General A. *Cunningham* in the year 1874, and described by him in the work "The Stūpa of Bharhut," London, 1879. The inscriptions have been published and translated by E. *Hultzsch*, ZDMG 40, 1886, p. 58 ff. and Ind. Ant. 21, 1892, 225 ff., and B. M. *Barua*, Barhut Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1926. According to Cunningham, the inscriptions date from the period between 250 and 150 B.C. L. A. *Waddell* (JRAS 1914, p. 138 ff.) believes that most of the sculptures date from the 3rd century B.C., and that only the Eastern Gateway should be attributed to the 2nd or 1st century. The sculptures of the Sānchī stūpas have been described by F. C. *Maisey*, Sanchi and its Remains, London, 1892, and Sir J. H. *Marshall*, A Guide to Sanchi, Calcutta, 1918. G. *Bühler*, On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, p. 17, dates the stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchī in the 3rd century B.C. on palaeographic grounds (with repairs and additional buildings in the 2nd century). V. A. *Smith*, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911, p. 73 ff. ascribes the Sānchī stūpas to the period between 150 and 100 B.C., but in his Early History (1924), p. 173, he speaks of them as "buildings of the Asokan period." See also A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, Berlin, 1900, 22 ff.; A. *Foucher*, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, London, 1917, pp. 29 ff., 61 ff.; J. H. *Marshall* in Cambridge History, I, 618 ff., 627 ff. Only the earliest portions of the monuments, of which little has been preserved, go back to Aśoka's time. Cf. *Grünwedel*, l. c., p. 24; *Foucher*, l. c., p. 34 and *Marshall*, l.c., p. 627; *Rapson* in Cambridge History, I, p. 523.

remnants of the stūpa of Bharhut are at present among the most precious treasures in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, while we are as yet able to admire the magnificent remains of the stūpas of Sānchī in their original place. The railings and gateways of the stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchī are covered with reliefs and inscriptions of inestimable value. The sculptures represent scenes from the life of the Buddha, testifying to an abundantly developed Buddha legend, such as we find in a few of the Pāli Suttas, but more especially in such works as the Nidānakathā, Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu.[1] Many of the reliefs are, however, illustrations to fables and tales, the titles of which are generally mentioned in the inscriptions, in the case of the stūpa of Bharhut. These inscriptions prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the reliefs depict Jātakas, *i.e.*, "stories from former births of the Buddha," and most of these have also been traced in the Jātaka book of the Tipiṭaka. Moreover, we also find on the monuments of Bharhut and Sānchī votive inscriptions, in which monks are given the epithets bhāṇaka, "reciter," sutaṃtika, "Sutta reciter,"[2] pacanekāyika, "knower of the five Nikāyas," peṭakin, "knower of the Piṭakas," and dhammakathika, "preacher of the doctrine."[3]

From all this, it follows that, some time before the second century B.C. there was already a collection of Buddhist texts, which was called "Piṭakas" and was divided into five "Nikāyas," that there were "Suttas" in which the "Dhamma," the religion of Buddha, was preached, that some of these Suttas agreed with those contained in our Tipiṭaka, and that "Jātakas" of exactly the same kind as those

[1]) Cf. B. M. *Barua* in Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 50 ff., 245 ff.

[2]) In one of the Sānchī inscriptions, a nun, sutātikinī, "female reciter of the Sutta," is also mentioned.

[3]) Such experts for preaching and recitation are also mentioned in the Canon, s. above p. 11. In the days of Buddhaghosa there were also reciters of special texts, such as Dīghabhāṇakas, Majjhimabhāṇakas, etc.

contained in the Tipiṭaka, already belonged to the stock of Buddhist literature—in short, that, at some period prior to the 2nd century B.C., probably as early as at the time of Aśoka or a little later, there was a Buddhist Canon which, if not entirely identical with our Pāli Canon, resembled it very closely.

It is true that the earliest literary evidence of the existence of the " three baskets " as a triad of piṭakas (piṭakattayaṃ) and of Nikāyas is only to be found in the Milindapañha,[1] a work whose authentic portion probably belongs to the beginning of the first century A.D. But the whole of the remaining Buddhist literature other than the Pāli Canon, proves that the texts contained in the latter hark back to an early period, not so very far removed from the time of Buddha himself, and in any case may be regarded as the most trustworthy evidences of the original doctrine of Buddha and the Buddhism of the first two centuries after Buddha's death.

This is proved firstly by the non-canonical Pāli literature, including the dialogues of the Milindapañha, the chronicles of Ceylon Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, and a rich commentary literature in connection with the Tipiṭaka. All these works indicate that the Tipiṭaka was in existence at least as early as the early centuries of the Christian era.[2]

---

[1]) Ed. *Trenckner*, p. 22, about monks who are tepiṭakā, *i.e.*, " knowers of the three piṭakas," and those who are pañcanekāyikā and catunekāyikā, " knowers of the five Nikāyas " and " knowers of the four Nikāyas." I see no reason for regarding this passage as interpolated, as does F. O. *Schrader*. Sanskrit *trepiṭaka* occurs in an inscription of King Kaniṣka (2nd century A.D.), s. J. Ph. *Vogel*, Ep. Ind. VIII. 176.

[2]) The entire Pāli literature, canonical as well as non-canonical, is frequently termed " Southern Buddhist," because, at the present day it is preserved and spread among the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam. This term is, however, to be deprecated owing to the fact that the texts of the Pāli Canon and the Milindapañha are in no wise related to the South, and do not even give indications of a knowlege of South India and Ceylon, but in all probability originated in North India. The occasional occurrence of the expression tāmraparṇīyanikāya in some manuscript or other, is not sufficient ground to justify our talking about " the Singhalese Canon " as does *La Vallée Poussin* (JA s. 9. t. XX, 1902 p. 237). Cf. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1896, 378 f.

Moreover, the Buddhist Sanskrit literature [1] testifies to the antiquity and the fidelity of the Pāli transmission. This literature, composed partly in good Sanskrit, partly in "mixed Sanskrit," [2] comprises works of the most varied kinds and of the most widely differing sects. One of these sects, namely that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, had a canon of its own in Sanskrit, and it is only in recent times that fragments of it have been discovered in Central Asia. We find that this canon, though not translated from the Pāli, yet affords splendid evidence of the fidelity of the Pāli transmission: for, in spite of numerous deviations in the wording and the arrangement, there are yet so many literal agreements between the Sanskrit Canon and the Pāli Canon, that we must take it for granted that there is a uniform tradition behind both collections. In the Sanskrit texts of the Buddhists of Nepal, as well as in the works of the various Buddhist sects, known only through Tibetan and Chinese translations, we can establish a fundamental stock not only of doctrines, but also of texts, agreeing in all essentials with the transmission of the Pāli Canon. The more this Buddhist Sanskrit literature is opened up, and the more minutely it is compared with the Pāli Canon,[3] the more it is proved that Oldenberg is right when he says: "The Pāli copy, though naturally not of infallible accuracy, must still be judged as

---

[1]) The term "Northern Buddhist" as applied to the Sanskrit Buddhist literature as well as to the Buddhist literatures of Tibet, China and Japan which are based upon it, is even more unsuitable than the term "Southern Buddhist" for the Pāli literature: for by this term the texts of entirely different sects, such as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, are all lumped together.

[2]) See Vol. I, English edition, p. 48.

[3]) For comparisons of this kind we are especially indebted to E. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha (ASGW XV, 4), Leipzig, 1895, and Buddhas Geburt (ASGW XXVI, 2), Leipzig, 1908, and M. *Anesaki* in OC XIII Hamburg 1902, p. 61, and Le Muséon, N. S. VI, 1905 23ff., VII, 1906, 33ff., who shows that even Pāli quotations occur in the Mahāyāna texts. E. *Waldschmidt*, Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Leipzig 1926, has come to the conclusion, after a careful and unbiassed comparison of the Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa in the

eminently good."[1] There is indeed neither a canon nor any Buddhist text which has come down from such early times as the Pāli Canon which was written down in the first century B.C., in which there is as yet not even a single word of mention of the great Buddhist King Aśoka.[2] In language, style and contents the Pāli texts are most closely connected with the Upaniṣads, while the Buddhist Sanskrit literature reminds us far more of the Purāṇas. Finally, the fact that in these texts, written down and transmitted in Ceylon, there are no references of any kind to Ceylon, again confirms the view that they are not a "canon of the Buddhists of Ceylon," but a canon of that Buddhist sect of India which, as a matter of fact, has preserved the most of ancient Buddhism and might, with some justification, call its doctrine "Theravāda," the doctrine of the first disciples of Buddha.

If we had only the Pāli texts and nothing besides, we should certainly form merely a one-sided idea of Buddhism. On the other hand, if only the Sanskrit and semi-Sanskrit Buddhist texts and none of the Pāli Canon had come down to us, we should have an entirely distorted picture of Buddhism and only a scanty notion of the original teaching and personality of Buddha. We may say this without any bias in favour of the Pāli transmission, and without denying that our knowledge of Buddhism and especially of its history is very

---

recensions of six different schools, that "the *Pāli version* of the school of the Theravādins proves itself to be *the most faithful preserver* of an earlier tradition" (p. 187). S. also *Oldenberg*, AR 13, 1910, 596 ff.; NGGW 1912, 171 ff. *Barth*, RHR, t. 41, 1900, 166 ff. (= Oeuvres II, 300 ff.); *La Vallée Poussin* and T. W. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS 1903, 359 ff. A canon similar to the Tipiṭaka is also recognised by the Mahāyāna Buddhists, s. *Kern*, Manual, p. 3 n. 4, and *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 29 f.

[1]) ZDMG 52, p. 673. Even A. *Barth* RHR 1900, t. 42, p. 57 (= Oeuvres II, 340), cf. Journal des savants 1899, p. 631, and RHR 1900, t. 41, p. 170 (= Oeuvres II, 303 f.), admits that there are very much surer guarantees to support the Pāli tradition than the disconnected mass of writings of the North.

[2]) The Indians have never been such deliberate forgers that, if Aśoka had been mentioned, they would have eliminated the references, in order to create the appearance of antiquity. Cf. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 174.

materially completed and extended by the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal, as well as by the Chinese and Tibetan translations from the Sanskrit.

The Pāli texts, moreover, surpass all other productions of Buddhist literature, not only as a source for our knowledge of Buddhism, but also—which here concerns us first and foremost—from a purely literary standpoint. This will be shown by the following survey of this literature.[1]

The Vinayapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon

The Buddhists themselves place the Vinayapiṭaka[2] at the head of the canon, and we may follow their example, without committing ourselves to the opinion that this is earlier than the Suttapiṭaka.[3] The Vinayapiṭaka comprises the following texts :

I. The Suttavibhaṅga, consisting of 1. Mahāvibhaṅga, and 2. Bhikkunīvibhaṅga.

II. The Khandhakās, consisting of 1. Mahāvagga and 2. Cullavagga.

III. The Parivāra or Parivārapāṭha.

---

[1]) A complete edition of the sacred writings of the Tipiṭaka in 39 volumes (in Siamese type) was printed by the order of King *Culālaṅkaraṇa* of Siam on the occasion of the twenty-five years' jubilee of his reign, in 1894 in Bangkok, and, with admirable generosity, he had it distributed to European and American libraries. Cf. R. *Chalmers*, JRAS 1898, p. 1. ff. and Ch. *Lanman*, JAOS, Vol. XVI, 1895, Proceedings CCXLIV ff. Most of the texts have also been published by the *Pali Text Society*. Extracts from the Tipiṭaka have been translated by K. E. *Neumann*, Buddhistische Anthologie, Leiden, 1892 ; Henry Clarke *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, Cambridge, Mass. 1896 (HOS, Vol. 3); Julius *Dutoit*, Das Leben des Buddha, Leipzig, 1906 ; M. *Winternitz*, Buddhismus, in A. *Bertholet*, Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch, Tübingen, 1908, Einzelausgabe 1911 (new edition in preparation ; Karl *Seidenstücker*, Pāli-Buddhismus in übersetzungen, Breslau, 1911, 2nd Ed., 1923; H. *Oldenberg*, Reden des Buddha, München, 1922; E. J. *Thomas*, Buddhist Scriptures, London, 1913 (Wisdom of the East Series); F. L *Woodward*, Some Sayings of the Buddha according to the Pāli Canon, Oxford, 1925.

[2]) Edited by H. *Oldenberg*, London, 1879-1883.

[3]) *Kern*, Manual, p. 2, and *La Vallée Poussin*, Buddhisme, E'tudes et Matériaux, p. 27, regard the Vinayapiṭaka as earlier. In the opinion of R. Otto *Franke* (JPTS 1908,

The nucleus of the Vinayapiṭaka is the Pāṭimokkha,[1] a list of transgressions against the rules of discipline of the order, together with the corresponding atonements. The life of the monk was regulated by this code of rules, which formed the bond[2] holding the community together. Its immense significance as regards the stability of the Buddhist order becomes evident from a speech attributed to Ānanda,[3] in which he declares that though Buddha had not appointed any one of his disciples as his successor nor invested him with the supreme authority, the community of monks would continue, because the Sublime One had proclaimed the Sikkhāpada (the ten commandments for the conduct of the monks) and the Pāṭimokkha to the monks. In an oft recurring phrase, it is said of a good monk that his life is "restrained by the restraints of the Pāṭimokkha."[4] This code of

---

pp. 8 ff., 68 ff.,74) the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga of the Vinayapiṭaka would be later than the Dīghanikāya. K. E. *Neumann* (Prefaces to Vols. I and III of the "Reden Gotamo Buddhos") believes that "the Vinayapiṭaka and later the Abhidhammapiṭaka gradually partly became eliminated, and partly were further developed, out of the Suttapiṭaka." In support of this view, we could adduce the fact that some of the Suttas deal with Vinaya, and some resemble the texts of the Abhidhamma very closely both in form and contents. However, as the Vinayapiṭaka and the Suttapiṭaka have some texts in common, I think it likely that the final compilation of these two took place at about the same time.

[1]) Cf. *Oldenberg*, Vinayapiṭaka, Introd., p. xv ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in ERE IX, 1917, 675 ff.; Sukumar *Dutt*, Early Buddhist Monachism, London, 1924, pp. 75 ff., 99 ff.

[2]) S. *Dutt*, l. c., p. 90 f. thinks that, even etymologically pāṭimokkha means "bond" in this sense. The PTS Dic. s. v. (also R. C. *Childers*, Dict. of the Pāli Language, s. v.) explains it by pratimokṣya "that which should be made binding," "obligatory," "obligation," with reference to Jātaka V, p. 25, where it explains saṃgaraṃ paṭimokhaṃ by "a binding promise." In my opinion, the correct explanation of this phrase is "a promise to be redeemed," and, accordingly, I am inclined to explain pāṭimokkha as "that which is to be redeemed." For other etymologies s *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg*, SBE., Vol. XIII, p. xxvii f. ("Disburdening, Getting free"), *Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 419 n. 1, *Kern*, Manual, p. 74 n. 5 ("a spiritual cuirass"), and R. O. *Franke*, Dīghanikāya, p. 66 n. 7. The earliest etymology is the one in the old commentary Mahāvagga II, 3, 4, which was also accepted by Buddhaghosa, pāṭimokkha being taken as a derivative of mukhaṃ, which is quite impossible.

[3]) Majjhimanikāya 108 (Vol. III, p. 9 f.).

[4]) Pāṭimokkhasamvarasaṃvuto, see Dīghanikāya II, 42; XIII, 42; XXVI, 28; cf. Dhammapada 185.

rules was recited in the form of a confession formulary in solemn conclave of the monks, twice every month, on the new moon and the full moon days.[1] After the recital of each chapter—there are eight different kinds of greater and lesser sins, the treatment of which takes up eight chapters—the conductor of the ceremony would ask whether any one had committed the sin in question: and if this was the case, he had to confess his guilt.[2] This Uposatha ceremony, as it is called, was probably already instituted by Buddha himself, being modelled on ceremonies of a similar character among earlier sects of ascetics,[3] and the very earliest Buddhist literature must have included a Pāṭimokkha.[4] Originally it probably contained only 152 rules,[5] but they were extended to

---

[1]) According to Dīghanikāya XIV, 3, 22-28, at an earlier period—the legend is here dealing with the period of the former Buddha Vipassi—the Buddhist monks appear to have assembled every six years at some large centre, for the recital of the Pāṭimokkha, which then was merely a kind of confession of faith, though the expression pātimokkhopadesāya is the same as in Majjh. 77 (Vol. II, p. 8), where there is mention of the fortnightly celebration.

[2]) At least this was the original idea, according to the wording of the formulas of the Pāṭimokkha. However, even in the Vinayapiṭaka itself the procedure was simplified and toned down, inasmuch as a monk who felt himself guilty of some transgression, had to confess it to one of the brethren *before* the Uposatha ceremony, so that he might be pure when he took his place in the assembly. Cf. *Oldenberg*, Buddha, pp. 381 f., 418 ff.

[3]) There may possibly be some historical foundation for the story told in Mahāvagga II, 1, that the heretical Paribbājakas convened assemblies for the recital of their Dhamma on the 14th, 15th and 8th days of each half-month, and that King Bimbisāra proposed to Buddha that similar assemblies should be organised. The Pāli word *Uposatha* is the Sanskrit Upavasatha, which means "fasting." From time immemorial the Brahmanical Indians observed the new moon and full moon days by sacrifices, prayers and fasting. The Uposatha ceremony, as performed in Ceylon at the present day, is described by J. F. *Dickson*, JRAS 1875 (reprinted in *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, p. 405 ff.).

[4]) This is proved by the fact that we have a Prātimokṣa (Sanskrit for Pāṭimokkha) also in a Sanskrit version, and in one Tibetan and four Chinese versions. Cf. L. *Finot* and Ed. *Huber* in JA 1913, s. 11, t. II, p. 462 ff.; Mahāvyutpatti paragraphs 256-264; *Oldenberg*, ZDMG, 52, 645 f.; *Kern*, Manual, 74 f., 85 ff.

[5]) Aṅguttaranik. I, pp. 236, 230 (III, 83, 1; 87, 1) and Milindapañha, pp. 243, 272 speak of 150 Sikkhāpadas, which probably mean the rules of the Pāṭimokkha. Most likely the figure 150 is only a round number for the 152 rules remaining out of the total of 227 rules, after deducting the 75 sekhiyā dhammā which are merely rules of

227 at the time of the origin of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Theravādins. Though the text of these 227 rules of the Pāṭimokkha has come down independently in manuscripts, it does not, as such, form a part of the Canon, but is included in the Suttavibhaṅga, for this last-named work is nothing but an ancient commentary on the Pāṭimokkha consisting of 227 rules—a commentary which attained to the honour of being included in the canon. Suttavibhaṅga means "explanation of the Suttas," and in this case we should take "Sutta"[1] to mean the separate clauses or articles of the Pāṭimokkha. Each Sutta, *i.e.*, each single article, is explained word for word, and in an introduction it is related where and on what occasion the Buddha issued the decree in question. The Mahāvibhaṅga consists of eight chapters, corresponding to the eight classes of transgressions against the discipline. By analogy with the Pāṭimokkha for the monks, a similar code was compiled later for the nuns. The Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, a much shorter work, is a commentary on it.

The Khandhakās, *i.e.*, "sections,"[2] which give the precepts for the various arrangements of the order (Saṅgha) and regulate the entire conduct of the monks and nuns in their daily life, form a kind of continuation and supplement of the Suttavibhaṅga. The ten sections of the Mahāvagga, *i. e.*, the "great section," contain the special precepts for

---

etiquette. The Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādins gives the number of Pātayantikā dharmāḥ as 90 (in the Pāli 92 Pācittiyā dhammā), and it also gives us a total of 150, excluding the Śaikṣā dharmāḥ. The Sarvāstivādins have 113, the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins 106, the Dharmaguptas 100[Śaikṣā dharmāḥ (corresponding to the 75 sekhiyā dhammā in the Pāli), and the Mahāvyutpatti, para. 256 reads only: samhahulāḥ śaikṣadharmāḥ. Cf. *Finot*, JA 1913, s. 11, t. II, p. 469 f.; S. *Dutt*, Early Buddhist Monachism, p. 92 f.

[1]) In the sense of the ancient meaning of the word *Sūtra*, see Vol, I, p, 268 f. The text of the Pāṭimokkha is published separately and translated by J. F. *Dickson*, JRAS 1876, p. 62 ff. and translated once again by *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg* in SBE vol. 13, p. 1 ff.

[2]) Translated into English by *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg* in SBE vols. XIII, XVII and XX.

admission into the order, for the Uposatha celebration, for life during the rainy season and for the Pavāraṇā celebration taking place at the end of the rainy season, and further, the rules for the wearing of shoes, facilities for seats and vehicles, medicine and clothing of the monks, and finally for the regulation of the legal conditions and the legal procedure within the order, especially in the case of schisms. The first nine sections of the Cullavagga, *i.e.*, the "lesser section," deal with the disciplinary methods in lesser matters, with various atonements and penances, the adjustment of disputes, the daily life of the monks, dwellings and furnishing of dwellings, the duties of monks towards one another and the exclusion from the Pāṭimokkha ceremony. Section X of the Cullavagga deals with the duties of the nuns. In the same way as the Pāṭimokkha underlies the Suttavibhaṅga, there are also, underlying the acts and ceremonies prescribed in the Khandhakās, old formulae, the so-called Kammavācā, *i. e.*, "words for the acts." These do not form a part of the Tipiṭaka any more than the Pāṭimokkha does,[1] but are merely included in the Khandhakās, in a similar manner as the mantras or prayers are included in the Vedic Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. Sections XI and XII, in which the story of the first two councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī[2] is told, are no doubt later additions, and form a kind of appendix to the Cullavagga.

---

[1]) Upasampadā-Kammavācā, formularies for admission into the Order. These were first published by F. *Spiegel* (Kammavakya, liber de officils sacerdotum Buddhicorum, Bonnae ad. Rh. 1841), with Latin translation, then by J. F. *Dickson* (JRAS 1875, p. 1 ff.) with English translation The last-named also describes the ceremony of admission, as it is still performed to-day in Ceylon. Other Kammavācā have been published and translated by O. *Frankfurter*, Handbook of Pāli, London, 1883, Herbert *Baynes* (JRAS 1892, p. 53 ff.; cf. also p. 380), Śarat Candra *Das* in JASB 63, Part I, 1894, p. 20 ff. and G. L. M. *Clauson* (JPTS 1906-1907, pp. 1-7).

[2]) See above, p. 4 ff. The fact that the last two books were added later, also appears from the title Cullavagga, "lesser section," which would only be justified if this work, like the Mahāvagga, were composed of ten parts only. Cf. *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg* in SBE, Vol. 13, p. xxi, n. 3.

As this appendix, too, only deals with the history of the order, we can say that the one and only subject of the books of the Vinayapiṭaka is the monastic community, or the Order (Saṅgha).

The Pāṭimokkha already indicates a fairly complicated organisation of the community.[1] The Khandhakās presuppose a still more advanced organisation. We are struck by the far-reaching liberality, if not laxity, in the rules for monastic life. According to the strict regulation the monk is to live only on what he obtains by begging, but he is also allowed to accept invitations to meals. He is to clothe himself in cast-off rags, but he may also wear garments of linen, cotton and even silk. He is to live at the foot of a tree, but he may also seek a more comfortable lodging in houses, huts or caves. Urine is to be his sole medicament, but he may also take butter, oil and honey. He may even eat fish, as long as the fish have not been killed for him.[2] All this indicates that there must have been a fairly long development of the discipline of the community prior to the final compilation of the Vinayapiṭaka, and that the bulk of the rules originated, not all at once, but gradually. On the other hand it has been shown that many of the regulations of the order of the community are identical with those which were in vogue among other sects of ascetics before Buddha.[3] Nevertheless, all the rules and regulations of the Vinaya are attributed to Buddha himself; for just as in the Suttavibhaṅga, the rules and regulations in the Khandhakās too, are introduced by narratives recording when and on what occasion they were declared by Buddha. As regards style, too, the stories in the Khandhakās agree with those in the Suttavibhaṅga to so great an extent that we are bound to assume

---

[1]) Cf. E. *Waldschmidt* Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sārvāstivādins, p. 3 f.

[2]) Mahāvagga, I, 30; Cullavagga VII, 3, 14 f.

[3]) S. *Dutt*, Early Buddhist Monachism, pp. 16, 28, 37.

that they belong approximately to the same time.[1] In a few cases these stories may possibly have reference to actual events. In the majority of cases, however, they were probably invented *ad hoc*. On the whole, they are stereotyped, and of little value as literature.

Fortunately this is not true of all the narratives. The very commencing chapters of the Mahāvagga[2] contain one of the oldest fragments of a Buddha legend. In beautiful, archaic language, it is here related how Gotama Buddha obtained enlightenment (bodhi), how he decided to proclaim his doctrine, and how he gained his first disciples. Here is related, for instance, the legend of the noble youth Yasa, who grows up in a life of luxury, spends the nights among a band of female singers and dancers, but once waking up in the middle of the night and seeing the beautiful women in various ugly positions, is seized by disgust and satiety with the pleasures of this world; he flees from the life of voluptuousness, hastens to Buddha and becomes a monk. The later Buddha legend relates this story of Prince Siddhārtha, the subsequent Buddha, himself. A strange picture of manners is revealed by the story of the conversion of a band of young men, who are going out with their wives to enjoy themselves; one of them, who has no wife, takes a harlot with him; the latter steals the belongings of the men, and runs away. While the young men are pursuing her, they meet with Buddha, and ask him whether he has not seen a woman. The Buddha asks whether they would not do better to seek *themselves*, rather than a woman, and avails himself of the opportunity to preach the doctrine to them, whereupon they all become monks. There is no lack of marvellous stories, in which snake kings

[1]) If the rule dealt with in the Khandhakās is the same as the one dealt with in the Suttavibhaṅga, then the introductory story is also the same. Cf. *Oldenberg*, Vinaya-piṭaka, Introd., p. xxii f.

[2]) I, I—24. SBE, Vol. 13, p. 73 ff.

and gods play a part. The most beautiful of all these conversion-stories is that of the conversion of the two friends Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who were afterwards among the favourite disciples of the Buddha.[1] The first sermons of Buddha, for instance, the "sermon of Benares" and the "fire sermon," are also included in this old report.

In a later section of the Mahāvagga,[2] the story is told how the Buddha visits his native town and admits his son Rāhula into the order. In the Cullavagga we then find the narratives of the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍaka, who presents his park to the order; of Devadatta, the enemy and rival of Buddha, who causes the first schism in the community; of the founding of the order of nuns, to which Buddha unwillingly gives his consent at the prayers and entreaties of his foster-mother Mahāpajāpati, who finds a noble advocate in the disciple Ānanda, and so on.[3]

Even among those of the introductory stories which, presumably, were only invented *ad hoc* and have no value otherwise, either historical or legendary, there is many a beautiful and valuable passage to be found. A narrative of this kind, touching in its simplicity, is the following:

"Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a disturbance in his bowels, and he lay fallen in his own evacuations. And the Blessed One on going round the sleeping-places accompanied by the venerable Ānanda came to that Bhikkhu's abode, and found him so. And he went up to him, and asked him, 'what is the matter with you, O Bhikkhu?'

'I have a disturbance, Lord, in my bowels.'

'Then have you, O Bhikkhu, any one to wait upon you?'

'No, Lord.'

---

[1]) Mahāvagga, I, 7 f.; 14; 15 ff.; 23 f. SBE, Vol. 13, pp. 102 ff., 116 ff., 118 ff., 144 ff. All these stories end with the admission of the converts into the Order. For this reason they form quite a natural introduction to the section about admission into the Order.

[2]) I, 54. SBE, Vol. 13, p. 207 ff.

[3]) Cullavagga VI. 4, 9; VII. 2—4, X. 1 f.; SBE, Vol. 20, pp. 187 ff., 233 ff., 320 ff.

'Why do not the Bhikkhus wait upon you?'

'Because I am of no service, Lord, to the Bhikkhus.'

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Go, Ānanda, and fetch some water. Let us bathe this Bhikkhu.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent to the Blessed One, and fetched the water. And the Blessed One poured the water over that Bhikkhu; and the venerable Ānanda wiped him down. And the Blessed One taking hold of him at the head, and the venerable Ānanda at the feet, they lifted him up, and laid him down upon his bed.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is there, O Bhikkhus, in such and such an apartment, a Bhikkhu who is sick?'

'There is, Lord.'

'Then what, O Bhikkhus, is the matter with that Bhikkhu?'

'He has a disturbance, Lord, in his bowels.'

'And is there any one, O Bhikkhus, to wait upon him?'

'No, Lord.'

'Why, then, do not the Bhikkhus wait upon him?'

'That Bhikkhu, Lord, is of no service to the Bhikkhus; therefore do they not wait upon him.'

'Ye, O Bhikkhus, have no mothers and no fathers who might wait upon you! If ye, O Bhikkhus, wait not one upon the other, who is there indeed who will wait upon you? Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, would wait upon me, he should wait upon the sick.' [1]

Others of these stories are valuable to us because they afford us some insight into the everyday life of the ancient Indians.[2] Thus, for instance, when it is related how the parents of the boy Upāli take counsel together, with regard to what they shall let the boy become, how they consider that

---

[1]) Mahāvagga, VIII, 26, translated by *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg* in SBE, Vol. 17, p. 240 f. However forcibly this passage may remind us of St. Matth. 25, 40 ("Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me"), the situation is, after all, quite different in this case, and the resemblance cannot be more than pure chance.

[2]) In this respect the Vinayapiṭaka is a valuable complement to the Brahmanical Gṛhyasūtras. See Vol. I, p 272 ff. Moreover, some of the sections, *e.g.*, the detailed

he might get sore fingers from writing, or pains in his chest from arithmetic, or spoil his eyes with painting, and therefore determine to let him become a monk, because this is the most comfortable way of earning a livelihood.[1] Not only extremely interesting from the point of view of the history of civilisation, but full of delightful humour too, are the stories of the doctor Jīvaka,[2] from which at least a very short extract shall here be given:

The town of Rājagaha vies with the great city of Vesālī in renown and splendour. The magnificence of the latter is not a little enhanced by the famous courtesan Ambapālī, who demands fifty florins for one night. In order to make Rājagaha, too, as flourishing as Vesālī, the beautiful and well-educated Sālavatī is installed there as courtesan at the command of the king and she demands a hundred florins for one night. She becomes pregnant, but on account of her profession keeps her pregnancy secret and after she has given birth to a child, she has it turned adrift in a little basket. The child is found by Prince Abhaya, who has it brought up and gives it the name of Jīvaka.

When Jīvaka is grown up, he goes as apprentice to a famous doctor in Takkasilā (Taxila). After a seven years' course of instruction he passes his "examination." This consists of his teacher's giving him a spade and commissioning him to bring him all the plants from the environs of Takkasilā which cannot be used as herbs of healing. Jīvaka comes back, and declares that far and wide he did not find one such plant. With this the teacher is satisfied, gives him some money for his journey, and lets him depart.

The money is soon spent and in order to earn something, he announces himself as a doctor in a town where he hears that the wife of a rich merchant is very ill. Jīvaka puts a little melted butter into her nose,

---

enumerations of thefts, sexual offences (cf. P. E. *Pavolini*, GSAI, Vol. 17, p. 325 ff.) and crimes of all descriptions, are of interest, because they add to our store of knowledge of the laws and customs of ancient India.

[1]) Mahāvagga, I, 49.

[2]) Mahāvagga, VIII, 1. The stories end with Jīvaka's making Buddha a present of clothes, and therefore they form the introduction to the section on the clothing of the monks. The stories of Āmrapālī (Ambapālī) and Jīvaka also occur in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, s. Éd. *Chavannes*, Cinq cents contes, III, p. 325 ff.

this comes into her mouth and she spits it out, whereupon she instructs the maid to preserve the melted butter. Jīvaka is at once anxious about his fee, as he regards the woman as mean. She reassures him, however, that she is merely a good house-wife, for the melted butter could still be used by the servants as grease or for the lamp. She recovers, and rewards the doctor with 4,000 florins; in addition, her son, her daughter-in-law and her husband, each gives him 4,000 florins, and the latter also gives him a male slave, a female slave and a carriage with a team.

Thus he returns to Rājagaha, where he hands over the money he has earned to Prince Abhaya, as a recompense for having brought him up. The latter does not accept it, but desires that Jīvaka shall take up his residence in Rājagaha. After he has cured the old King Bimbisāra of an unpleasant disease, he becomes the court physician and effects many remarkable cures. Once a great merchant in Rājagaha becomes very ill. All the doctors have already given him up. Then the king gives permission for his court physician to treat the merchant. Jīvaka first stipulates for an honorarium of a hundred thousand florins for himself and the same for the king, then he asks him whether he will be able to lie quietly first on one side, then on the other, and finally on his back, for seven months in each position. The invalid answers in the affirmative, whereupon the doctor ties him to the bed, cuts open his scalp, pulls out two worms, for it was they which had threatened the life of the merchant, and sews the wound up again. But the invalid is not able to lie for seven months on each side, but can always only endure it for seven days. After three times seven days, however, he is well. Jīvaka now explains that he only spoke of seven months, because otherwise the patient would not even have managed to lie still for seven days.

Many other stories are told of the cunning and the skill of the doctor Jīvaka.[1] He also treated Buddha professionally and was a great friend of the order.

This is not the only example which shows that the authors or compilers of the Vinayapiṭaka sometimes got tired of the dry tone, and interspersed the enumeration of prohibitions

[1]) He passed as an authority on the diseases of children, and was called the "children's doctor." Cf. *Jolly*, Medicin (in Grundriss III, 10), p. 68. In later times, too, the Buddhists took an active interest in medical science. (*Jolly*, l.c, pp. 8 and 15 f.)

and regulations with narratives in lighter vein. Thus, for instance, as an introduction to the rules regarding the precedence of age among the monks, Buddha relates the following fable: [1]

"Long ago, O Bhikkhus, there was a great banyan tree on the lower slopes of the Himālaya range; and near it there dwelt three friends—a partridge, a monkey, and an elephant. And they dwelt together without mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy. Then, O Bhikkhus, it occurred to those friends, "Come now, let us find out which of us is the oldest by birth; and let us agree to honour and reverence and esteem and support him, and by his counsels let us abide." So, Bhikkhus, the partridge and the monkey asked the elephant,

"How far back can you, friend, remember?"

"Friends! when I was little I used to walk over this banyan tree, keeping it between my thighs, and its topmost twig brushed my stomach. So far back, friends, can I remember."

Then, O Bhikkhus, the partridge and the elephant asked the monkey (the same question).

"Friends, when I was little, sitting once on the ground, I gnawed at the then topmost twig of this banyan. So far back can I remember."

Then, O Bhikkhus, the monkey and the elephant asked the partridge (the same question).

"Friends! there was formerly a lofty banyan tree in yonder open space. One day after eating one of its fruits, I voided the seed here; and from that this banyan tree grew up. So I must be older than either of you."

Thereupon, O Bhikkus, the elephant and the monkey said to the partridge, "You, friend, are the oldest of us all. Henceforth we will honour and reverence and esteem and support you, and by your counsels will we abide."

Serious narratives, too, embodying the purest and most genuine Buddhist morality, are occasionally inserted; thus, the

---

[1]) Cullavagga, VI, 6, 3. Translated by *Rhys Davids* and *Oldenberg* in SBE, Vol. 20, p. 193 f.

touching story of Prince Dīghāvu (" Longlived "), who makes every effort to avenge the murder of his parents, but who, at the very moment when the murderer, King Brahmadatta, is entirely in his power, sheathes his already drawn sword and foregoes his revenge.[1] Finally, similes too, which play such a large part in the sermons and sayings, are not wanting in the Vinayapiṭaka. Thus, for example, in the Cullavagga (IX, 1, 3f.) in a carefully worked out simile, eight qualities of the ocean are compared with eight peculiarities of the Buddhist doctrine and discipline of the order. Here we meet with the oft-quoted sentence :

" Just as, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean has but *one* taste, the taste of salt, so, O Bhikkhus, this religion and discipline has but *one* taste, the taste of liberation."

The Vinayapiṭaka texts bear a certain resemblance to the Vedic Brāhmaṇas. In both cases we find " rule " (vidhi) and " explanation of meaning " (arthavāda) side by side, and to the latter belong, in both cases, narrative poems, which appear like oases in the desert of religious technicalities.[2]

The Parivāra, the last book of the Vinayapiṭaka, is an insignificant and much later production, probably only the work of a Singhalese monk.[3] This comprises nineteen shorter texts, catechisms, indices, appendices, lists, and so on, very similar to the Anukramaṇīs and Pariśiṣṭas of the Veda and Vedāṅga texts. They are in the form of questions and answers, just like the texts of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, which probably date from the same time.

---

[1]) Mahāvagga, X, 2, 3-20 ; SBE, Vol. 17, p. 293 ff. I do not think it very likely that the legend is influenced by the Biblical story of David and Saul (I Sam. 24) as is suggested by *Copleston*, Buddhism, p. 103 note.

[2]) See Vol. I, pp. 202 and 208.

[3]) SBE, Vol. 13, p. xxiv.

The Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon.

1. *The Speeches and Dialogues.*

Just as the Vinayapiṭaka is our best source for the Saṅgha, *i.e.*, the regulations of the ancient Buddhist order and the life of the monks, so the Suttapiṭaka is our most reliable source for the Dhamma, *i.e.*, the religion of Buddha and his earliest disciples. In the Suttapiṭaka, in the prose of the dialogues and narratives, as well as in sayings and songs, we also find—and this is our primary concern here—the greatest literary works which Buddhism has produced.

The Suttapiṭaka consists of five Nikāyas or "collections," [1] namely : (*i*) Dīghanikāya, (*ii*) Majjhimanikāya, (*iii*) Saṃyuttanikāya, (*iv*) Aṅguttaranikāya, and (*v*) Khuddakanikāya. The last-named comprises the following texts : 1. Khuddakapāṭha, 2. Dhammapada, 3. Udāna, 4. Itivuttaka, 5. Suttanipāta, 6. Vimānavatthu, 7. Petavatthu, 8. Theragāthā, 9. Therīgāthā, 10. Jātaka, 11. Niddesa, 12. Paṭisambhidāmagga, 13. Apadāna, 14. Buddhavaṃsa and 15. Cariyāpiṭaka.

The contents of the first four Nikāyas or "collections" consist of Suttas [2] or "discourses." These are eitherspeeches of the Buddha (sometimes also of one of his disciples), preceded only by a short introduction, in which is related where and on what occasion Buddha made the speech ;[3] or they are dialogues with outline narratives (Itihāsa-saṃvāda, Itihāsa dialogues) of the kind with which we have already become acquainted in the Upaniṣads and the Mahābhārata. The Suttas are,

---

[1]) According to Buddhaghosa (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 22 f.), however, it is the *whole Tipiṭaka* (not the Suttapiṭaka) which is divided into 5 Nikāyas, and he counts the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka with the Khuddakanikāya. Likewise Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886, p. 57).

[2]) The expression *Suttanta* is also often used for *Sutta*.

[3]) Hence the typical beginning of each Sutta with the words : "Thus I heard (evaṃ me sutaṃ) ; once the Lord sojourned, etc. (*e.g.*, in Sāvatthi in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍaka)."

however, as a rule, in prose form. Only here and there, in some of the Suttas, the prose is interrupted by verses (gāthās) which are partly quotations and partly interposed verses, such as were at all times popular in Indian literature for elevating the prose at particularly striking passages.[1]

1. The Dīghanikāya, "the collection of the long sermons,"[2] consists of 34 Suttas of considerable length, each of which deals minutely with one or more points of the doctrine, and could equally well be regarded as an independent work. The whole work is divided into three books, which differ in contents and character, but all of which contain earlier and later strata of tradition.[3] The earliest stratum is represented principally in the first book, and the later one mainly in the third book, whilst the second book is composed of the longest Suttas, some of which have grown to their present bulk owing to interpolations.[4] In form, too, the Suttas are by no means homogeneous. Whilst all the Suttas in Book I and a number of Suttas in Books II and III are written entirely in prose,

---

[1]) For instance, when stanzas are introduced by the words: "Here the following is said" (tatth' etaṃ vuccati) they are self-evidently quotations (*e.g.*, in Dīghanikāya 30). On the other hand, when significant words in verse form are put in the mouth of Buddha, and these verses begin with such sentences as "Thus spake the Master" or "The Lord addressed him in the following verses" (*e.g.*, Dīghanikāya 31; Majjhimanikāya 7, Vol. I, p. 39; 34, Vol. I, p. 34), we may take it that they are verses composed by the author of the Sutta himself: at least this would generally be the case, for in ancient India no clearly defined distinction was ever made between one's own literary work and that others.

[2]) Edited by T. W. *Rhys Davids* and J. E. *Carpenter*, London PTS, Vols. I, 1890, II 1903, III, 1911; translated by *Rhys Davids*, Dialogues of the Buddha, I–III=SBB, Vols. II–IV, 1899, 1910, 1921; into German by K. E. *Neumann*, München 1907-1918. Selections are translated by *Rhys Davids* in SBE, Vol. 11, 1 ff., 158 ff., 235 ff.; into German by R. O. *Franke*, Göttingen 1913, and P. *Dahlke*, Suttapiṭaka II, Berlin, 1920.

[3]) Cf. P. V. *Bapat* in Ann. Bh. Inst. VIII, 1926, p. 1 ff.

[4]) Book I is called Sīlakkhandhavagga after its contents (it treats of sīla, "virtue"), Book II is called Mahāvagga after its bulk (it contains mostly Suttas, the titles of which begin with mahā,—"great"), Book III is called Pāṭikavagga, *i.e.*, "the section beginning with the Pāṭika-Sutta."

there are many Suttas in Books II and III written in a mixture of prose and verse, a form so popular in India. The verses are either ballad verses (as in Nos. 16, 18, 19, 21) or momentous utterances (as in Nos. 16, 17). Elsewhere we find (as in Nos. 30, 31) a constant interchange between prose and gāthās, such as we shall frequently come across in the Sanskrit and half-Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Suttas Nos. 20 and 32 are almost entirely in verse.

The majority of Suttas in Book I deal with ethical questions, more especially with virtue (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and insight (paññā) which lead to the state of an arhat, the ideal of the devout life. The ethical doctrines of Buddha are frequently set up controversially as against the teachings of the Brahmans and of other masters. The very first Sutta the Brahmajāla-Sutta, the "discourse on the Brahman-net," is of first-rate importance from the point of view of the history of religion, not only for Buddhism, but for the entire religious life and thought of ancient India.[1] In connection with the rules for the moral conduct of his disciples, Buddha here enumerates in long lists all kinds of occupations, conversations, modes of life and thought of the Brahmans and ascetics, from which the Buddhist monk is to keep aloof. There are Brahmans and ascetics who accumulate riches, who delight in dances, musical entertainments, dramatic performances and games of all kinds (the ethnologist finds here an interesting enumeration of popular amusements); others, who indulge in every possible luxury; others again, who earn their livelihood by sacrifices, divination and magic (we find here a catalogue which is most instructive from the point of view of Indian folk-lore); and finally, many who yield themselves up

---

[1]) For this see *Rhys Davids*, Buddhism, American Lectures, 2nd Ed., 1904, p. 30 ff., and F. O. *Schrader*, Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas, Strassburg 1902, p. 8 ff. At the conclusion the Sutta calls itself a Veyyākaraṇa ("commentary," " exposition ")

to every imaginable speculation upon being and non-being, on the beginning and the end of the world, on the soul, its nature and its history—no less then 62 different philosophical views are here enumerated. From all these things the disciple of Buddha is to keep aloof. As a skilful fisherman catches all the fish, great and small, when he casts a fine-meshed net into a pond, so Buddha knows how to "catch" in the "Brahman-net" all sophists and philosophers, and to prove their doctrines and speculations to be worthless and obstacles to true salvation.

The second Sutta, too, the Sāmañña-phala-Sutta, "the discourse on the reward of asceticism," is a valuable piece of evidence for ancient Indian life and thought at the time of Buddha; for it acquaints us with the views of a whole series of prominent non-Buddhist teachers and founders of sects. A most vivid description of the visit of King Ajātasattu to Buddha forms the introduction to this dialogue.[1] For the history of the Indian caste system and the attitude of Buddha towards the problem of caste, the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta (No. 3) is of the utmost importance. Owing to its references to the history of the Sakya race and to the Ṛṣi Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇha), a mythological, and perhaps even historical interest, is attached to this Sutta. Suttas No. 5, the Kūṭadanta-Sutta, "the discourse on (the Brahman) Sharp-tooth," [2] and No. 13, the Tevijja-Sutta, "the discourse on the knowers of the three Vedas," in which with refined, but absolutely inoffensive irony, Buddha ridicules the Brahmanical cult with its bloody sacrifices and the striving of the Veda-knower for union with the Brahman, and contrasts with them Buddhist "sacrifices" and ideals of

[1]) According to *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, AGGW XVI, 6, 1917, p. 40 note, this introduction is an imitation of the Yājñavalkya dialogue in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad IV, 1. However, inspite of the similarity, this seems doubtful to me.

[2]) In this Sutta as in No. 17 (Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta), we find the Jātaka type.

life, are eminently instructive regarding the relation between the old and the new faith, Brahmanism and Buddhism. The fundamental doctrine of Buddhist philosophy of the interconnection of causes, is treated in No. 15, the Mahānidāna-Sutta, "the great discourse on causes." One of the most important duties of the Buddhist monk is "mindfulness." The four kinds of mindfulness are treated in No. 22, the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta, "the great discourse on the kinds of mindfulness." It also deals with the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, and closes with a detailed presentation of the "four noble truths."[1] For Buddhist ethics from a popular point of view, one of the most important texts in the Pāli Canon is No. 29, the Sigālovāda-Sutta, "the sermon: the exhortation of Sigāla," in which the entire domestic and social duties of the Buddhist layman are presented in detail.[2]

That Sutta of the Dīghanikāya which is the most important in every respect is No. 16, the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, "the great discourse on the perfect Nirvāṇa of (Buddha)," [3] which differs essentially in form and contents from all the other Suttas. It is neither a dialogue nor a speech on one or more chief points of doctrine, but a continuous record of the latter part of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings, and his death. The oldest parts of this extensive record surely belong to the oldest part of the Tipiṭaka and to the earliest beginnings of a poetic treatment of the life of Buddha. It is remarkable that in the Pāli Canon there is no biography of the Buddha; but the beginnings of one are to be found partly

[1]) This conclusion is absent in the Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya (No. 10). F. *Heiler*, Die buddhistische Versenkung, 2nd Ed., München, 1923, p. 13, calls this Sutta "the exercise manual of the Buddhist monk."

[2]) Cf. R. C. *Childers*, Ind. Ant. 12, 1883, p. 23 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhism (SPCK), p. 143 ff., and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, SBB, Vol. IV, p. 168 ff.

[3]) Translated by *Rhys Davids*, SBE, Vol. 11 and SBB, Vol. II, 78 ff., into German by J. *Dutoit*, Leben des Buddha, p. 221 ff., K. E. *Neumann*, München, 1911, R. O. *Franke*,

in the Vinayapiṭaka,[1] and partly in the Suttapiṭaka. It is quite comprehensible that the memory of the latter part of the Master's life and of his last speeches was most firmly impressed on the minds of the disciples of Buddha, and that these have been preserved and handed down with loving fidelity. I do not hesitate to see the beginnings of a Buddha biography in the oldest parts of this Sutta, though there are only few passages in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta which can be regarded as really ancient and original. For, the Sutta is by no means a unified work, but is composed of parts which belong to different ages. At a very early period—probably soon after the death of Buddha—there must already have been a short "Sutta of the perfect Nirvāna (of the Buddha)," which, by means of interpolations and additions, grew longer and longer in course of time, till it became the "*great* Sutta of the perfect Nirvāṇa" which we now have in our Pāli Canon. Such passages as those in the second section, where the story is related of the first illness of Buddha, which befell him at Beḷuva, and which he overcame by the strength of his will, where he assures Ānanda that he is not one of those teachers "with the closed fist," who keep something for themselves, but that he has proclaimed the whole truth, and where he disclaims the idea that he should ever have wished to pose as a leader of the community, are surely ancient and original. The order, he says, had never been dependent upon him and would therefore not be "without a leader" even after his departure, if it would only be guided by the religion he had proclaimed. "Therefore, Ānanda, be your own lights! Be your own refuge! Hold steadfastly to the religion as your light, hold steadfastly to the religion as your refuge!" Equal

---

Dīghanikāya, 179 ff., H. *Beckh*, Stuttgart, 1925. Extracts from it have been translated in all books on Buddhism. *Cf.* also E. *Müller*, JRAS, 1913, 1087 ff. ; H. *Kern*. OZ II, 1913-14, 229 f. ; P. *Oltramare* in RHR 66, 1912, 118 ff., *Eliot* I, 161 ff.

[1]) See above, p. 27f.

antiquity and originality can most probably be claimed for the passage in the fifth section, in which we read how Ānanda, no longer able to control his grief at the approaching departure of the Master, goes out and stands weeping, leaning against the doorpost, whereupon the Buddha has him called back, and tells him the most kindly words of consolation and of recognition of his loving attachment. The verses, too, which are scattered in the Sutta, bear the stamp of the greatest antiquity. Some of them contain significant sayings of the Buddha and his disciples, and others effectively emphasize the most striking events of the narrative.[1] While, in all these passages, Buddha speaks entirely as man to man, we see him, in other parts of the same text, performing miracles like a demigod or a magician ; indeed, he boasts of his magic power, by means of which he could, if he only desired it, prolong his life till the end of an age of the world, and reproaches Ānanda because the latter had not understood the hint at the given time and implored him, Buddha, to live on (III, 34-47). Buddha's resolve to die causes an earthquake, and he avails himself of the opportunity to enumerate the eight causes of an earthquake, and to follow it up by the enumeration of other things, likewise eight in number (III, 11-33). These are additions and insertions of epigones, who no longer felt even a breath of the spirit which had inspired the authors of the ancient record. In most cases, moreover, it is not difficult to point out the sources whence the additions came; for large portions of the Sutta, all together amounting to almost the whole Sutta, recur in other texts of the Tipiṭaka and are obviously borrowed from them.[2] Nevertheless all the

[1]) *Copleston* (Buddhism, pp. 46, 53) is of the opinion that this Sutta is based on an earlier epic poem, from which these stanzas were taken. I rather think that these verses are the *first beginnings* of a poetical version of the life of Buddha (in the form of *sacred ballads*).

[2]) However, in some cases, passages were originally in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, and thence found their way into other texts. The parallel texts have been collected by

interpolations and extensions have not succeeded in destroying the character of this text, which recalls our gospels more than any other text of the Tipiṭaka.

It is evident that it was a favourite practice to utilise this famous and popular Sutta for inserting especially important texts into it, with a view to enhance their prestige by this means; thus, for instance, also the Dhammādāsa, or "mirror of religion," the solemn confession of faith in the Buddha, the doctrine and the community, was inserted.[1] The final redaction of the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta can nevertheless only be of comparatively late date; for one passage speaks of the transmission and authority of the Suttas and of the Vinaya texts;[2] and in the concluding section of the Sutta, mention is even made of Buddha relics [3] and the erection of Stūpas, *i.e.*, the same Buddha who, in the beautiful dialogue with Ānanda, still stood before us as a simple man and teacher, already appears here as the object of a cult, which is not attested by monuments until the time of Aśoka.

Whilst the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta is a mosaic composed of earlier and later pieces, other Suttas belong entirely to a

---

Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, II, p. 72. It is only by comparing the Pāli text minutely with the Sanskrit texts, in which fragments of a Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra have come down to us, and with the Tibetan and Chinese translations, that we can discern which parts of the Sutta are ancient and genuine. Cf. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, p. 33 ff., *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 1898, p. 628, J. S. *Speyer*, ZDMG 53, 1899, p. 121 ff., J. *Edkins*, JRAS 1881, p. 66 ff. For the Chinese translation of the Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtras. Carlo *Puini*, in GSAI 21, 1908, 59 ff.; 22, 1909, p. 1 ff. For a comparative study of the different Parinirvāṇa texts see M. *Przyluski* in JA 1918-1920, s. II, t. XI, 485 ff.; XII, 401 ff.; XV, 5 ff.

[1]) II, 8-10. Cf. Saṃyuttanikāya 55, 8 (Vol. V, p. 357) and Theragāthā 395, H. *Baynes* has published an enlarged form of the Dhammādāsa, as it is still recited at the present day at the Pāṭimokkha (WZKM 10, 1896, 242 ff.).

[2]) IV, 7-11, Dīgha, Vol. II, p. 123 ff.; cf. Aṅguttara-Nikāya, IV, 180 (Vol. II, 167 ff.) and *Copleston*, Buddhism, p. 45. In IV, 10 f. (Vol. II, p. 125) the knowers of the Mātikās are also mentioned (s. above p. 11, note 3).

[3]) Cf. J. F. *Fleet*, JRAS 1906, 657 ff., who (l. c. 667 ff.) tries to prove that the Sutta could not have been composed before 375 B. C. I believe that the final redaction must be placed a good deal later.

later stratum of tradition. The Suttas (especially in Book I) in which Buddha appears as a human teacher only, cannot possibly have been written at the same time as the Mahā-Apadāna-Sutta (No. 14), "the great discourse on the miracles (of Buddha)" in which the dogma of the six Buddhas,[1] who are said to have been the precursors of Gotama Buddha, is already taught, and in which the entire Buddha legend, adorned by numerous miracles, especially all the miracles of the conception and birth of Buddha, is recited.[2] The Lakkhaṇa-Sutta (No. 30) also belongs to the same stratum of tradition. This Sutta enumerates the 32 signs of a "great man"; the man who has these physical marks, must become either a ruler of the world, or a saviour of the world, a Buddha. There is no doubt that Buddha, like the majority of his contemporaries, believed that by continued meditation one could attain to all sorts of supernatural powers (iddhis) and become a kind of superman. However, he expressly declared it unworthy of a monk and dangerous for the doctrine, to attempt to exert influence over a layman by means of magic of this nature, rather than by means of teaching and persuasion, and the "miracle of instruction."[3] For this reason it is certain that the main portion of the Pāṭika-Sutta (No. 24) in which Buddha not only takes part in a miracle-working competition with other ascetics, but also boasts grandiloquently of his marvellous powers, represents a

---

[1]) It is perhaps more than mere coincidence that, in this Sutta, Buddha Vipassi's favourite pupil is named Aśoka.

[2]) There is absolutely no foundation for the supposition of L. A. *Waddell* (JRAS 1914, 661 ff.) that the title of the Sutta was originally Mahā-Padhāna-Sutta, "Sutta of the highest being." However, he may be right in saying that this Sutta and the Lalitavistara can be traced back to a common source, and that the Sutta corresponds to the tradition of about the 3rd to the 1st century B. C.

[3]) Kevadha-Sutta (No. 11), Vol. I, p. 214. Similarly in No. 28 (Vol. III, p. 112 f.). In the Vinayapiṭaka (Culla. V, 8, 2) it is declared as a Dukkaṭa offence for a monk to perform miracles before laymen for the sake of worldly gain. A monk who does this, is compared to a woman who displays her charms for money.

later stage of the tradition. As a matter of fact, this Sutta is a very miserable compilation, in which only the beginning is ancient, and all the rest is an inferior admixture.[1]

The semi-poetical and mythological Suttas, Nos. 17-21, probably also belong to the later stage of the tradition. Just as in the Purāṇas and in some sectarian sections of the epic, Indra is presented as paying homage to the god Śiva or Viṣṇu, so, in these Suttas, which *Rhys Davids*[2] so aptly calls "Tendenzschriften," *i.e.*, 'pamphlets with a purpose,' we find Indra and the other gods and demi-gods as devout worshippers of Buddha. The most interesting is the Sakkapañha-Sutta (No. 21), "the Sutta of the questions of Sakka." Sakka, *i.e.*, Indra, king of the gods, scarcely dares to approach the sublime Buddha. He first sends one of his Gandharvas, or heavenly musicians, in advance, in order to put the sublime sage into a favourable frame of mind, and strangely enough the Gandharva does this by singing a love-song.[3] Needless to say, Buddha receives the god with his habitual friendliness, expounds the truths of religion to him, and replies to all his questions, whereupon Sakka bursts forth into an enthusiastic hymn of praise to the Sublime One. The Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Sutta (No. 26), which mentions Buddha Metteyya, the Buddhist Messiah, and must, if only for that reason, be a later work, is a kind of mythological story of the origin of moral ideas, and is a remarkable medley of vision, prophecy and sermon. The first beginnings (aggañña) are treated in still greater detail in the Aggañña-Sutta (No. 27). These fancies regarding the origin of the universe and the beings, and regarding the beginnings of culture and social order are also reminiscent of the Purāṇas. Nevertheless, the purpose

---

[1]) Cf. Friedrich *Weller* in Asia Major I, p. 620 ff.

[2]) SBB, Vol. III, p. 298.

[3]) It appears that a fragment of an ancient non-Buddhist poem has been worked into the Sutta here.

of this Sutta is the same as that of the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta, namely, to demonstrate that the life of the saints (arhat) and the attainment of Nirvāṇa are independent of caste.

One of the best dialogues in the Dīghanikāya is No. 23, the Pāyāsi-Sutta, the dialogue between the unbelieving chieftain Pāyāsi, who denies the soul and the Beyond, and the monk Kumāra Kassapa. While elsewhere in the "dialogues" of the Suttapiṭaka the person who takes the secondary part in the conversation mostly interrupts the principal speaker, who is usually the Buddha himself, only with words of assent, the Pāyāsi-Sutta is a real, lively dialogue, which sometimes recalls the Platonic dialogues. However, even this Sutta is not original, but is an Itihāsa dialogue enlarged to its disadvantage, which has been borrowed from another sect.[1] The last three Suttas also serve to indicate that the final redaction of the Dīghanikāya must have been completed at a late date: these are the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta, which is merely an incantation to ward off snakes and demons, and the Saṅgīti and the Dasuttara-Sutta, which are written after the style of the Aṅguttaranikāya, and which, like the texts of the Abhidhamma, which they resemble in contents, are in the form of a catechism.[2]

To anyone who has followed this survey of the contents of the Dīghanikāya, it will scarcely be credible that a prominent Pāli scholar[3] attempts to prove that this text should be regarded as "a literary work which was drawn up as a

---

[1]) Kumāra Kassapa wants to prove to Pāyāsi that there is a soul, and yet we know that Buddha himself denies the existence of a soul substance. We also find a version of this dialogue among the Jains. Probably both sects borrowed it from an earlier source. Dhammapāla says (in his commentary on the Vimānavatthu) that this dialogue was written subsequently to the death of Buddha and the erection of a stūpa over his ashes, s. *Rhys Davids*, SBB, Vol. III, p. 347.

[2]) A text corresponding to the Saṅgīti-Sutta, entitled Saṅgītiparyāya, appears among the Sarvāstivādins as a book of the Abhidharmapiṭaka. Cf. J. *Takakusu*, JPTS 1904-5, p. 99 ff.

[3]) R. O. *Franke*, ZDMG 67, 1913, 409 ff.; WZKM 27, 1913, 198 ff., 276 ff.; Dīghanikāya, p. x ff.

uniform whole."[1] It is a matter of course that the compiler or the committee of compilers were desirous of arranging the Suttas according to some principle, classing together such Suttas as seemed to belong together by reason of association of ideas or wording;[2] but this does not prove that the whole work is the work of *one* author. When the same scholar seeks to trace a uniform idea underlying the whole of the Dīghanikāya, namely, that Gotama Buddha was a Tathāgata, *i.e.*, that he had trodden the path of salvation in order to encourage his disciples to tread the same path, and that the doctrine of the path leading to liberation or Nirvāṇa is the nucleus of the work, it is merely saying in other words that the alleged author wished to present the tenets of the Buddha on the ideal life. Now this comprises practically all Buddha's teaching, and therefore, in this way, one could puzzle out a "uniform underlying idea" in all the texts of the Tipiṭaka dealing with the Dhamma, and claim that they are the work of *one* author.[3]

If, as we have shown, the Dīghanikāya is composed of earlier and later portions, it cannot be the earliest work of the Canon, as *Franke* endeavours to prove,[4] and there is no justification for the attempt to construct "the doctrine of Buddha in its earliest accessible form" from the Dīghanikāya. It is only by comparing *all* the ancient Buddhist texts, which are scattered in the *various* collections, that we can attempt

---

[1]) Dīghanikāya, p. xlii.

[2]) However, in the Chinese translation of the Dīrghāgama, the Sūtras are arranged in an entirely different order from that in which they appear in the Dīghanikāya; cf. M. *Anesaki* in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXV, part 3, 1908, p. 35 ff. The fact is that the compiler of the Sanskrit version arranged the material in a different way.

[3]) *Franke's* view is also repudiated by *Oldenberg* (AR 17, 1914, 626 f.), C. A. F. *Rhys Davids* (JRAS 1914, 459 ff.), *Geiger* (Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 11 f.) and *Eliot* I, 278 n. 1.

[4]) ZDMG 69, 1915, 455 ff.; 71, 1917, 50 ff.

to reconstruct the doctrine of Buddha in its earliest accessible form.

II. The Majjhimanikāya, "the collection of the medium-sized Suttas," [1] consists of 152 speeches and dialogues, which differ from those of the Dīghanikāya only in being, on the whole, shorter. But in this collection, too, each Sutta forms a complete whole, and they are as different in kind as they are in value. The great number of the Suttas is one reason for their contents being much more varied than that of the Dīghanikāya. We find in them discourses on almost all the points of the religion of Buddha, on the four noble truths, on the Karman, the vanity of desires, the objectionableness of the belief in a soul, Nirvāṇa, the various kinds of meditation, and so on. Though these discussions are often only tedious sermons, they frequently have the popular and agreeable form of dialogues with a long or short introduction, or a frame story (Itihāsa dialogues). Instruction by means of similes is a favourite device, whether *one* simile is spun out through an entire speech, or whether a whole series of similes runs through a speech in order to impress one and the same doctrine again and again. Myths and legends, too, are related for the sake of introducing some doctrine or other, as in No. 37, where the visit of Moggallāna, the renowned disciple of Buddha, to Indra's heaven is described. The monk Moggallāna, with his great toe, causes the whole heavenly palace to shake [2]—a trait strongly reminiscent of the Brahmanical legends of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Some of the frame narratives give the impression of actual events as, for instance, the story of Pukkusāti, who desires admission into

[1]) Ed. by V. *Trenckner* and R. *Chalmers*, London PTS 1888-1902. Translated by Lord *Chalmers*, Further Dialogues of the Buddha in SBB, Vols. V and VI, 1926-27; into German by K. E. *Neumann*. Selections translated by T. W. *Rhys Davids* in SBE, Vol. II, and (into German) by P. *Dahlke*, Suttapiṭaka, Vol. III, Berlin, 1923.

[2]) A trick which is again alluded to, in No. 50.

the order, and, while he goes to fetch a cloak and a begging bowl, is killed by a cow (No. 140), in which connection Buddha inculcates the lesson that this man attained Nirvāṇa, in spite of not having been a monk. There is, again the story of the monk Channa (No. 144), who was overtaken by a serious illness, and who took his own life by opening a vein, which Buddha approves. Suicide, he says, is blameworthy if by that means one merely desires to gain another body (in a new re-birth), but not if one enters Nirvāṇa. The beautiful Assalāyana-Sutta (No. 93) strikes us, as though taken from the actual life of the time of Buddha. Gotama's doctrine of the "purity of all the four castes" must have been very awkward for the proud Brahmans. Such dialogues about the problem of caste, as that between the young Brahman Assalāyana and Gotama Buddha, must frequently have occurred in real life. The reasoning against the caste claims of the Brahmans is excellent. Assalāyana says to Buddha:

"The Brahmans, Lord Gotama, say thus: The Brahmans alone are the best caste, every other caste is low; the Brahmans alone are the white caste, every other caste is black, only the Brahmans become pure, not the non-Brahmans: only the Brahmans are the actual sons of the god Brahman, produced out of his mouth, begotten by Brahman, formed by Brahman, heirs of Brahman. What does the Lord Gotama say to that?"

Thereupon Buddha asks Assalāyana a series of questions which the latter is compelled to answer in the affirmative, thereby admitting that the statements of the Brahmans are unfounded. He says, for example:

"What dost thou think, Assalāyana? Suppose that an anointed king of the warrior race causes a hundred men of different castes to be assembled together; men shall come from the families of warriors, of Brahmans, of the nobility, and they shall take an upper friction-stick from a Sāl tree or Salaḷa tree or sandal tree or Padmaka tree,[1] produce a fire by turning

[1]) Various kinds of fine wood.

it (in the lower friction-stick) and bring forth a flame. And there shall come men from the families of Caṇḍālas, hunters, basket-makers, chariot-builders, Pukkusas,[1] and they shall take an upper friction-stick from a dog's trough, or a hog's trough, or a washing trough, or a stick of ricinus wood, produce a fire through turning, and bring forth a flame."[2] Now, will the fire that the warriors, Brahmans, *etc.*, have produced with the fine wood have flame, brightness and light, and will this fire be useful for all fire purposes? And will the fire which the Caṇḍālas, hunters, *etc.*, have produced with wood from the dog's trough, *etc.*, have no flame, no brightness and no light, and will this fire not be useful for all fire purposes? Assalāyana naturally has to reply that there is no difference between the two kinds of fire, and Gotama concludes that it is the same with the castes."[3]

Some of the Suttas, however, are neither dialogues nor sermons, but simply narratives. Thus No. 86 is a regular old Ākhyāna, telling, in prose and verse, the tale of the terrible robber Aṅgulimāla, who became a monk and rose to be an Arhat (a saint who has attained to Nirvāṇa even in this life)—a valuable piece of ancient Buddhist poetry. Another Sutta (No. 83) tells the legend (recurring in the Jātakas) of King Makhādeva who, at the appearance of the first grey hair, gives up the reigns of government, and becomes a monk. One of the most splendid passages of this kind is the Raṭṭhapāla-Sutta (No. 82). In beautiful old ballad-style, the following—I give only a short extract—is related:

The young prince Raṭṭhapāla desires to become a monk. His parents absolutely refuse to consent, but, by refusing to take any food, he compels them to give their permission. Years later, he returns as a monk to his native town, and begs at the door of his parents' home. His father does not recognise him, and drives him from the threshold with abuse. "By these shaven monks," he cries, "our only dearly beloved son was induced to renounce the world." Meanwhile the nurse comes out to throw

---

[1]) Sanskrit Pukkaśas, a very low caste.

[2]) Abridged from here.

[3]) Majjhimanikāya, Vol. II, p. 151 ff. A discussion on the caste problem is also to be found in Sutta No. 84. Cf. R. *Chalmers*, JRAS 1894, p. 341 ff.

away some scraps of food. The mendicant monk begs for these scraps for his meal. Then the servant recognises him as the son of the house, and announces this to her master. The latter comes out and invites his son to enter the house. The latter politely declines, saying " Not so, I have already dined to-day." However, he accepts an invitation for the next day. His father prepares for him not only a meal, but heaps up gold and ornaments in the dining-room, and instructs the former wives of Raṭṭhapāla to adorn themselves. The next day he is received splendidly, and his father offers him all the jewels and treasures. But Raṭṭhapāla only says: " If you want to follow my advice, father, then load all the gold and ornaments on a cart and throw it into the Ganges where it is deepest. And why ? Because nothing but pain and misery, wretchedness and sufferings will arise out of it." Neither will he have anything to do with the women, who throw themselves coaxingly at his feet. After he has finished his meal, he goes his way. Then he meets the king of the Kuru-land, who says that he can understand that a person who has become old or ill or poor or has lost his relatives becomes a monk, but he cannot understand why one who is young, happy and healthy should renounce the world. Raṭṭhapāla answers him in a speech on the vanity of existence and the insatiableness of desire, and convinces the Kuru-king in a Socratic dialogue, of the truth of the doctrine of Buddha.

Besides such magnificent compositions, we find sermons as dry as dust in which a series of technical expressions or a fundamental doctrine is explained in catechism style, *e. g.*, Nos. 43 and 44.[1] Some of these Suttas (*e. g.*, Nos. 127, 137, 140, 148, 151) have completely adopted the style of the enumerations of the Aṅguttaranikāya and of the definitions and classifications of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. The above-mentioned Ākhyānas, in which the narrative proceeds vividly in a mixture of prose and verse, are very different from Suttas like No. 116, where a bare list of Paccekabuddhas (hermit-Buddhas who have attained

[1]) These two Suttas, which are called respectively the " great " and " small " Vedalla-Sutta, have nothing in common, beyond the question and answer form. It seems that the unexplained expression " vedalla " refers precisely to this form. Cf. above, p. 10, and C. A. *Foley* (Mrs. Rhys Davids), JRAS 1894, p. 321 ff.

enlightenment without proclaiming it to the world) is given first in prose and immediately afterwards in verse. This kind of mixture of prose and verse, which we came across occasionally in the Dīghanikāya also, belongs to a much later type, which we shall meet again in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

Apart from the fact that the Suttas of the Majjhimanikāya give us the best idea of the ancient Buddhist religion and the teaching methods of Buddha and his first disciples, we also value them because they afford us many an interesting glimpse of the every-day life of that ancient time, not only of the life of the monks themselves (as in Nos. 5, 21, 22, etc.) but of that of the other classes of the people too. Thus No. 51 gives us a good survey of the Brahmanical system of sacrifice, and valuable hints concerning the connection between bloody sacrifices, and government and priesthood. We repeatedly meet with enumerations of different kinds of ascetic practices which were popular in ancient India. In Nos. 12 and 14 we find a veritable pattern-card of ascetic abominations, and also in Suttas Nos. 40, 45, 51 and 60 we make the acquaintance of all sorts of queer saints of various sects. At that time there were, for instance, "dog-ascetics," and "ox-ascetics," whose asceticism consisted in feeding and living exactly after the manner of dogs and oxen. In reply to the question as to what will become of these ascetics in their future existence, Buddha replies that in the best case, the "dog-ascetic" might be re-born as a dog and the "ox-ascetic" as an ox, but that, just as likely they might both find themselves in hell. Several Suttas are of historical significance as throwing light on the relation of Buddha to the sect of the Jains, especially the Upāli-Sutta (No. 56),[1] but also Nos. 57, 101 and 104.

[1]) Treated in detail by Léon *Feer* in OC VI, Leyden, 1883, t. III, 67 ff., RHR t. 13, 1886, 74 ff. and JA 1887, s. 8. t. IX, 309 ff.; 1888, s. 8, t. XI, 113 ff, 123 ff. and t. XI, 209 ff. Cf. also R. *Chalmers* in JRAS 1895, p. 665 f.

No. 76 is of great interest, because it throws light on the relation of Buddha to the doctrines of other masters, especially free-thinkers and sophists, of his day. There are also occasional references to all kinds of superstitions, to social and legal conditions. Thus in No. 13, we find an enumeration of cruel punishments; Sutta 38 records all sorts of strange ideas upon birth and education of children, Nos. 28 and 37 throw light on the relationship between daughter-in-law and father-in-law, and so on.

In point of time the separate Suttas are often far removed from one another. While in some Suttas of the Majjhima-nikāya, as in the ancient parts of the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, the Buddha appears purely as man and teacher, and only speaks of himself as of an ordinary mortal, who has gained certain knowledge, and who looks forward to entering into complete Nirvāṇa, and while, for instance in Suttas 26 and 36,[1] he relates in simple language a part of his auto-biography, free from all miracles, in other Suttas (*e.g.*, No. 12) all kinds of magic powers and absolutely divine qualities are ascribed to Buddha. In the "Sutta of the astonishing events and miracles" (No. 123) the conception and birth of the Bodhisatta is described with all the miracles as they are known in the Buddha legend of the later non-canonical works (Nidānakathā, Lalitavistara, etc.), and as we have already found them in the Mahā-Apadāna-Sutta of the Dīghanikāya.[2] It is not rare in the Suttas for the Buddha, or even a saint like Moggallāna, to disappear, and "as a strong man stretches out his contracted arm or contracts his outstretched arm," to appear suddenly in the world of the

[1]) In the same way, Aṅguttaranikāya, III, 38.

[2]) See above, p. 42. According to *Windisch*, Buddhas Geburt, p. 104, Majjh. 123 is merely a shorter version of the Mahā-Apadāna-Sutta. There is, indeed, a most striking agreement between the two, except that Dīghanikāya 14 tells of the birth of Buddha Vipassi. On the importance of the Sutta Majjh. 123 in the development of the Buddha legend in the later texts, cf. *Windisch*, l. c., p. 107 ff.

gods or in Brahman's heaven (*e.g.*, Nos. 37, 49 and often elsewhere). One Sutta (No. 49) claims to prove absolutely that Buddha is mighty and exalted above all gods, even above the highest Brahman. Though in most of the speeches Buddha appears as the spokesman, yet in some of them disciples of Buddha are the principal speakers (*e.g.*, Nos. 15, 43 and 44). Not infrequently one of the disciples answers a question, but then lets Buddha confirm the corrrectness of the reply (*e.g.*, No. 126). However, the fiction that all the Suttas originated during the life-time of Buddha is not always maintained. Thus, in Nos. 84 and 94, in answer to the question where Buddha is now, a disciple receives the reply: "He has attained complete Nirvāṇa." Sutta No. 108 is immediately connected with the death of Buddha, Ānanda being asked whether, before his death, Buddha had not appointed a monk as the chief of the monastic community. Ānanda replies in the negative, but declares that the community is not, on that account, "without refuge," for the religion (dhamma) is its refuge,[1] and discipline shall be maintained in the community by the Pāṭimokkha ceremony[2] which was instituted by the Master. This, we may observe, is a Sutta concerned with the discipline of the order (vinaya) rather than with the religion (dhamma); this is also the case in other Suttas (*e.g.*, Nos. 103, 104 and 142).[3]

Whether, from the different methods by which certain points of the doctrine are treated in the Suttas, conclusions may be drawn as to their early or late composition—that

---

[1]) Obviously an allusion to the famous passage in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, see above p. 39. Cf. also C. A. F. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1902, p. 476 f.

[2]) See above p. 22 ff.

[3]) K. E. *Neumann*, Reden Gotamo Buddhas III, Introduction, has based on this hypothesis that the Vinaya was originally included in the Suttapiṭaka and only took shape as an independent Vinayapiṭaka later. According to R. O. *Franke* (WZKM 29, 1915, p. 136) the Majjhimanikāya is "the very earliest work of the Vinaya literature," and he points out many passages (l. c., 139 ff.) in which the Majjh. speaks of the Vinaya.

must remain an open question.[1] For instance, the coarse presentation of the doctrine of Karman in Suttas Nos. 129 f., and 135 f., where the torments of hell are described with a minuteness which finds its counterpart in the descriptions of hell in the Purāṇas, may indicate a later date of composition. But it is also possible, that even in earlier times a more popular conception of the doctrine of Karman may have existed by the side of the purely philosophical one. The fact that the order already had a certain past history when the Majjhimanikāya was compiled, is indicated by a passage in No. 65, in which it is said that "formerly" there were fewer precepts and more monks, whereas "now" there are more precepts and fewer monks. The mention of the Yona-Kambojas in the Assalāyana-Sutta (No. 93) points to the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire, that is, to the period shortly before Aśoka.

Suttas Nos. 41 and 42 may be taken as significant of the manner in which the collection originated. The latter, with the exception of a short introduction, is literally identical with No. 41. Elsewhere, too, the same sermons or dialogues recur, only in a different setting. Thus, for example, Nos. 132-134 are only different versions of one and the same sermon. These are probably sermons which were actually delivered by the monks;[2] if nothing better occurred to him, a monk would repeat an already existing sermon with slight alterations. The collectors then collected *everything*, from the lips of any preacher, on which they could possibly lay hands.[3]

---

[1]) Cf. C. A. F. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1902, 474 f.

[2]) We read in Sutta No. 115 that these sermons had certain titles (and the same sermons frequently had several titles). Aśoka also alludes to these titles of separate sermons, in his Bhabrū edict. See above, p. 16.

[3]) R. O. *Franke* has tried to trace a uniform fundamental idea and associations of thought underlying the various Suttas in the Majjhimanikāya too (WZKM 29, 1915, 134 ff.; ZDMG 68, 1914, 473 ff.) with a view to proving from it, that this book, too, is

III. The third great collection is the Saṃyuttanikāya,[1] "the Collection of Grouped Discourses." It consists of 56 groups (saṃyutta) of Suttas, each of which, in connection with a certain name or object, deals with various points of the doctrine. This, then, is not actually a division according to subjects, but only a feeble attempt at one. Thus the Devatā-Saṃyutta (I), contains sayings of deities (devatā), but the sayings refer to the most diverse subjects. The Māra-Saṃyutta (IV), consists of 25 Suttas, each of which relates a legend in which Māra the tempter appears in order to induce Buddha himself, or one of his disciples, to depart from the doctrine of salvation, in which he always fails. The Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta (V), contains ten legends of nuns (bhikkhunī), whom Māra vainly tries to lure to apostasy. The Nidāna-Saṃyutta (XII), consists of 92 speeches and conversations, all of which, with endless repetitions, deal with the subject of the twelve Nidānas or the concatenation of causes and effects (paṭiccasamuppāda). The Anamatagga-Saṃyutta (XV), contains twenty speeches, of which all begin with the words: "The beginning of this Saṃsāra, O monks, is entirely unknown (anamataggo)," and explain this sentence by setting forth in ever varying comparisons and images the dreadful accumulation of sufferings in the cycle of migrations from existence to existence which has been going on from innumerable past

---

not a collection of sermons and dialogues, but the unified work of *one* author. The arguments in this case are, if anything, even less convincing than in the case of the Dīghanikāya. The very fact that we often find a "great" and a "small" Sutta on the same subject side by side in the Majjh. (*e. g.*, Cūḷa- and Mahā-Sīhanāda-Sutta), is evidence that the work is in the nature of a collection.

[1]) Edited by Léon *Feer*, London PTS 1884-1898, Indexes by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, 1904. Translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids* and F. L. *Woodward* (Book of the Kindred Sayings or Grouped Suttas), PTS, Parts I, 1917; II, 1922; III, 1925; into German by W. *Geiger* in ZB IV-VII, separately Vol. II, München 1925. The Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta is also translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 180-191; Māra-Saṃyutta and Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta into German by E. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, pp. 87 ff, 132 ff.

ages of the world's history. On the other hand, the 13 Suttas of the Kassapa-Saṃyutta (XVI), are united into a group only because the disciple Kassapa appears as speaker in all of them; in the same way the Sāriputta-Saṃyutta (XXVIII) contains ten speeches of Sāriputta. The 50 Suttas of the Nāga-Saṃyutta (XXIX) deal with the snake-demons (nāgas), enumerating the various kinds of snakes, and naming the deeds which cause one to be born again in one or other of the snake-forms. The 55 Suttas of the Jhāna- or Samādhi-Saṃyutta (XXXIV) deal with the modes of contemplation or meditations (jhāna, samādhi). The strong points and weaknesses, the virtues and vices of women (mātugāma) and the destinies which await them in the next life, are dealt with in the 34 Suttas of the Mātugāma-Saṃyutta (XXXVII). Legends of the great Moggallāna and a few of his speeches are contained in the 11 Suttas of the Moggallāna-Saṃyutta (XL). The hero of the Sakka-Saṃyutta (XI) is Sakka, the god Indra, who appears here, too,[1] as a devout Buddhist. There is surely an intentional piquancy in selecting Indra, the savage, infuriated Vṛtra-slayer of the Veda, as the exponent of the ethics of mildness and non-violence, and as a master in the art of self-command. To scare away the insolent demon who has sat upon his throne, he merely utters the polite words: "My dear friend, I am Indra, the prince of gods."[2] The last Saṃyutta is the Sacca-Saṃyutta (LVI), which deals in 131 Suttas with the four noble truths (sacca) of suffering, of the origin of suffering, of the cessation of suffering, and of the way to the cessation of suffering. Here we also find (LVI, 11) the famous Dhammacakkappavattana-Sutta, the "sermon of Benares," by means of which Buddha set the wheel of the religion (dhammacakka) in motion.[3]

---

[1]) As in the Sakkapañha-Sutta, s. above, p. 43.

[2]) XI, 3, 2, translated by *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, 426 f.

[3]) It has often been translated, thus also by F. L. *Woodward*, Some Sayings of the Buddha, p. 7 ff.

It is evident that, in the grouping of these Suttas, at least three different principles are involved. The Suttas of a group treat either (1) of one of the chief points or principal branches of the Buddhist doctrine, or (2) they refer to some classes of gods, demons or men, or (3) some prominent personality appears in them as hero or speaker. These 56 Saṃyuttas or "groups" are also divided into 5 Vaggas or "divisions," and their contents embrace all branches of the religion of Buddha. In the first Vagga ethics and the Buddhist ideal of life are predominant, and in the next books epistemology and metaphysics are the main themes. We also find Suttas dealing with the life of the Master, others in which Buddha and Dhamma are already objects of veneration, and a few Suttas dealing with the discipline of the order (vinaya). The total number of Suttas, which are, as a rule, much shorter than those of the Majjhima- or of the Dīghanikāya, is 2889. The number of Suttas is so great, mainly because, according to some pattern or other, a subject is treated in all its different aspects—with continual repetition of the same phrases—until the subject, and the reader too, are completely exhausted. Thus, for example, the Saḷāyatana-Saṃyutta (XXXV) comprises no less than 207 Suttas, speeches and dialogues on the six senses. With untiring monotony it is here demonstrated that sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and the organ of thought (manas) are perishable and full of suffering, and have nothing to do with the Ego, that the sense perceptions corresponding to the six sense organs are perishable and full of suffering, and have nothing to do with the Ego, and that the sense objects corresponding to the six sense organs are perishable and full of suffering, and have nothing to do with the Ego. Moreover, in the case of each single sense-organ, each single sense-perception, each single sense-object, the whole series of assertions is repeated literally, and every assertion forms a Sutta in itself. However tedious we may find this multiplication of Suttas, there are sure to have been sound, practical reasons

for it in the use of the Suttas for religious exercises.[1] Even in this collection, however, we find many things which are to be appreciated also from the purely literary point of view, though it contains much more that is of importance only because it contributes to our knowledge of the doctrine of Buddha.

Valuable poetry is found especially in the first Vagga. It embraces Saṃyuttas I-XI, and is called Sagāthavagga, *i.e.*, "the Section with the song verses" (gāthā). Such Gāthās or verses appear occasionally, indeed, in all the sections, as in other Nikāyas, but they are so numerous in the first Vagga, that many of the Suttas consist entirely of verses. Thus, in the Devatā-Saṃyutta, we find many riddles and aphorisms in the form of questions and answers, *e.g.*, the following riddle:

Hast thou no little hut? Hast thou no nest?
Hast thou no line stretched out? Art free from ties?
"Nay, never hut is mine, nor any nest.
Nor line stretched out. Yea, I am free from ties."
What do I mean who speak to thee of 'hut,'
And 'nest,' and 'line stretched out,' and 'ties'?
"*Mother* thou meanest when thou sayest 'hut,'
And *wife* thou meanest when thou speak'st of 'nest,'
And *children*, when thou sayest 'line stretched out,'
And *men's desires*, when thou dost speak of 'ties'"!
O well is thee for whom no hut doth wait!
O well is thee who hast no nest at night!
Thou hast no line stretched out—O well is thee!
And happy thou who from all ties art free![2]

These riddles and aphorisms are not always in reference to Buddhist doctrines, as the following riddle will show:

[1]) It is possible, as Mrs. *Rhys Davids* suggests to me, that the fact "that the varying Suttas were collected from different sources, from different vihāras or even laymen," may also have been a factor in the multiplication of Suttas.

[2]) I, 2, 9, translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Kindred Sayings, I, p. 13 f.

What is the basis and support of men ?
What here below is comradeship supreme?
What are the spirits who sustain the life
Of all such creatures as to earth are bound?
"Children are mankind's basis and support,
The wife is here below comrade supreme; [1]
The spirits of the rain sustain the life
Of all such creatures as to earth are bound." [2]

Just as, in an episode of the Mahābhārata,[3] Yudhiṣṭhira answers the questions of a Yakṣa, thereby gaining his favour, likewise, in Saṃyutta X, 12, Buddha satisfies a Yakṣa by the wise answers which he gives to his questions. It is especially the ballads (ākhyānas) in verse, or more often in the prose and verse form mixed, as we find them particularly in the Māra-Saṃyutta and the Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta,[4] which are of great poetical value. Some of these short ballads about Māra and the nuns, which are remarkable also for the sake of their archaic language,[5] are among the most beautiful productions of ancient Indian poetic art. As an example, the Sutta (V. 3) of the nun Kisā-Gotamī ("Slender Gotamī") is translated here:

Thus have I heard. The Lord once sojourned at Sāvatthi in the Jeta grove in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. The nun Kisā-Gotamī, after she had dressed herself, went in the morning into the town of Sāvatthi, with her begging-bowl and robe, to beg for food. And after she had begged in Sāvatthi and had returned with the food which she had obtained through begging, she went, after her meal, into the dark forest, in order to spend

---

[1]) Cf. Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa : "A friend is the wife," s. above, Vol. I, p. 212 (English Edition).

[2]) I, 6, 4, translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, l. c., p. 52.

[3]) III, 313, see above, Vol. I, pp. 352 f.

[4]) See *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, pp. 87 ff., 132 ff., and *Feer* in JA 1883, s. 8, t. I, 410 ff.

[5]) By their language, too, the stanzas (gāthās) occurring in the Nikāyas, at least the majority of them, prove themselves as belonging to the oldest portions of the Tipiṭaka literature. Cf. *Rhys Davids* and *Carpenter*, Dīgha Nikāya edited, Vol. II,—Preface, p. VIII and above, p. 3, note 2.

the day there. Then, when she had retired far into the dark forest, she sat down at the foot of a tree, to stay there for the day.

Then Māra the evil one, desiring to cause the nun Kisā-Gotamī fear, terror and horror and to disturb her deep meditation, went to the place where the nun Kisā-Gotamī was. And after he had gone there, he addressed the nun Kisā-Gotamī in the verse:

" How now? Dost sit alone with tearful face,
As mother stricken by the loss of child?
Thou who hast plunged into the woods alone,
Is it a man that thou hast come to seek? "

Then the nun Kisā-Gotamī thought within herself, " Who is it, human or non-human, who has just uttered a verse? " And it occurred to the nun Kisā-Gotamī: " It is Māra the evil one, who, in order to cause me fear, terror and horror and to disturb me in my meditation, uttered the verse." But when the nun Kisā-Gotamī knew that it was Māra the evil one, she addressed Māra the evil one in the following verses:

" Past are the days when I was she whose child
Was lost! Men to that past belong—for me!
I do not grieve, I am not shedding tears.
And as for thee, good sir, I fear thee not.
Lost on all sides is love of worldly joys.
The gloom of ignorance is rent in twain.
Defeating all the myrmidons of death,
Here do I bide (to rest), sane and immune." [1]

Then Māra the evil one knew that the nun Kisā-Gotamī had recognised him, and he vanished from the place, unhappy and despondent.

These poems can scarcely be anything but sacred ballads, counterparts of those Ākhyānas with which the epic poetry of the Indians originated.[2] If, with J. *Charpentier*,[3] we were to regard them as " little dramas," then they would be

[1]) The stanzas given in the translation of Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, l. c., p. 162 f.

[2]) Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 311 ff., 471, 508 f. (Eng. Ed.). The technical term for these compositions consisting of a mixture of prose and verse seems, however, to have been geyya, not ākhyāna. See above, p. 10.

[3]) WZKM 23, 1909, 33 ff. The fact that, as we shall see, a Buddhist drama

artistic creations of an exquisiteness with which we could hardly credit the Buddhist monks, so much the less as, in the entire Tipiṭaka, we do not find even the slightest trace of such sacred dramas having been performed. On the contrary, the monks are often forbidden, in the Buddhist texts, to take part in plays and similar performances. Had there been a sacred drama in existence, our texts would surely have made an exception in favour of religious performances of this nature. We shall frequently meet with these sacred ballads, always characterised by the same strong dramatic element. The secular and sacred ballads of this kind have surely contributed much towards the origin of the dramas, but these poems themselves should not, on that account, be called "dramas" any more than they can be called "epics," though both probably proceeded from them. The only doubtful point is whether the prose of these poems in the mixed form should always be regarded as being as ancient as the verses. To take an instance, the prose enwrapping the beautiful and impressive sayings on Karman (III, 2, 10; 3, 1) reads much like a commentatorial addition.

IV. The fourth great collection is the Aṅguttara-nikāya,[1] "the Collection of sermons arranged in ascending numerical order."[2] The Suttas, at least 2,308 in

existed later, proves just as little, as far as that early period is concerned, as do the dramatic performances in the Tibetan monasteries of to-day.

[1]) Edited by R. *Morris* and E. *Hardy*, London PTS 1885-1900, 5 vols., with Indexes by Mabel *Hunt*, forming Vol. VI. An analysis of the contents is given by E. *Hardy* in Vol. V, pp. 371 ff. Translated by E. R. J. *Gooneratne*, Part I (Eka-, Duka-, and Tika-Nipāta), Galle, Ceylon, 1913 ("Of that work perhaps the less said the better," Mrs. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1926, p. 348); Part II (Catukka-Nipāta) by A. D. *Jayasundara*, ed. by F. L. *Woodward*, Adyar, Madras, 1925; into German by the Bhikkhu *Ñāṇatiloka* (*i.e.*, Anton *Gueth*), 1911 ff. Cf. also E. *Leumann* in GGA 1899, pp. 586 ff.

[2]) Literally: "The yet-another-limb collection." In the Sanskrit canon an Ekottarāgama corresponds to the Aṅguttaranikāya (cf. Milindapañha VII, 3, 48: Ekuttaranikāya). Ekottara means "yet one more," and is therefore synonymous with aṅguttara. The title Dasuttara-Suttanta (Dīgha 34) means the "Up-to-ten Suttanta," *i.e.*, the discourse in which the Dhammas are enumerated from one to ten.

number,[1] are here arranged in eleven sections (Nipāta) in such a manner that Section I treats of things of which only one exists, Section II of things of which there are two, Section III of things of which there are three, and so on, to Section XI, treating of things of which there are eleven. Thus, for instance, in the "Section of two," there are Suttas on the two things one must avoid, on two dark and two bright things, two reasons for living in the forest, two kinds of Buddhas, and so on; in the "Section of three"—Suttas on the trinity of deeds, words and thoughts, three kinds of monks (those who have no desires, those who have some, and those who are free from all desire), the three messengers of the gods (old age, disease and death), the three reasons why death rules the world, three kinds of silence, three things which lead women to hell, and so on; in the "Section of four" Suttas on the four things which lead to liberation from existence (virtue, meditation, intuition and deliverance), four things by which man reaches hell, and four things by which he reaches heaven, the four causes (good and bad deeds in a former existence) of some women's being ugly and poor, others ugly and rich, others beautiful and poor, and yet others beautiful and rich and so on; in the "Section of seven" Suttas on seven requirements for meditation, seven miracles, seven kinds of wives, and so on; in the "Section of eight" Suttas on eight things by which the wife binds the husband and the husband the wife, eight kinds of alms, eight qualities which women must possess in order to be reborn as divine beings, eight causes of an earthquake, and so on; in the "Section of ten" Suttas on the ten powers of a Buddha, the ten fundamental questions (a summary of the whole doctrine of Buddha), ten reasons for the institution of the Pāṭimokkha, ten kinds of rich people, etc., etc.

[1]) In some cases it is not clear whether one or several Suttas should be assumed. Therefore 2363 is also a possible total.

Each of these eleven sections again falls into several divisions (vagga); and these frequently (though by no means always) comprise such Suttas as deal with one and the same subject. Thus the ten Suttas of the first division of the "Section of one" (Ekanipāta) deal with the relationship between husband and wife; I, Vagga 14 consists of 80 Suttas, in which are enumerated names of the most prominent male and female disciples, and their virtues; I, Vagga 20 contains 262 Suttas on the different kinds of meditation which lead to Nirvāṇa; V, Vagga 18 deals, in ten Suttas, with lay disciples (upāsaka), and so on. In this collection, as in the Saṃyuttanikāya, the Suttas are mostly short speeches and dialogues. Longer speeches are also found, and as in all Nikāyas, the prose is often interrupted by verses (gāthās). Very numerous are the Suttas and Gāthās which the Aṅguttaranikāya has in common with other texts of the canon, and these are sometimes actually quoted as extracts.[1]

We give a few Suttas in translation, as specimens of this collection. We read in the "Section of two" (II, 4, 1-2):

"I shall explain to you, O monks, what constitutes a bad man, and what constitutes a good man. Hear, then, and pay heed, I shall speak."

"It is well, your reverence," said the monks, and listened to the Lord. And the Lord spoke thus:

"What, O monks, constitutes a bad man? A bad man, O monks, is ungrateful, he knows no gratitude. That is what is found in bad men: ingratitude, unthankfulness. The sumtotal of all that constitutes a bad man is this: ingratitude, unthankfulness. But a good man is grateful,

[1]) These parallel passages and quotations are recorded by E. *Hardy*, Vol. V, p. VIII f. But it is not always the Aṅgutt. which does the borrowing. Thus, for instance, the account of the admission of women into the order, *i. e.*, the founding of an order of nuns, is just as much in its right place in Aṅg. VIII, 51, as in Cullavagga X, 1 of the Vinayapiṭaka. On the other hand, the enumeration of the eight causes of an earthquake and the eight kinds of assemblies is absolutely in its right place in Aṅgutt. (VIII, 70), whilst the parallel passage in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta does not fit into the context at all (see above, p. 40).

he knows gratitude. That is what is found in good men : gratitude, thankfulness. The sumtotal of all that constitutes a good man is gratitude, thankfulness.

I shall name two beings to you, O monks, whose goodness one cannot repay. Which two ? Mother and father. O monks, if a man were to take his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other, and if he lived to the age of a hundred years in this way, lived for a hundred years ; and if he were to serve them, anointing them, massaging them, bathing them and rubbing them, and if they even eased themselves upon him—he would not have evinced sufficient gratitude towards his parents nor would he have repaid them for their benefits. And, O monks, if he were to set his parents in authority, in supremacy, to govern the whole of this great world filled with treasures of all kinds, he would not have evinced sufficient gratitude towards his parents nor would he have repaid them for their benefits. And why ? O monks, parents bestow much good on their children, for they bring them into this world, nourish them, and explain this world to them.

But, O monks, if a man's parents are unbelievers, and if he lead them to perfect faith, stimulate and confirm them therein, or if they are wicked, he lead them to perfect virtue, stimulate and confirm them therein, or if they are miserly, he lead them to perfect self-sacrifice, stimulate and confirm them therein, or if they are without insight, he lead them to perfect insight, stimulate and confirm them therein—then, O monks, he has done well by his parents and has repaid his parents for their benefits, indeed more than repaid them."

Some of the Suttas of the Aṅguttaranikāya have the rare advantage of brevity. Thus we find, in the " Section of three " (III, 129) the speech of Buddha which may be warmly recommended to all those who believe in the humbug of a Buddhist " esoteric doctrine " :

" Three things, O monks, act secretly and not openly. Which three? Womenfolk, O monks, act in secret and not openly. The incantations of the Brahmans act in secret and not openly. False doctrine acts in secret and not openly. These, O monks, are the three things which act secretly and not openly.

Three things, O monks, shine openly and not secretly. The disc of the moon, O monks, shines openly and not in secret. The disc of the sun shines openly and not in secret. The religion and discipline of the

Order proclaimed by Buddha shine openly and not in secret. These, O monks, are the three things which shine openly and not secretly."

A large number of Suttas deal with women, of whom the Buddhist monks, like the priests and saints of all other religions, have little good to say. Only Ānanda, the favourite disciple of Buddha, was always an enthusiastic champion of women. It was at his intercession that the Master, after long resistance and even then unwillingly, gave permission for the founding of an order of nuns—a partiality for which, according to the tradition,[1] he was still called to account at the council of Rājagaha. Once, so it is related in the "Section of four" (IV, 80), Ānanda, like a modern advocate of the emancipation of women, asked the Master:

"What is the reason, Lord, what is the cause for which women have no seat in the public assembly, pursue no business and do not earn their livelihood by some (independent) profession?"

(Buddha replies thereto:) "Choleric, Ānanda, is womankind; jealous Ānanda, is womankind; envious, Ānanda, is womankind; stupid, Ānanda, is womankind. That, Ananda, is the reason, that is the cause why women have no seat in the public assembly, pursue no business, and do not earn their livelihood by some (independent) profession."

One of the most beautiful speeches in the "Section of three" (III, 35) is that of the three messengers of the gods,[2] about whom King Yama asks the evil-doer in the nether world—old age, disease, death—whereupon he hands them over to the guardians of hell for punishment; ideas of hell are probably earlier than Buddhism. However, the

---

[1]) Vinayapiṭaka, Cullavagga XI, I, 10. Cf. *Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 187.

[2]) Similarly in Majjhimanikāya No. 130, where, however, there are five messengers of the gods. Cf. *Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 263; L. *Scherman*, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionsliteratur, Leipzig 1892, p. 60 f. Parallel passages from European literatures (*e.g.*, *Grimm's* Household Tales, Nr. 177 "The messengers of death," which was already known in the 13th century, and *La Fontaine's* fable VIII, 1 "La mort et le mourant") have been quoted by R. *Morris* in JPTS 1885, pp. 62-75. Cf. also *Grimm*, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, III 3, Göttingen 1856, p. 249.

number of passages of literary value in the Aṅguttaranikāya is not great. There are numerous monotonous and endlessly tedious sermons, which are by no means improved by the dry-as-dust tone of the enumeration. Thus, in the entire "Section of one" there is hardly anything to be found that is beautiful and edifying. It is remarkable that besides so many Suttas which refer to all departments of Buddhist ethics and psychology and sometimes also to the discipline of the Order (vinaya), there are also some Suttas which have nothing to do with the religion of Buddha, and are only inserted on account of the numerical principle. Yet such passages are sometimes not devoid of a certain humour, which is evoked by the enumeration of very heterogeneous things in one series. Thus, for example, it says in the "Section of eight" (VIII, 27):

"There are here, O monks, eight powers! Which are they? Crying is the power of child, scolding is the power of women, weapons are the power of robbers, sovereignty is the power of kings, pride is the power of fools, humility the power of sages, reflection the power of scholars, meekness the power of ascetics and Brahmans."

Similar passages occur occasionally in Indian gnomic poetry. The idea of such enumerations probably belongs to ancient folk-lore, only that in the Aṅguttaranikāya, with real Indian pedantry, it became the principle of arrangement of an entire large work.[1]

[1]) We find the same arrangement in the Thāṇaṅga and Samavāyaṅga Suttas of the Jains. A section in the Mahābhārata, V, 33, 56-106, on worldly wisdom (nīti), placed in the mouth of Vidura, is arranged on exactly the same numerical principle. Even more archaic is the Brahmanical riddle game (Mahābh. III, 134) in which Aṣṭāvakra vanquishes the sophist Vandin who, though well versed in the enumeration of the things of which there are one, two, three, and so forth, cannot get past thirteen, whilst Aṣṭāvakra enumerates all the things of which there are thirteen. Number riddles and number litanies of this kind are also to be found in the literatures of other peoples. The best known is the so-called "Catholic Vesper" in which Christian dogmas are enumerated according to numbers one to twelve: "Good friend, I ask thee, Good friend, what askest thou? Tell me, what is one? One and one is the Lord God, and so on (K. *Simrock*, Die deutschen

The fact that the Aṅguttaranikāya was compiled at a time when the Buddha had already become an omniscient demi-god, if not god, the sole fountain-head of all truth, is shown by the passage, in which the god Indra asks a few preaching monks where they have learnt such excellent things, whether from Buddha or through their own intuition, and they reply: If, near a great granary, one sees people carrying corn, some in a basket, others in their garment, yet others in their hands, then it really does not matter whence the corn is taken, for it all comes from the great granary. In exactly the same way, everything which is well said is said by the Lord Buddha. This is much more dogmatic than Aśoka's Bhābrū edict, which says: "All that Buddha has said, is well said," even more so than the word of a later Sanskrit work, the Divyāvadāna: "the heavens with the moon and the stars will fall, the earth with its mountains and forests will pass away, the ocean will dry up, but the Buddhas will never utter what is false.[1]

With this dogmatism the Aṅguttaranikāya is only a forerunner of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, for the texts of which it probably formed the foundation.[2]

The great number of Suttas in the Aṅguttaranikāya came about in the same way as in the Saṃyuttanikāya.[3]

With regard to the mutual relationship among these four Nikāyas or collections of Suttas—for the Khuddakanikāya has a totally different character—only so much is certain, that a whole series of Suttas occurs, not only in one, but in

Volkslieder, Frankfurt a. M. 1851, pp. 520 ff.). There is a similar number litany in the Passover Hagada of the Jews. Cf. K. *Kohler* in Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, 3, 1889, 234 ff. and G. *Léjeau* in Revue Celtique II, pp. 58 ff. There is a Greek fairy-tale (see J. G. v. *Hahn*, Griechische und Albanesische Märchen, Leipzig 1864, II, pp. 210 f.), which reminds us of Aṣṭāvakra.

[1]) Aṅgutt., Vol. IV, p. 163 f. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin*, Transactions of the Third Internat. Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. II, p. 36.

[2]) Cf. *Hardy* in Vol. V of the edition, Preface, p. ix f.

[3]) See above, p. 56.

several of these collections, and that, as regards the doctrines presented, there is no difference whatsoever among the four Nikāyas. In most cases it will be difficult to distinguish whether a Sutta originally occupied a place in the one or the other Nikāya. If, for example, the Sutta on the three qualities which lead women to hell, occurs in the Saṃyutta as well as in the Aṅguttaranikāya, it fits equally well into the first named collection in the "Section on women" as into the latter collection in the "Section of three." On the other hand, some sections of the Saṃyuttanikāya appear like extensions or illustrations of the Aṅguttaranikāya.[1] The Suttas of the Dīghanikāya often give us the impression of having originated through the extensions of shorter texts. Thus, for example, the tenth Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya (Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta) recurs literally in Dīghanikāya No. 22 (as the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta), only with a few additions after the style of a commentary. It has already been shown that the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta probably attained to its great extent by means of additions. Some passages of the Dīghanikāya certainly fit better into the Aṅguttaranikāya.[2] The fact that the great number of Suttas in the last two Nikāyas is explained mainly by variations of one and the same theme with endless repetitions, has already been mentioned, and also that this is sometimes the case in the Majjhimanikāya too.[3] Moreover, the great length of many of the speeches in the Majjhima- and Dīghanikāya is explained by the continual repetitions. In all these collections we cannot avoid the impression that they owe their origin to practical needs, having been compiled for the use of the monks for religious practices—sermons, public

[1]) Cf. Saṃy. XXXVII, 4 with Aṅgutt. III, 127 and Saṃy. XXXVII, 5-9, and 14 24 with Aṅgutt. V, 230 and 115-120.

[2]) See above, p. 40.

[3]) See above, pp. 53 and 56.

recitations, hours of devotion and edification. The peculiarity of almost all these Suttas, which is so unpleasant to the Westerner, namely, the repetitions, so frequent as to become nauseous, proves that they were originally intended only for oral presentation.

These continual repetitions of the same words, sentences and whole paragraphs had the double purpose of impressing the speeches more deeply on the memory and of making them rhetorically more effective. As texts written down and intended for reading, they would probably have been quite as tedious to the Indians as they are to the Westerner. In the recitation the repetitions played a considerable part "as parts of a purely musical construction" and proved no more tiring to the ears of a Buddhist audience "than the repetitions of the motifs in the musical compositions of Bach or Wagner."[1] For this reason it is scarcely possible to translate these Suttas for Western readers exactly as they stand, with all the repetitions; but we must not forget that the Suttas were composed for Buddhist hearers, and not for Western readers.

Side by side with Suttas drawn out to inordinate lengths owing to the abundant repetitions, there are some brief and terse dialogues, in which an idea is presented with the utmost nicety and lucidity, and developed without a single superfluous word. Dialogues of this kind are to be found in all of the four Nikāyas, and we are pretty safe in assuming that they belong to the earlier parts of the canon. In style and language, too, there is no essential difference among the

[1]) P. *Tuxen* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 98 ff., who adds that "even in individual cases the ancient authors showed a very well defined sense of musical effect, when they constructed their rhythm." This would also explain the extraordinary impression made by the recitation of the Pāli texts in the monasteries on hearers who follow the recital without being able to understand a single word of the contents. *Tuxen* testifies to this from his own experience.

four Nikāyas.[1] Though the Aṅguttaranikāya may be somewhat later than the other Nikāyas,[2] there cannot have been a very great interval of time between it and the others. There is even less foundation for assuming the Dīghanikāya to be "the earliest accessible source of Buddhist writing."[3] "The earliest accessible sources" of the doctrine of Buddha are only a few isolated Suttas appearing in different collections and are not afforded by any one collection; in fact they have to be culled from the whole of Buddhist literature, Pāli as well as Sanskrit. At all events all the four Nikāyas contain very ancient as well as more modern elements.

The literary merits also which are common to the Suttas of all the collections show that all the four collections are compiled from essentially the same elements. In all of them we find dialogues, in which the Buddha, when he carries on a discussion with an opponent, whether it be a Brahman or an adherent of another sect, does so in the same refined, skilful and ever polite and amiable manner. He first apparently puts himself entirely in the place of his opponent,

---

[1]) The description of the characteristics of early Buddhist prose given by *Oldenberg* (Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, AGGW 1917, p. 39 ff.) may be applied with equal truth to all the four Nikāyas.

[2]) M. *Anesaki* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 35, 1908, Part 2, p. 83 f.) thinks that both the Pāli Aṅguttaranikāya and the Chinese Ekottarāgama bear traces indicating that this collection is later than the three others. Moreover, it contains the greatest number of quotations which are given *as* quotations. However, the Nikāyas or other collections are never cited as such, but only separate Suttas or portions of a collection. Thus, for instance, in Aṅg. X, 26, 2, a verse which occurs in Saṃy., IV, 3, 5 (I, p. 126) is not quoted as being taken from the Saṃy., but with the words: "Thus it was said by the Sublime One (bhagavatā) in the questions of the daughters (of Māra)." Ang. III, 32 quotes verses from the "Pārāyana" (not from the "Suttanipāta" in which we find the Pārāyana). In the same way, the quotation in Saṃy. 22, 4 from the "Sakkapañha" does not prove that it was taken from the Dīghanikāya. Cf. *Eliot*, I, p. 279 n. 1; *Rhys Davids* in Cambridge History, I, p. 194; Mrs. *Rhys Davids* in Prefatory Note to Indexes of Aṅgutt. Ed., Vol. VI.

[3]) R. O. *Franke*, ZDMG 69, 1915, 455. *Eliot*, I, p. 278, says of the Majjhimanikāya: "Taken as a whole it is perhaps the most profound and impassioned of all the Nikāyas and also the oldest."

sets out from the same points of view as he does, makes use of the same expressions, often also the same technical terms and, imperceptibly, leads his opponent over to the opposite standpoint. We may assume, with *Rhys Davids*,[1] that the writers of such dialogues must still have had a certain recollection of the kind of conversations which Buddha actually carried on. They give us at least as good an idea of the teaching method of Buddha as the Platonic dialogues of that of Socrates.

It was certainly also a part of the teaching method of Gotama Buddha to enthral and convince his audience by means of similes and parables. A simile or a parable is certainly not an argument ; but often it has more effect on the mind, and even the intellect, of the hearer than a thousand arguments. Buddha was very well aware of this, so, he liked to embellish his speeches with similes, and his disciples followed him in this. Thus, we find in the Suttas of all the four collections a veritable flood of similes, and they are foremost in investing these speeches with a literary character and artistic value.

A beautiful example of a convincing simile is afforded by the dialogue of the Buddha with the son of Māluṅkyā,[2] in which the Buddha tells the enquiring disciple who asks for information concerning existence and non-existence and other metaphysical questions, that the answering of all these questions would leave no time for finding the way to salvation, to liberation from suffering, and he illustrates it by means of the following parable :

A man is hit by a poisoned arrow. His friends hasten to the doctor. The latter is about to draw the arrow out of the wound. The wounded man, however, cries : " Stop : I will not have the arrow drawn out until I

[1]) Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 206 f.

[2]) Majjh. No. 63 ; *Oldenberg*, Buddha, pp. 315 ff. ; *Warren*, pp. 117 ff.

know who shot it, whether a warrior or a Brahman, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, to which family he belonged, whether he was tall or short, of what species and description the arrow was," and so on. What would happen? The man would die before all these questions were answered. In the same way the disciple who wished for answers to all his questions about the beyond and so on, would die before he knew the truth about suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way to cessation of suffering.

No less apt are the parables of the Tevijja-Sutta (Dīghanikāya XIII, 15 ff.), in which Buddha wishes to show how foolish it is of the Brahmans to seek the way to salvation in union with Brahman, in spite of the fact that they are compelled to admit that neither they themselves, nor their teachers, nor the teachers of their teachers, nor the ancient ṛṣis of primeval times have ever seen this Brahman. It seems to him, says Buddha, just like a chain of blind people, of whom neither the first one nor the middle one, nor the last one can see. And this yearning for the unknown God appears to him as if a man were to say he loves a most beautiful maiden, but, in reply to the question as to who the fair one is, were unable to say to which caste, to which race she belongs, what her name is, whether she is tall or short, her complexion dark or fair, and where she lives; or as if a man wanted to erect a staircase to the balcony of a palace at a cross-road, without knowing whether this balcony is situated in the east or in the south, in the west or in the north, whether it is high or low or of medium height. In the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta (Dīghanikāya II, 69 ff., 78 ff.), in a series of beautiful similes Buddha compares the happiness of the monk who is freed from earthly fetters with the comfortable feeling of the debtor who has succeeded not only in discharging his debt, but also in earning a surplus for the maintenance of his family; of the invalid who, after severe suffering, recovers his health; of him who, having pined in captivity, at length regains his freedom; of the slave who is set free by his master; of the traveller who, on a dangerous

road, wanders through a wilderness and at last reaches a village inhabited by human beings. And like a lake which receives its water from a spring, into which no water flows from any direction, on which the rain never falls, so that all its water is received only from the cool spring and it is filled throughout only with cool water, the monk is thoroughly impregnated and permeated with blissful calm.

Numerous, too, are the parables showing the vanity of enjoyments. In order to show how full of torment and suffering are the pleasures of the senses, seven forceful illustrations are set down in Sutta 54 of the Majjhimanikāya: [1]

A butcher throws before a dog tormented by hunger, a bare and fleshless bone with which he cannot satisfy his hunger—like such a bare bone are the sensual pleasures, full of torment and sufferings, out of which only evils arise. As a bird of prey pounces upon a piece of meat and other birds attack him and ill-treat him—so only suffering and evil arise from sensual pleasures. The sage shrinks back before sensual pleasures as from a pit filled with glowing coals. Sensual pleasures are like a beautiful dream vision, which vanishes when one awakes, like a borrowed treasure, on account of which one is envied by those who do not know that it is only borrowed. A man comes into a forest, sees a tree laden with fruit, and climbs up in order to eat till he is satisfied; then a second man comes along, sees the same tree, and in order to gain possession of the fruit, sets about felling the tree: evil will befall the man up in the tree:— thus only suffering and torments and all kinds of evil arise from the gratification of sensual pleasures.

Occasionally the similes are connected in a very pleasing and homely manner with the given situation, *e.g.*, in Sutta 58 of the Majjhimanikāya. Prince Abhaya, urged on by Niganṭha Nātaputta, the adversary of the Buddha, comes to the Master, in order to embarrass him with a very difficult question. He asks him whether the Buddha never utters an

[1] Sutta No. 22 of the Majjh. alludes to these seven similes, assuming that they are familiar.

unkind word. As the latter admits that he sometimes has to resort to unkind words, Abhaya retorts that there is then no difference between him and a common man, who also utters unkind speeches.

Now at that time (thus the Sutta continues) Prince Abhaya had a little boy, a tender infant, seated on his lap. Then the Master said to Prince Abhaya: "What thinkest thou, prince? If this boy, through thy carelessness or his nurse's, put a piece of wood or a little stone in his mouth, what wouldst thou do with him?"

"I should take it out, your reverence. And if I could not get it out at the first attempt, I should seize the boy by his head with my left hand, and with the right hand, bending my finger, I should take it out, even though it were bloody. And why? Because, your reverence, I should have compassion on the boy."

"In the same way, prince, the Tathāgata indeed utters no word which he knows to be untrue, incorrect, unprofitable, and at the same time disagreeable and unpleasant to others; neither does he utter any word which he knows to be true, correct, but unprofitable and at the same time disagreeable and unpleasant to others; but if the Tathāgata knows a word to be true, correct, salutary, and at the same time disagreeable and unpleasant to others, then the Tathāgata knows that it is opportune to utter such a word .. And why? Because the Tathāgata has compassion on the beings."

A very popular and frequently applied simile is that of the oil lamp, *e.g.*,

"O monks, just as an oil lamp, burning by means of the oil and the wick, if a person would pour fresh oil on it and renew the wick from time to time, would continue to burn for a long, long time thus fed and supplied with fuel,—even thus, O monks, grows the greed of the man who takes pleasure in the things of this world, which are but fetters." [1]

To the question of a village elder as to why the Buddha, though said to be benevolent and compassionate towards all beings, yet preaches his religion thoroughly to some, but less thoroughly to others, he answers with the parable: As the

[1]) Saṃyuttanikāya, XII, 53.

peasant first cultivates the good field, then the moderately good one, and finally the bad one, so the Buddha preaches his doctrine first to the monks and nuns, then to the lay-adherents and only last of all to the non-adherents.[1]

Humour, too, is not lacking in the parables, when, for instance, it is said in Majjh. 126: If one fills a trough with sand and water, however much one may twirl and stir it about, one will never obtain sesame-oil; however zealously one attempts to milk a cow by its horn, one will never obtain milk, and so on; in the same way, a monk will never reach the goal if he does not endeavour to do so in the right manner.

Some similes actually belong to the vocabulary of the Buddhist texts and probably of the Buddha and his disciples themselves. When they speak of desire, which is the origin of all suffering, they call this the "thirst," which leads from existence to existence. At this migration from existence to existence, the Saṃsāra, is the "ocean," on the "further shore" of which Nirvāṇa beckons. Desire and sin, the whole bustle of worldly life, is a "flood," and he who has attained Nirvāṇa is "rescued from the flood." The reward of good and bad deeds, the Karman, is the "fruit," and when treating of Karman, the simile of seed and fruit is always in the minds of the speakers. When the Buddha preaches, he "utters the roaring of a lion,"[2] and so on.

A popular simile,[3] which is also found outside the Nikāyas, is the following:

"Just as, O monks, if a man were to throw a one-holed yoke into the sea and the east wind were to cast it about to the west, the west wind

---

[1]) Saṃyuttanikāya, XLII, 7, 1-8. R. Otto *Franke* has compared this with Matth. 13, 12 ff., Mark 4, 12 and Luke 8, 10 (DLZ 1901, col. 2759).

[2]) In a cave near Turfan, A. *Grünwedel* (Bericht über archäolog. Arbeiten in Idikutschari, A. Bay A. Vol. 24, I, München, 1906, p. 125) found a picture representing a monk preaching; this is expressed by a little cloud, on which a little lion is standing, appearing before his face.

[3]) Majjhimanikāya, 129; Saṃyuttanikāya, 56, 47 f. The simile is very popular also in Buddhist Sanskrit literature (s. *Winternitz*, WZKM 27, 1913, 43 ff.) and it

to the east, the north wind to the south, and the south wind to the north: and there were a one-eyed turtle, which rose to the surface once in a hundred years; what do you think, O monks, would the one-eyed turtle place its neck into the one-holed yoke?" "Hardly, at the most perhaps once in a long time." "But it is easier for the one-eyed turtle to get its neck into the one-holed yoke, than for the fool, who has once sunk into the lower forms of existence, to be reborn as a human being. Why? because in the low forms of existence there is only mutual murder, and no good action."

These parables are of the utmost importance from the point of view of social history, for they often introduce us into the midst of the daily life of the ancient Indians, of the artisans, agriculturists and merchants, of whom Brahmanical literature, which moves almost entirely in the circles of priests and warriors, has so little to say.[1] We find similes of the coachman and charioteer, the dice-player, the preparation of sesame-oil, etc. In one simile (Majjh. 140) is described the whole of the work of the goldsmith, in another (Majjh. 125) the whole procedure of elephant-taming, and again in another (Majjh. 101) the whole process of curing a person wounded by a poisoned arrow.

However little they can be regarded as real proofs, the similes are, after all, the best kind of argumentation which we find in the Suttas. As for the rest, wherever a doctrine is to be proved, we do not find much more than accumulations of synonyms and dogmatic classifications and enumerations,[2]

---

occurs also in the Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha (s. G. A. *Jacob*, JRAS 1909, p. 1120 f.). The simile has nothing in common with the "camel going through the eye of a needle," which G *de Lorenzo* and K. E. *Neumann* (Reden Gotamo Buddho's III, 334 note) have derived from it.

[1]) *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, "Buddhist Parables and Similes" (The Open Court, Chicago, Vol. XXII, 522 ff.), who rightly remarks that these similes furnish material sufficient for a large book, which ought to be written. The index of similes ("Similes in the Nikāyas, a Classified Index" in JPTS 1907 and 1908, by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, is a highly useful preparation for such a book.

[2]) T. W. *Rhys Davids* has here the remark: "There are on the contrary many quite decent arguments and inferences." I have not found many.

which are most particularly characteristic of the Aṅguttara-nikāya, but occur in all the Nikāyas.

The method of proof in our Suttas cannot possibly be compared with that of Plato. Nor is the number of Suttas which, as dialogues, can bear comparison with the Platonic dialogues, very great. It is true that Karl *Fries*[1] has pointed out a number of remarkable parallels between Indian and Greek dialogues; but the parallels fail in just the most essential points. They are certainly not sufficiently striking to compel us to assume any mutual influence. The majority of the Suttas are indeed not "dialogues" in the real sense of the word, but rather the speeches of one principal speaker, usually Buddha, which are generally interrupted only by yes or no or by expressions of assent or approbation on the part of the other speakers. Even the best real dialogues in the Nikāyas will rarely remind us of the dialogues of Plato, but very often indeed of the dialogues of the Upaniṣads and the Itihāsa dialogues,[2] with which we became acquainted in the Mahābhārata.

2. *Narratives, Songs and Sayings.*

The Khuddakanikāya or "the Collection of the Smaller Pieces," usually reckoned as the fifth Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka, but sometimes also classed with the Abhidhammapiṭaka, would more correctly be called "collection of miscellanies": for in this collection, besides several short works, we find also a few of the most extensive books of the Pāli-Canon. In contents and character, however, the texts incorporated into this collection differ very widely. In a very remarkable

[1]) Das philosophische Gespräch von Hiob bis Platon, Tübingen 1904, pp. 65, 76 ff. While K. E. *Neumann*, Reden Gotamo Buddho's III, p. 85, sees in Plato's Menon "a most astonishing reflection, distinctly recognisable down to the minutest details" of Majjh. 107, I absolutely fail to see anything of this "reflection."

[2]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 414 ff.

Sutta, which recurs several times,[1] we read a prophecy on the dangers which threaten the religion of Buddha in the future. One of these dangers is that the monks will no longer wish to hear and learn "the Suttantas proclaimed by the Tathāgata, deep, deep in meaning, reaching beyond this world, dealing with the Void,"[2] but will only lend their ear to the "profane Suttantas proclaimed by disciples, made by poets, poetical, adorned with beautiful words, beautiful syllables." From this we might conclude that the poetical pieces were not at first generally recognised, that their claim to be regarded as sacred texts was contested and that they were only later on combined into a Nikāya, namely the Khuddakanikāya. This assumption is based on the fact that the chief contents of this collection are works of poetic art—collections of aphorisms, songs, poems, fairy tales and fables. This collection was probably only concluded at a late period, and a few non-poetical texts, the authenticity of which is in a similar way, not universally recognised, might have been included afterwards.[3] There is no doubt that the works

---

[1]) Saṃyuttanik, XX, 7; Aṅgutt., IV, 160; V, 79, 5. Cf. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India 110 f.; *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 149. The passage is also very significant for the oral transmission of the Buddhist texts. When they were no longer heard and recited, they disappeared.

[2]) Suññata "void," *i.e.*, "devoid of independent reality." Here, as in a few other passages of the Pāli Canon, we already meet with the conception of the Void (śūnyatā), which in later times is the central idea of the philosophy of the Mahāyāna. *Cf.* C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, p. xlii f.

[3]) It is significant of the unstable character of the Khuddakanikāya as a canonical collection, that the Buddhists of Burma include in the Khuddakanikāya four texts which are not regarded as canonical in Ceylon, namely the Milindapañha, the Suttasaṃgaha (an anthology from the Suttapiṭaka), the Peṭakopadesa and the Netti. (Mabel H. *Bode*, Pali Literature of Burma, London, 1909, p. 4 f.) It is perhaps not a mere accident that in the Siamese edition of the Pāli-Canon (see above p. 21, note 1) eight texts of the Khuddakanikāya are missing: Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. According to the Dīpavaṃsa, V, 37, the Mahāsaṃgītikas did not recognise the Paṭisambhidā, the Niddesa and a part of the Jātaka. The Khuddakanikāya as a whole does not appear in the Chinese Āgamas, but many of the texts are included in other collections. *Cf.* M. *Anesaki* in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 35, part 3, 1908, p. 9.

combined in this collection originated at very different periods, and were not originally intended to form parts of one collection.[1] Even though the collection as such belongs to the latest compilations of the Canon, yet, in addition to comparatively modern fabrications, it also contains many of the oldest Buddhist poems. Indeed, it contains precisely all those works of Buddhist literature which are among the most important creations of Indian poetry. We propose to discuss the texts of the Khuddakanikāya not according to their probable age or their importance, but in the order in which they have come down to us in the manuscripts of the Buddhists of Ceylon.

1. At the head of this collection stands the Khuddakapāṭha,[2] "the Short Recitals." This is a compilation of nine short texts which the novice must know before all others, and which are used in the Buddhist cult as a kind of Mantras or "prayers." It must remain an open question whether the collection was intended as a little hand-book for novices or as a "prayer-book." The first four pieces are quite short. No. 1 is the Buddhist confession of faith, No. 2 an enumeration of the ten commandments for monks, No. 3 a list of the 32 parts of the body, for purposes of meditation on the loathsomeness and perishableness of the human body, and No. 4 contains the "questions of the novice." In ten questions ("What is one? What is two?" etc.) and answers, after the manner of the Aṅguttaranikāya, it explains the most important Buddhist terms. The five remaining pieces are

[1]) Otherwise it would be unaccountable, why the small Khuddakapāṭha should contain three Suttas (Maṅgala-Sutta, Ratana-Sutta and Metta-Sutta) which appear verbatim in the Suttanipāta too; or why the same stories should be told in the Cariyāpiṭaka from entirely different points of view from that of the Jātaka.

[2]) Edited and translated by R. C. *Childers*, in JRAS 1870, pp. 309-339; new edition by Helmer *Smith* and Mabel *Hunt*, London PTS 1915; translated by F. L. *Woodward*, Some Sayings of the Buddha, pp. 53 ff. He calls it "the Buddhist Layman's Prayer-Book." German translation by K. *Seidenstücker*, Breslau, 1910.

short Suttas, which, by their contents as well as the formula-like phrases and refrains, betray the liturgical purposes which they served. From the oldest times much importance has been attached in India to Maṅgalas, *i.e.*, all sorts of objects and ceremonies which are regarded as good omens or are supposed to bring good luck. Such Maṅgalas as good wishes, benedictions, feeding of Brahmans, garlands of flowers, music, singing, etc., were never missing at any sacrificial feast, marriage celebration, birth ceremony, and so on. In the Maṅgala-Sutta [1] (No. 5) Buddha teaches what he regards as the best Maṅgalas. We read, for instance:

"Honouring mother and father, cherishing of child and wife,
And a peaceful occupation: This is the best good omen.
Giving of alms and righteous life, to cherish kith and kin,
Doing deeds that bring no blame : This is the best good omen.
Ceasing and abstaining from sin, to shun intoxicating drinks,
Not neglecting religious duties: This is the best good omen."

The other Suttas, too, are permeated by the same spirit of a higher code of ethics. Thus the Ratana-Sutta (No. 6) by which, according to ancient custom, the Bhūtas, spirits of the earth and air, together with the three Ratanas or "jewels," [2] are worshipped. Of a similar nature is also Sutta 7, dedicated to the cult of the dead, a few verses of which are recited at cremations in Ceylon and Siam even at the present day. Sutta 8, of the "Hidden Treasure," in which it is demonstrated that a treasure of good works is the best treasure which the Buddhist can accumulate, and above all, the magnificent Metta-Sutta (No. 9), in which friendliness (mettā) towards

[1]) *Copleston*, Buddhism, p. 140, says of this Sutta: "It is constantly repeated now by the monks in Ceylon, and it is a great pity that nobody understands it." In Burma this Sutta is sung at times of epidemics by white-robed elderly men and women at cross-roads before images of Buddha. Ind. Ant. 8, 1879, pp. 82 and 329.

[2]) These are: Buddha, Dhamma (the religion) and Saṅgha (the monastic community).

all beings is praised as the true Buddhist cult, are on a still higher plane.

Seven of these nine texts are still used at the Buddhist Parittā-ceremony or "Pirit," as the Buddhists of Ceylon call it. The word Parittā means "protection, warding off," and already in the Tipiṭaka it is used in the sense of "Pirit" or "exorcism-formula, benediction." "At the present day in Ceylon, Parittā (Singhal. Pirit) has come to mean the recitation (or reading) by the Bhikkhus, of some thirty texts belonging to the Canon, for the purpose of banishing the influence of evil powers. The Parittā-ceremony is performed on all possible occasions, *e.g.*, at the building of a new house, in cases of death, diseases and so on."[1] I cannot help agreeing with K. *Seidenstücker* when he takes Suttas 5–9 to be old exorcism-songs, and, as the first four pieces also present a formula-like appearance, I do not regard it as unlikely that the Khuddakapāṭha was compiled for similar purposes as the Parittā-text-book still in use in Ceylon to-day.

2. The Dhammapada,[2] ("Religious Sentences"[3]) is the best known and the longest known work of Buddhist

---

[1]) *Seidenstücker*, l.c., p. 3. *Cf.*, M. *Grimblot* and Léon *Feer*, Extraits du Paritta in JA 1871, s. 6, t. XVIII, 225 ff. *Geiger*, Pali Literatur und Sprache, p. 16 f.; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Dialogues III (SBB IV), p. 185 ff. The Milindapañha, p. 150 f., mentions Parittās as having been taught by Buddha. In Burma, too, there is a small collection of texts from the Suttapiṭaka, called Paritta or Mahā-Paritta, which is used for exorcisms, and is better known among the people than any other Pāli book (M. H. *Bode*, l.c., p. 3 f.).

[2]) Edited with a Latin Translation by V. *Fausböll*, Hauniae, 1855; 2nd ed., London, 1900; new edition by S. *Sumangala Thera*, London PTS 1914; translated into English by F. *Max Müller*, SBE, Vol. 10, part 1; by A. J. *Edmunds*, Hymns of the Faith, Chicago, 1902; by W. D. C. *Wagiswara* and K. J. *Saunders*, Way of Virtue, London, 1912 (Wisdom of the East Series); into German by L. V. *Schroeder* (1892), by K. E. *Neumann* (1893), by P. *Dahlke* (1919), by R. O. *Franke* (1923); into French by Fernando *Hû* (Paris 1878) and L. *Feer* (Bibl. or. elzév.); into Italian by P. E. *Pavolini* (Milano 1908, and Testi di morale buddhistica, Lanciano 1912, pp. 1-80). *Pavolini* (JSAI 25, 1912, p. 324) also mentions a Russian translation by N. *Gerasimov*.

[3]) According to the different meanings of *pada* and of *dhamma*, the title has been translated variously by "Footsteps of Religion," "Path of Religion," "Path of Virtue," "Sentences of Religion," "Worte der Wahrheit," etc. *Cf.* R. C. *Childers*

literature, which has been repeatedly translated into European languages, is much quoted in all works on Buddhism, and has always been held in high esteem owing to its profound moral value. In Ceylon the book has been used for centuries down to our own times by the novices as a text-book which they must have studied before they can receive the higher orders (upasampadā). For this reason there is not a monk in Ceylon who cannot recite his Dhammapada from beginning to end from memory. Buddhist preachers often take verses from the Dhammapada as the text of their sermons.[1] It is an anthology of sayings which chiefly refer to the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. Of the 423 verses, every 10-20 are formed into a section (Vagga), as they deal with the same subject, or as a simile (*e.g.*, of the flower in Vagga 4, the "flower-section"), or sometimes a refrain runs through the verses of such a section. The formation and arrangement into Vaggas is probably the work of the compiler. In many cases, however, several verses together actually form a little poem, as, for instance the verses of the "Elephant-section," a few of which I quote from the translation by F. L. *Woodward*.[2]

"As the elephant in battle bears the arrows at him hurled,
I must bear men's bitter tongues, for very evil is the world.

Tamed, they lead him into battle; tamed, the king his back ascends;
Tamed is he the best of beings, whom no bitter speech offends.

Dictionary, p. 117 f.; *Max Müller*, SBE, Vol. 10, part 1, p. xlv ff.; L. v. *Schroeder*, Transl., p. 131 ff.; R. O. *Franke*, ZDMG 46, 1892, 734 f.; WZKM 15, 1901, p. 396; PTS Dic., s. v. I have no doubt that "Dhammapada" is used in a collective sense, like "Udāna," "Itivuttaka," etc., and that it means "Collection of Words or Verses on Religion," "Dhamma Words," or "Religious sentences."

[1]) Cf. *Sumangala Thera* in the Foreword to his edition.

[2]) Some Sayings of the Buddha, p. 258 ff. (verses 320-322, 328-330).

Good are well-tamed mules, and good are Scindian steeds of lineage famed;
Good indeed the mighty tusker; best of all the man self-tamed."

"Hast thou found a fellow-traveller, upright, firm, intelligent?
Leaving all thy cares behind thee, gladly walk with him intent.

Hast thou found no fellow-traveller, upright, firm, intelligent?
As a king deserts his borders, by the enemy pursued,
Like the tusker in the forest, go thy way in solitude.

Better is the lonely life, for fools companions cannot be.
Live alone and do no evil, live alone with scanty needs,
Lonely, as the mighty tusker in the forest lonely feeds."

Couplets which together form a whole, are especially frequent, *e.g.*, verses 141 f.

"Not nakedness, nor matted hair, nor filth,
Nor fasting long, nor lying on the ground,
Not dust and dirt, nor squatting on the heels,
Can cleanse the mortal that is full of doubt.

But one that lives a calm and tranquil life,
Though gaily decked,—if tamed, restrained he live,
Walking the holy path in righteousness,
Laying aside all harm to living things,—
True mendicant, ascetic, Brāhmin he." [1]

Many of the most famous Buddhist sayings are in the Dhammapada. Thus the beautiful verses (153 f.), which Buddha is said to have uttered after he had gained enlightenment:

[1]) Translation by *Woodward*, l.c., p. 26.

" Thro' many a round of birth and death I ran,
Nor found the builder that I sought. Life's stream
Is birth and death and birth, with sorrow filled.
Now, house-builder, thou'rt seen ! No more shalt build !
Broken are all thy rafters, split thy beam !
All that made up this mortal self is gone :
Mind hath slain craving. I have crossed the stream." [1]

A simple and yet splendid metaphor: lust, worldly desire, is the " builder of houses," who again and again constructs a new house, *i. e.*, a new body in a new rebirth. We repeatedly come across such simple but impressive metaphors and similes in the sayings. Thus the equanimity of the sage is compared with a deep lake, smooth as a mirror, or with an unshakable rock (81 f.). Or it says : As the spoon gets nothing of the flavour of the soup, so the fool derives no benefit from intercourse with the sage; it is only the sage who gains through intercourse with sages, as only the tongue enjoys the flavour of the soup (65 f.). Whoever speaks or acts with an impure mind, is pursued by suffering, as the wheel follows the foot of the draught-ox; whoever speaks or acts with a pure mind, is pursued by joy, as by his own shadow (1 f.). Or " Not quickly, as milk curdles, does the bad deed which one has committed, resolve itself into its consequences ; burning, it follows the fool like fire which is covered with ashes" (71). We constantly meet with such images, and often they appear in pairs. We also find more elaborate verses with those plays on words (*e.g.*, 344) for which the Indians have always had a predilection.

More than half of all the verses of the Dhammapada have also been traced in other texts of the Pāli Canon, and there is scarcely any doubt that, generally speaking, the compiler of the anthology took them from the settings where we still

[1]) Translation by *Woodward*, l.c., p. xi.

find them to-day.[1] However, the collection has come to include some sayings which were originally not Buddhist at all, but were drawn from that inexhaustible source of Indian gnomic wisdom, from which they also found their way into Manu's law-book, into the Mahābhārata, the texts of the Jains, and into narrative works such as the Pañcatantra, etc. It is, in general, impossible to decide where such sayings first appeared.[2]

3. While the Dhammapada is merely a collection of verses, and it was only at a later period that narratives were added in the form of a commentary no longer belonging to the canon, relating on what occasion the single verses were uttered, the Udāna,[3] the collection of "pithy sayings," consists of verses and narratives. The work is divided into 8 Vaggas or "sections," each of which contains 10 Suttas. These Suttas are generally quite short narratives recounting some event of the time of Buddha, and ending with a pithy utterance which the Buddha, inspired by this event, is said to have "breathed out," *i.e.*, to which he gave vigorous expression. The standing phrase which introduced the actual Udāna, *i.e.*, "exhalation," generally a verse (Śloka, Triṣṭubh or Jagatī) and rarely a prose saying, reads: "Now when the Lord had gained knowledge of this matter, he uttered the following pithy saying on this occasion." Most of these utterances serve to glorify the Buddhist ideal of life, the deep blissful repose of mind of the saint (Arhat) torn away from all earthly things, the endless bliss of Nirvāṇa.

---

[1]) Cf. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1900, 559 f., and the concordance by R. O. *Franke*, in the appendix to his Translation, p. 93 ff.

[2]) Brahmanical sources may occasionally be assumed. Thus, verse 108 is probably a quotation from a Brahmanical text, which is given only to connect the following verses with it (109-115).

[3]) Edited by P. *Steinthal*, London, PTS 1885; translated (rather imperfectly) into English by D. M. *Strong*, London 1902; into German by K. *Seidenstücker* (1920). See also E. *Windisch* in JPTS 1890, p. 91 ff.; K. *Seidenstücker*, Das Udāna, I. Teil: Allgemeine Einleitung, Leipzig 1913; B. C. *Mazumdar*, JRAS 1911, p. 197 ff.

The book of the Udānas contains only a selection of the "pithy sayings" ascribed to Buddha. In other books of the Tipiṭaka also, there are utterances of this kind, called "Udāna," which are not always attributed to Buddha, but sometimes to a king, a deity or some other personage.[1] Quite a number of Suttas as well as of separate Udānas (without the Suttas belonging to them) are common to the Udāna and other collections.[2] In particular, it contains several Suttas relating to the life of Buddha, which are in agreement with the biographical texts of the Vinayapiṭaka and the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta. However, they were probably not borrowed from these collections, but were based on earlier traditions on which the various collections have drawn.

It is an open question whether, as *Seidenstücker* thinks,[3] the majority of the Udānas in this collection are really "authentic words of the Master." We are safe, however, in granting that most of these short[4] and beautiful utterances certainly bear the stamp of antiquity, and that many of them are possibly the actual words of Buddha himself or of his most prominent disciples. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the utterances themselves are, as a rule, older than the narratives into which they are inserted. Though a few of them may have come down from the very beginning in association with an introductory story, yet in the majority of cases it was the compiler who appended such a story to an old Udāna. This is why many of the Suttas only contain very simple, in fact sometimes silly stories, inappropriate to the

---

[1]) For instance, Vinayap. Mahāv. 1, 1, 5.; Dīghanikāya XVI, 3, 10; Saṃyuttanik 1, 3; III, 3; VII, 1; XXII, 55.

[2]) Cf. *Seidenstücker*, Allg. Einleitung, p. 62 f.

[3]) l.c., p. 36. *Seidenstücker* is probably right in saying that the metrical irregularities which Mr. *Mazumdar* (l.c.) has pointed out in some of the Udānas, must not be corrected, but are rather a sign of antiquity.

[4]) Only III, 10 and VI, 8 are not short sayings, but short homilies.

pathos of the utterances themselves. For instance, in one pithy saying (III, 7) we are told that even the gods envy the saint who is free from desire. To illustrate this, a story is told how Sakka and the other gods actually envy the Arhat Mahākassapa. Another pithy saying (VI, 9) compares people who are engrossed in worldly life and do not strive after that which is essential, with moths rushing into a flame. The corresponding story relates that Buddha once sojourned in Sāvatthi, and noticed a number of moths flying into the burning oil-lamps and being burnt. Or, again, Buddha sees the venerable Sāriputta teaching another monk by means of a sermon. This is sufficient pretext for his being made to utter the following pithy saying (VII, 2) :

> " The wheel is broken, since he has become desireless ;
> The river is dried up and flows no more,
> No longer does the broken wheel roll on : [1]
> The end of sorrow is attained."

In Section VIII we find a series of significant sayings, which are of great importance as bearing on the much discussed question of the true meaning of Nirvāṇa. Yet only one single, short, and insignificant story is given in illustration of the first four sayings. VIII, 10 repeats the legend of VIII, 9 : A monk who has attained complete Nirvāṇa, flies up into the air, where he is burnt so entirely that nothing is left of him, not even soot or ashes. What pathos to attach this childish legend to the beautiful and profound " pithy saying " :

> " As the fiery sparks from a forge, one by one are extinguished,
> And no one knows whither they have gone ;

[1]) The "wheel" is the wheel of recurring rebirths ; the " stream " means sensual desires. These similes are so familiar to the Buddhists that they have become inherent in the vocabulary of the language. Cf. above, p. 74.

So it is with those who have attained to complete emancipation,
Who have crossed the flood of desire,
Who have entered upon the tranquil joy (of Nirvāṇa)—
Of these no trace remains." [1]

In some cases there is not much more than a thread to connect the "pithy saying" with the corresponding story. On the other hand, there are a few Suttas, in which the narrative is more interesting and more significant than the "pithy saying." For instance, III, 2, tells the story of Nanda, the half-brother of Buddha, who, though a monk, still harbours thoughts of the wife he has left behind, and is taken by the Lord to Indra's heaven, where he sees the heavenly nymphs, and observes that, beside these, his wife only looks like a wretched she-ape. Then Nanda only practises his monastic vow so as to gain possession of the beautiful heavenly women, but finally Buddha puts him on the right path.[2] The story in II, 8, is of interest, because it shows that in comparatively olden times loving devotion (bhakti) to Buddha was regarded as productive of miracles. The parable of the blind men and the elephant, in VI, 4, is famous:

Some ascetics and Brahmans once met together, and began to quarrel. Some said: "The world is eternal," and the others: "The world is not eternal;" some declared: "The world is finite," and the others: "The world is infinite;" again some taught: "Body and soul are separate," and others: "Body and soul are but one." Some said: "The perfect man *is* after death," others maintained: "The perfect man *is* not after death" and so forth. Finally all this leads to a quarrel, and to harsh and insulting words. The monks tell Buddha of this quarrel, and then he tells them the following parable:

There was once a king, who had all those who had been born blind, brought together. When they were all assembled, the king commanded

[1]) Translation (rather free) by D. M. *Strong*, p. 129.

[2]) This theme later became the subject of an epic (Saundarānanda-kāvya) by Aśvaghoṣa.

an elephant to be shown to them. An elephant was brought, and they made some feel his head, others his ear, others his tusk, others his trunk, etc., and the last one the elephant's tail.[1] Then the king asked them: "How does an elephant look?" Then those who had touched the elephant's head, said: "An elephant is like a pot;" those who had touched the ear, said: "An elephant is like a winnowing basket;" those who had touched the tusk, declared: "An elephant is like a plough-share;" those who had touched the trunk, said: "An elephant is like the pole of a plough," etc.; and those who had felt the tail, maintained: "An elephant is like a broom." A great tumult now arose. Each one maintained: "An elephant is like this, and not otherwise; he is not like that, he is like this," until at last they came to blows, at which the king was mightily amused.

Even so, concluded Buddha, is the case of the ascetics and Brahmans, each of whom has only seen a portion of the truth, and who then maintain: "Thus is truth, and not otherwise; truth is not thus, but thus."[2]

4. Like most portions of the Udāna, the Itivuttaka,[3] ("Thus spake Buddha" sayings[4]) also consists of prose and verse. Yet here the relationship between the two is essentially different. The prose is not narrative prose, but the same idea, whether it is a doctrine or an admonition, is presented partly in prose, partly in verse. In many cases, in about 50 of the 112 short pieces of which the work consists, an idea is first briefly expressed in prose and then repeated in verse, only

---

[1]) The text reads: "He *showed* them the head," etc., but the meaning is, of course, that he told them to feel the elephant's head, etc.

[2]) The parable was also familiar to the Brahmanical philosophers, among whom "the rule of the blind men and the elephant" (andhagajanyāya) has become proverbial. Cf. G. A. *Jacob*, A Second Handful of Popular Maxims, Bombay 1902, p. 53, and JRAS 1902, p. 174; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS 1911, p. 200 f. It occurs also in the Jaina Syādvādamañjarī, see V. S. *Ghate*, Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, p. 251.

[3]) Edited by E. *Windisch*, London PTS 1889. Translated into English (Sayings of Buddha, with an Introduction and Notes) by J. H. *Moore*, New York 1908 (rather faulty); into German by K. *Seidenstücker*, Leipzig, 1922; into Italian by *Pavolini*, Testi di morale buddhistica, Lanciano 1912, pp. 97-111.

[4]) The title means "Sayings beginning with the words 'Thus was said (by the Lord).'" Every paragraph begins with the words: "This was said by the Lord."

deviating so far as the metrical form[1] demands. In a few cases only one verse has a counterpart in the prose, while several verses follow, to which nothing in the prose corresponds. In addition to these there are the numerous cases in which prose and verses supplement each other, whether the prose forms only a short introduction to the ideas expressed in the verses, or whether one aspect of an idea is treated in prose and the other in verse. In all these cases the spirit of the verses and of the prose is, on the whole, the same, and not infrequently an idea is expressed more clearly and more pointedly, and even more beautifully, in the prose than in the verses. Though here, too, there is no lack of formula-like phrases and repetitions so characteristic of the Buddhist Suttas, yet the style is, on the whole, free from excessive verbosity. Almost all the pieces are short. Both in the prose and the verses, the language is simple, natural and not excessively flowery. Elaborate similes are rare, but some beautiful metaphors occur. Thus the generous man, who gives liberally to pious beggars, is compared with the rain-cloud, which pours its water over hill and vale (No. 75). Bad company is avoided by the sage, as even the spotless quiver is defiled by the poisoned arrow (No. 76). The senses are the gates which must be well guarded (Nos. 28 and 29). Buddha calls himself the incomparable healer and surgeon, and the monks his children and heirs (No. 100). The language of the prose rises to the most lofty flights in the piece (No. 27) about friendliness towards all beings (mettā):

"O Monks, all actions serving as the substratum of a new rebirth, by which one acquires merit, are not worth the sixteenth part of friendliness (mettā), which is the emancipation of mind; for friendliness radiates, shines and illumines, surpassing those actions as the emancipation of mind. O monks, just as all the lights of the stars are not worth the sixteenth

[1]) The metre of the Itivuttaka is dealt with by J. H. *Moore* in JAOS, Vol. 28, 317-330.

part of the moon-light, for the moonlight, surpassing them all, radiates, shines and illumines—so, O monks, all actions serving as the substratum of a new rebirth, by which one acquires merit, are not worth the sixteenth part of friendliness, which is the emancipation of mind; for friendliness radiates, shines and illumines, surpassing those actions as the emancipation of mind. Just as when, O monks, in the last month of the rainy season, in autumn the sky is clear and cloudless, the sun rises over the heavens, and, driving away the darkness which fills the atmosphere, radiates, shines and illumines, so, O monks, all etc.,.....the emancipation of mind. And O monks, just as in the early morning, when the night is past, the morning star radiates, shines and illumines, so O monks, all etc., the emancipation of mind."[1]

Sometimes the prose adopts a personal note, which is missing in the verses. Thus, in No. 30f., Buddha says that two things cause him pain, namely, when a man has done no good, and when a man has done evil; and that two things give him pleasure, namely, when a man has done no evil, and when a man has done good. But the verses say only that he who has done evil in deeds, words and thoughts, shall descend to hell after death, while the virtuous one, who does good in deeds, words and thoughts, shall go to heaven after death. In the prose of No. 92 Buddha says very beautifully: Even if a monk takes hold of the hem of my garment and follows me step by step, but at the same time is greedy, passionate, malicious, etc., he is still far from me and I far from him. But if a monk dwells a hundred miles distant from me and is not greedy, not passionate, not malicious, etc., he is near me and I am near him. Then come the feeble, commonplace verses, in which it is said that the greedy man, the evil-doer, the malcontent, is far removed from the sage, who has attained calmness; while the good man, the calm man, the selfless man, is very near to the good one, the calm one, the selfless one. It seems almost as if a commentator had here welded together two texts, the one in prose, the other

[1]) Cf. *Pischel*, Leben und Lehre des Buddha, p. 77 f.

in verse, though they have nothing in common but the words "near" and "far."

Indeed, cases are not rare in which the prose represents an independent Sutta, and the verses which follow it are only distantly connected with the prose, sometimes only by word consonances. Moreover, there are a few pieces in which the prose and the verse portions are entirely unconnected or even contradict each other. In all these cases we are probably dealing with later additions. Expressing an idea first in prose and then garbing it in verse, or commencing the presentation of a doctrine in prose and then continuing it in verse, seems to be an old form of Buddhist composition. Then when texts having this form were collected in the Itivuttaka, even prose texts and verses which were taken from elsewhere, were combined on the same pattern and inserted into the collection, possibly already by the first compiler, but perhaps not till later. It is a fact that in the Chinese translation of the Itivuttaka by Hsüan-Tsang many of the last pieces of our collection are missing,[1] and that a few of these last pieces are to be found in the Aṅguttaranikāya. It is very probable that they were taken thence. Furthermore, when we consider that a number of verses, combined with different prose pieces, appear twice, it may be regarded as indubitable that even in this very small collection earlier and later matters are combined. The additions include a few passages in which the prose only looks like a kind of commentary on the verse. In the old and authentic pieces,[2] however, the prose does not lag behind

[1]) Cf. *Watanabe*, Chinese Collection of Itivuttakas, in JPTS 1907, p. 44 ff.; A. J. *Edmunds*, Buddhist and Christian Gospels, I, 209 ff. On the other hand the Chinese Ityukta has 137 Suttas against 112 in the Pāli text. Cf. *Seidenstücker*, l.c., p. xvi ff.

[2]) *Moore*, wrongly regards the prose in general as a later ingredient. *Seidenstücker*, on the contrary, sees in the prose the nucleus of the work. It is probable that in the oldest passages of the Itivuttaka there is much which can be traced back to Buddha himself. However, A. J. *Edmunds* is far too optimistic in saying that: "If the Itivuttaka be not the words of Buddha, nothing is" (Buddhist and Christian Gospels, I, p. 83).

the verse either in value or in antiquity. In the later additions, too, it may happen that an old piece of prose has been combined with later verses.

5. If many pieces of the very oldest Buddhist poetry have been preserved in all the books of the Khuddakanikāya hitherto mentioned, this may be maintained with far greater certainty of the Suttanipāta [1] (the "Section of Discourses"); [2] for, though the whole collection as such cannot be proved as belonging to the very earliest of what ancient Buddhist poetry we have, yet certain of the essential parts of the collection can put forward this claim. The Suttanipāta is a collection of poetical Suttas in 5 sections. The first four sections (Uragavagga, Cūlavagga, Mahāvagga, Aṭṭhakavagga) contain 54 short poems, while section 5 (Pārāyana) is a long, independent poem, consisting of 16 shorter parts. Of these 5 sections, two, Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyana, are mentioned by their titles or quoted, both in other texts of the Pāli-Canon and in Sanskrit Buddhist texts.[3] There is an old commentary on these two sections, which has been included in the Canon (as Book 11 of the Khuddakanikāya) under the title of Niddesa. Moreover, single Suttas and numerous Gāthās, from all the five sections, can be traced in other texts of the Canon.[4] Among the texts especially

---

[1]) Edited by V. *Fausböll*, London PTS 1885 and 1893, and translated by the same scholar in SBE, Vol. 10, part 2, 1881. New edition of the text by Dines *Andersen* and Helmer *Smith*, London PTS 1913. Translated into German by K. E. *Neumann* (Reden Gotamo Buddho's IV, 1911). Cf. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 177 ff.; H. *Oldenberg*, Aus dem alten Indien, Berlin 1910, p. 25 ff.

[2]) Nipāta is a short section of a larger collection; thus the sections of the Aṅguttaranikāya are called Nipātas. *Neumann* translates it by "fragments," *Oldenberg* (l.c., p. 25) by "perhaps the isolated, occasional speeches."

[3]) The same two texts also occur in the Chinese Tipiṭaka, while the Suttanipāta as a whole has not been translated into Chinese. For this, see M. *Anesaki* in JPTS 1906-7, p. 50f.; Le Muséon, N. S., VII, 1906, p. 33 ff., and Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XXXV, 1908, part 3, p. 8 ff. Fragments of an Arthavargīya-Sūtra in Sanskrit have been discovered in Central Asia, s. A. F. R. *Hoernle*, JRAS 1916, 709 ff.

[4]) Cf. R. Otto *Franke*, in ZDMG 63, 1909, p. 1 ff., 23 ff., 255 ff., 551 ff.; 64, 1910,

recommended for study by King Aśoka in his Bhābrū edict, there are three which probably belong to the Suttanipāta.[1] Reasons, both of language and of subject-matter, also speak in favour of some of these Suttas reaching back to the time of the beginning of Buddhism and of many of them having originated at least in the circles of the first disciples of Buddha, not long after his death.

The significance of these compositions for the knowledge of the old doctrine of Buddha is just as generally acknowledged as their great antiquity, and next to the Dhammapada, the Suttanipāta is probably the most frequently quoted text in all works on Buddhism. Lastly, the high esteem in which the Suttas of this collection are held as works of poetic art is also general.

We find now shorter, now longer groups of verses, which are combined into a poem by the same idea and often also by the same refrain running through them. Side by side with prose sermons into which occasional verses are inserted, or sermons in verse but with a prose framework,[2] we also find the forms, popular from time immemorial, both of pure dialogue and of the ākhyāna or the ballad, in which dialogue-stanzas alternate with narrative-stanzas, and lastly of the ākhyāna composed of a mixture of prose and verse[3]—all

---

1 ff., 760 ff.; 66, 1912, 204, ff., 699 ff. *Franke* (WZKM 28, 1914, 261 ff.) endeavours to prove that the Suttanipāta has borrowed the Sela-Sutta (III, 7) and the Vāseṭṭha-Sutta (III, 9) from the Majjhimanikāya (No. 92 and No. 98). I do not believe that this proof is conclusive. But even if it were, it would only follow that the collection of the Suttanipāta is later than the collection of the Majjhimanikāya. As neither the Majjhimanikāya nor the Suttanipāta is a unified work, it does not follow that all the separate portions of the Suttanipāta are later than the Majjhimanikāya.

[1]) Cf. *Neumann*, Reden Gotamo Buddho's I, 567; IV, 71 f., 226, and Dharmananda *Kosambi*, Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, p. 37 ff.

[2]) E.g. Sundarikabhāradvāja-Sutta, Sela-Sutta, and others. Cf. *Oldenberg*, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, p. 77 ff.

[3]) I see no reason why we should use the expression "ākhyāna" only for the latter form of narrative poetry, and not for the ballad in general. According to Buddhaghosa the Suttanipāta consists of Gāthā, Geyya and Vyākaraṇa. (Paramatthajotikā, Introd.)

forms with which we are familiar from the ancient Brahmanical and epic poetry. In many cases there are still references or allusions to Brahmanical ideas. The Brāhmaṇa-Dhammika-Sutta (II, 7), the "Sutta of the Pious among the Brahmans," would be equally appropriate in an old Purāṇa. It describes how the Ṛṣis of olden days were the "true Brahmans," and lived abstemiously in every respect; how they were later allured by the wealth and the luxurious life of the kings, how they aspired after the same enjoyments, and were presented with beautiful women and wealth by King Ikṣvāku, and how all this led to the bloody animal sacrifices, at which even the innocent cow was killed. Intermingling of castes and deterioration of morals were the result of this. Here, then, Buddhism is represented as a return to the ancient true "Brahmanism." In the Sela-Sutta, too (III, 7), which relates the conversion of the Brahman Sela, there are passages which are quite in accord with verses of the Bhagavadgītā and Anugītā.[1] Thus the Buddhist monk who is faithful to his vow, is also held up as the "true Muni," [2] in several poems. The idea which we already met with in an old portion of the Mahābhārata,[3] that true Brahmanhood does not consist in birth, but in good conduct, is beautifully elaborated in the Vasettha-Sutta (III, 9), in 63 verses with the refrain "Him do I call a true Brahman." In other poems, again, in refined polemics, the Buddhist ideal of life is contrasted with the Brahmanic ideal, and presented as the higher one. Thus in the Āmagandha-Sutta (II, 2), where a Brahman who regards the observance of the dietary laws as the highest moral law and the tasting of forbidden meat as the most reprehensible

[1]) *Cf.* Suttanipāta 568 f. with Bhagavadg. IX, 18; X, 30 and Anug. 28, 2; 29, 1.

[2]) Muni, the ascetic, who has taken the vow of silence, is primarily a term applied to Brahmanical ascetics.

[3]) See above, Vol. I, p 353. The theme of "the true Brahman" is also dealt with in the Dhammapada (Chapt. 26=383-423), in the Udāna I, and similarly in the Jinistic Uttarajjhayaṇa XXV. Cf. *Charpentier*, WZKM 24. 1910, 62 ff.

impurity, is told by Buddha that true impurity does not consist in the eating of meat, but:

"Torturing living creatures, murder, killing, tyrannizing,
Theft, lies and frauds, intercourse with a neighbour's wife,
This is impurity, and not the eating of meat."

"Being cruel and hard, slandering, betraying,
Being unmerciful, proud and covetous, giving nothing—
This is impurity, and not the eating of meat."

A poem like the Kasibharadvāja-Sutta (I, 4) seems to carry us back to the early days of Buddhism, when the monk was probably looked askance as an idler by the labouring people, by farmers and shepherds. Here the Brahman farmer Bharadvāja scornfully repels the begging Buddha, giving him to understand that he who will not work, neither shall he eat. Thereupon Buddha shows him that he too is working, and wherein his "ploughing" consists. In one of the most beautiful of these old poems, the Dhaniya-Sutta (I, 2), the comfort and happiness of the rich owner of herds, who rejoices in his prosperity and his domestic happiness, is contrasted with the quiet joy of the Buddha, without possessions, homeless, but free from all earthly bonds. In a magnificent dialogue the wealthy Dhaniya and the Buddha alternately utter a verse each with the same refrain, "Rain, O heaven, if thou wilt."

These poets find ever new methods of singing the same old song, that it is only the monk, removed from the world, who knows nothing and desires to know nothing of wife and child, of the joys and sorrows of this world, who is truly happy. What is said in the Dhaniya-Sutta in the form of a lively dialogue, we find again in the Khaggavisāna-Sutta (I, 3), the "rhinoceros-poem," in 41 vigorous stanzas with the refrain "He shall wander lonely as the rhinoceros," expressed with an earnestness and pathos, the impression of which cannot fail to

affect even him who is far removed from this monkish conception of life.

The dialogue form is sometimes combined, as in the Ālavaka-Sutta (I, 10) and the Sūciloma-Sutta (II, 5), with the old riddle-poetry form which we have already met with in the Veda and the epic. Just as in the Mahābhārata,[1] here too, a Yakṣa appears as the questioner, and a sage replies to the questions by presenting the ethical doctrines of Buddhism.

The Suttanipāta contains not only didactic dialogues, but also a few narrative dialogues. Of these there are three, the Nālaka-Sutta (III, 11), the Pabbajjā-Sutta (III, 1), and the Padhāna-Sutta (III, 2), which are of special importance; for, they are precious remnants of that ancient sacred ballad-poetry from which the later epic version of the life of Buddha grew, in the same way as the heroic epic grew out of the secular ballads or Ākhyānas.[2] The chief peculiarity of these ballads is the conversational form. The dialogue was usually sufficient to bring the course of a narrative before the mind of the hearer. Where this was not the case, however, brief prose formulæ, a short introduction and a few short prose sentences were often inserted. The insertion of narrative-stanzas between the conversational stanzas was a further step in the development. We find this final step in the development of the ancient Indian Ākhyāna, which really formed the preliminary step to the epic, in the three Suttanipāta ballads above-mentioned, dealing with scenes from the history of Buddha's youth. We find here the chief features of the later Buddha-legend already prepared. The Nālaka-Sutta deals with the events immediately after the birth of the Buddha-child:

The gods in heaven are in a state of pleasurable excitement. The divine seer Asita hears their outbursts of joy, and in answer to his question,

---

[1]) See above, Vol. I, p. 352 f.

[2]) See above, p. 40, note 1, p. 59, and Vol. I, p. 312 ff. Cf. also *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, p. 3 ff., 222 f., 245 ff. and *Oldenberg*, Aus dem alten Indien, 45 ff.

receives the reply that in the Lumbinī-grove in the town of the Sakyas the Buddha has just been born for the salvation of the world. Then the sage descends from heaven to the palace of Suddhodana and desires to see the newly born boy. When he sees the boy, who is "radiant as fire, as the brightest of the stars, as the autumnal sun in the cloudless sky," being fanned by divine beings, he takes the child in his arms, and cries: "This is the incomparable one, the highest of men." At the same instant, however, he thinks of his own imminent end, and bursts into tears. In consternation the Sakyas ask whether any evil threatens the boy. The sage reassures them, and tells them that the boy will attain to the summit of complete enlightenment, but that he is sorrowful because he himself will not live to hear the preaching of the Lord. Before he departs, he exhorts his nephew Nālaka to follow the Buddha as soon as his call is heard.[1])

The second of these poems, the Pabbajjā-Sutta, describes the "departure" (pabbajjā) of the youthful Gotama from his home, and the meeting which, on his wanderings as a begging ascetic, he had with the king of Rājagaha. The third ballad, the Padhāna-Sutta,[2]) describes a still later episode, how Māra, the evil one, after he has followed close on Gotama's heels for seven years, resumes the fight once again and endeavours to dissuade him from his struggle for knowledge, and to bring him back to the worldly life, and how Māra is ignominiously defeated. Though these ballads, as can be seen, are already rich in legendary features and mythical accessories, they may nevertheless be called simple and sober in comparison with the exaggeration of the later biographies of Buddha.

Nevertheless, even in the form in which they stand in the ballads of the Suttanipāta, these legends cannot belong

---

[1]) This legend has often been compared with that of Simeon, St. Luke 2, 25 ff., and it is indeed one of the most striking Buddhist parallels to the Gospels. *Cf.* especially *Pischel*, Leben und Lehre des Buddha, p. 23 ff. E. *Windisch* (in Festschrift Kuhn, p. 6 ff.) has discussed the variants of the legend, and traced Asita Devala back to Brahmanical literature. *Windisch* regards it as "not absolutely proved that the Simeon of St. Luke owes his existence to the Asita of the Buddhist legend."

[2]) This has often been compared with the Christian legend of the temptation of Christ.

to the oldest stratum of Buddhist tradition. They already pre-suppose a fairly long history of the Buddha legend. Among the latest parts of the Suttanipāta, however, are some of the prose narratives forming the framework for poems which in themselves bear the stamp of antiquity. *Fausböll* [1] indeed, has declared *all* the prose passages to be later additions. This can hardly be accepted. But K. E. *Neumann* is probably not far wrong when, in his translation, he simply omits some of the prose passages, regarding them, as he says using rather strong language, as "commentatorial priestly trash." When for instance, often in an entirely superfluous and clumsy manner, some Yakṣa or deity appears in order to introduce a dialogue, we are doubtless justified in calling such passages commentatorial additions.[2] At all events, the Suttanipāta, too, is a collection made up of earlier and later texts, and is certainly not a unified work,[3] even though a few of the poems included in the Suttanipāta, such as perhaps the 12 Suttas of the Uragavagga, may be the work of the same author.

6, 7. The two short works, Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu,[4] the "Stories of the Divine Palaces" and the "Ghost Stories," probably belong to the latest stratum of literature assembled in the Pāli-Canon. The truly great and profound doctrine of Karman, which has found expression in Brahmanical as well as Buddhist texts in so many beautiful sayings and legends,[5] is most clumsily explained by means of examples in these little stories, whose metrical form is their only

[1]) Preface, p. vii to his editio princeps of the text.

[2]) See, for example, I, 6; 10; II, 4; 5; III, 10.

[3]) *Cf.* R. O. *Franke* in Festschrift Windisch, p. 196 ff.

[4]) The Vimānavatthu, edited by E. R. *Gooneratne*, London PTS 1886. Petavatthu, ed. by J. *Minayeff*, London PTS 1888. *Cf.* L. *Scherman*, Visionslitteratur, p. 58 ff.; L. *Feer* in JA, s. 8, t. III, 1884, pp. 109 ff., 138 ff.; *Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 345 note; W. *Stede*, Die Gespenstergeschichten des Peta Vatthu, Leipzig 1914, and Bimala Charan *Law*, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, Calcutta 1923 (Calcutta Oriental Series).

[5]) *Cf.* above, Vol. I, pp. 258 f., 411 f., 441, 562 f.

poetical attribute. The stories, no doubt chiefly intended for laymen, are all made after one model. In the Vimānavatthu some divine being or other is asked by Moggallāna how he has gained possession of this or the other divine palace (vimāna) with all its splendours.[1] In reply the deity briefly recounts the good action which he had performed in one of his former existences, in consequence of which he gained this heavenly joy. In the Petavatthu a Peta (Sanskrit Preta, spirit of a dead person, which, restless and tormented, roams about in the neighbourhood of the earth as a ghost) appears, and is asked by Nārada, and sometimes by another person also, what action has brought about his unhappy lot, whereupon he relates it in a few brief words. One example (Petavatthu I, 2) will suffice:

(The wise Nārada says to a ghost:)

All golden is thy body, shining far through the wide world,
But thy mouth is that of a pig: what is the deed which thou
hast done?

(Thereupon the ghost replies:)

Well curbed was I in deeds, unbridled only in words,
That is the reason why thou, Nārada, seest me in such disfigurement.
Therefore I tell thee, Nārada, as thou thyself hast seen it,
Do no evil with thy mouth, that thou may'st not acquire a
pig's mouth.

The fact that in the Petavatthu (IV, 3) a king Piṅgalaka appears, who, according to the commentary of Dhammapāla, is supposed to have ruled in Surat 200 years after Buddha, proves that even the commentators of a later time place these texts at a considerable interval from the life-time

[1]) According to E. *Kuhn* and R. *Garbe* (Indien und das Christentum, p. 142) the Vimānavatthu is the source for the palace in the legend of Saint Thomas.

of Buddha. Even if we admit that the ideas of heaven and hell already existed in ancient Buddhism beside the ideal of Arhat and Nirvāṇa, and that the conceptions of the Petas may be traced back, in part, to very ancient popular superstition, we cannot ascribe great antiquity to these "poems." [1] Notwithstanding, even in these late books also, some ancient materials, Itihāsa-dialogues and ballads, have been incorporated.

8, 9. The miscellaneous character of the texts of the Khuddakanikāya is evidenced by the fact that the two above-mentioned texts, which are among the dullest productions of monk-poetry, are immediately followed by the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā,[2] the "Songs of the Elders," and "Songs of the Lady Elders," [3] religious poems which, in force and beauty, are fit to rank with the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of the Ṛgveda to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru.

The Theragāthā and Therīgāthā are two collections, the

---

[1]) According to E. *Hardy*, ZDMG 53, 1899, 25 ff., the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu borrowed material which was useful for their purposes, from other works of the Khuddakanikāya, such as the Jātakas. See also E. *Hardy* in the preface to the edition of the commentary on the Vimānavatthu, London PTS 1901, p. xi. Nevertheless it is equally possible that the contrary was the case, and that the Jātaka-book borrowed from the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu; in fact the Jātaka commentary, No. 243, directly quotes from the Vimānavatthu.

[2]) Edited by H. *Oldenberg* and R. *Pischel*, London PTS 1883; translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Early Buddhists, I, Psalms of the Sisters, II, Psalms of the Brethren, London PTS 1909, 1913; into German by K. E. *Neumann*, Berlin 1899. Index to the Pādas of Thera- and Therī-Gāthā, by W. *Stede*, JPTS 1924-1927, p. 38 ff. *Cf.* E. *Müller*, JRAS 1910, 536 ff., Maria E. Lulius *van Good*, De Buddhistische Non, Leiden 1915, p. 142 ff.

[3]) The Theras and Theris are the male and female "elders," primarily the first and most prominent male and female disciples of Buddha himself, and then those members of the order who were venerable by reason of their age and still more by their moral and spiritual qualities. Though Thera, fem. therī, Sanskrit sthavira, means "old," the title was determined rather by those qualities which inspire reverence, than by age or seniority. There was neither an honorary office nor privileges or duties of any kind in connection with this honorary title. *Cf.* T. W. *Rhys Davids*, ERE, Vol. 5, p. 252 f.

first of which contains 107 poems with 1,279 stanzas (gāthā) and the second 73 poems with 522 stanzas, which are ascribed by tradition to certain Theras and Therīs mentioned by name. This tradition is guaranteed to us both by the manuscripts and by the commentary of Dhammapāla, probably composed in the 5th century A.D., which also contains narratives in which a kind of life-history of each of these Theras and Therīs is told. These narratives, however, are either merely adapted from the verses, or they are pure inventions, or have been borrowed from various narrative works. They are entirely unauthentic; neither is the tradition of the names of the Theras and Therīs as the authors of the verses on the whole, trustworthy.[1] However, the tradition is right in assuming for these poems, not one author, but many authors, and certainly in ascribing the authorship of the songs partly to monks and partly to nuns. Some of the songs which are ascribed to various authors may, of course, in reality be the work of only one poet, and, conversely, some stanzas ascribed to one and the same poet, might have been composed by various authors; there may also be a few songs among the "Songs of the Lady Elders," composed by monks, and possibly a few songs among the "Songs of the Elders," composed by nuns[2] but in no case can these poems be the product of one brain. If the same

[1]) When, among the verses ascribed to Ānanda (Therag. 1018-1050) we also find verses referring to Ānanda, and among others, verses in praise of Ānanda, or when, in the verses ascribed to Moggallāna (1146-1208) the legends of Moggallāna related in Majjhimanikāya 50 are also interwoven, and so on, we see that the monks, who ascribed these verses to certain Theras and Therīs, knew just as little of the real composers of the songs as the compilers of the Anukramaṇīs knew of the composers of the Ṛgveda hymns (*cf.* above, Vol. I, p. 57 f.).

[2]) The redaction is by no means careful or skilful. We often find verses separated which clearly ought to come together in one poem, and *vice versa*, we find verses, which ought not to be together, combined to form a poem. We also frequently find the same verses again literally in different places. Some poems have been dismembered, and on purely external evidence some verses have been included in the Theragāthā and others in the Therīgāthā.

phrases frequently recur and the tone of the poems is, in many respects, uniform, it only proves that they all bear the stamp of the Buddhist mind, but not, as K. E. *Neumann*[1] considers, that "one man has left the impress of his mind on the whole."

There can be no doubt that the great majority of the "Songs of the Lady Elders" were composed by women. First of all, the monks never had so much sympathy with the female members of the community, as to warrant our crediting them with having composed these songs sung from the very hearts of women. We need only recall the difficulties which, according to tradition, Gotama placed in the way of his foster-mother when she desired to found the order of nuns, and the reproaches which are cast at Ānanda in several parts of the Canon on account of his friendly attitude towards women. For the same reason it would never have occurred to the monks to ascribe songs to the women, if an incontestible tradition had not pointed at this direction. Mrs. *Rhys Davids*[2] has pointed out the difference in idiom, sentiment and tone between the "Songs of the Elders" and the "Songs of the Lady Elders." One has only to read the two collections consecutively in order to arrive at the conviction that, in the songs of the nuns, a personal note is very frequently struck which is foreign to those of the monks, that in the latter we hear more of the inner experience, while in the former, we hear more frequently of external experiences, that in the monks' songs descriptions of nature predominate, while in those of the nuns, pictures of life prevail.[3]

---

[1]) In the Preface to his translation, p. vii. And the remarks of R. O. *Franke* in WZKM 24, 1910, p. 15 f., only prove that certain sets of verses are unified poems, but not that the whole is the work of one single author.

[2]) Psalms of the Sisters, p. xxiii ff.

[3]) *Oldenberg*, Literatur des alten Indien, p. 101 note, may be right when he explains the prevalence of the descriptions of nature in the "Songs of the Elders" by the fact that

Common to both collections are the religious ideals which are set up and the moral doctrines which are proclaimed. All these monks and nuns know of nothing higher than that profound calmness of mind for which even the gods envy the saint, which is won by the extinction of passion, hatred, and illusion and by the renunciation of all sensual inclinations and tendencies, and gives a foretaste of that highest bliss, Nirvāṇa, the end of all suffering in the consciousness of release from rebirth. Blessed is the monk who is equally insensible to joy and sorrow, who feels neither hunger nor cold: blessed the nun who can say of herself (Therīg. 76):

> " Now all the evil bonds that fetter gods
> And men are wholly rent and cut away.
> Purg'd are the Āsavas [1] that drugg'd my heart,
> Calm and content I know Nibbāna's Peace." [2]

These ideals, like the ethical doctrines, the noble fourfold path, gentleness and kindness towards all beings (mettā), non-violence (ahiṃsā), self-control, and so on, are common to these songs as well as to the sayings of the Dhammapada and the poems of the Suttanipāta. The distinctive feature of the songs of the monks and the nuns is, however, that they are personal confessions, or describe personal experiences. Proudly a monk relates how wife and child in vain endeavoured to disturb his peace—" Then my heart was set at liberty " (Therag. 299 ff.). Another one recalls to mind the courtesan whose blandishments he has resisted (Therag. 459 ff.). The

---

nature, as treated in these songs, is forest scenery, and the hermit life in the forest naturally played a greater part in the case of the monks than in that of the nuns. This is an additional argument in favour of the " Songs of the Lady Elders " having in reality been composed by the nuns themselves.

[1]) The Āsavas or " intoxicants " are: sensuality, longing for rebirth, false doctrine, and ignorance.

[2]) Translation by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Sisters, p. 53. Nibbāna = Nirvāṇa.

Songs of the Elders abound in attacks on the woman, the temptress—this snare, this bond—who never ceases to threaten to divert the monk from his holy living.[1] However numerous may be the women who come, boasts one monk, they shall not seduce me (Therag. 1211). Woman is the cause of all suffering, only he who steadfastly keeps away from her, can become a true hero (Therag. 738 ff.). A monk describes in a most gruesome manner, how he was led to the truth by the sight of the decaying corpse of a woman (Therag. 315 ff., 393 ff.). In contrast to these ugly pictures there are many more beautiful ones. We hear of a monk whose own mother led him to the truth, for which he thanks her in beautiful words.[2] In another song a monk consoles his mother by telling her that, after all, he has not died (Therag. 44). Another one relates how he eked out a miserable existence by picking up dead flowers, how he came to the Buddha and found liberation (Therag. 620 ff.). Yet another, according to tradition the son of a king's chaplain, tells how, proud of his noble birth, his wealth and his beauty, he lived a life of infatuation, until he saw the Buddha, and was converted (Therag. 423 ff.). A king, who has become a monk, compares his present life as a beggar with his erstwhile splendid court life (Therag. 842 ff.). Yet, in the Songs of the Elders, references to external experiences are comparatively rare. As a rule they only describe the inner life of the monks, mostly in short poems of a few verses each. However, in the verses ascribed to the Thera Talapuṭa,[3] we have also a long and splendid poem, the soliloquy of a monk striving after holiness. Some of the Songs of the Elders deal neither with

---

[1]) *Cf.* Therag. 267 ff., 279 ff., 453 ff, 459 ff., 1150 ff.

[2]) Therīg. 204-212, where the Thera Vaḍḍha is urged by his mother to become a monk, and Therag. 335-339, where Vaḍḍha thanks his mother, obviously belong to one poem. *Cf.* above, p. 101 note 2.

[3]) Therag. 1091-1145, s. *Oldenberg*, Literatur des alten Indien, p. 101 f., and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Brethren, p. 369 ff.

introspective self-expression nor external experience, but are merely verse sermons of general content.[1]

We have already remarked above, that pictures of real life are far more numerous in the Songs of the Lady Elders than in those of the Elders. Mad with grief at the loss of a child, a mother strays about, until, comforted and instructed by Buddha himself, she is admitted into the order. It happens more than once that women are brought into the order of nuns through the loss of children.[2] In one song we hear of a poor widow who (involuntarily) goes begging from house to house, and, by chance, comes to the nuns. Where she is sympathetically received and instructed, becomes a (voluntary) beggar, and through her kind teacher Paṭācārā, soon finds the way to Nirvāṇa. We hear repeatedly of former courtesans who became nuns, and the contrast between the life and conduct of the courtesan and the calm sanctity of the nun has a great artistic effect. In the midst of rejoicings and festivities, a beauty in festal array, comes to a convent and is instructed and converted by Buddha. Here, too, the contrast between the extravagant festive joy and the peace of Nirvāṇa is very effective.[3] We hear also of young girls of noble race, of matrons of advanced age, of a mother of ten children, who, instructed by Buddha himself or by some venerable nun, seek and find the way to Nirvāṇa. Moreover, we often hear how relatives vainly endeavour to dissuade a daughter from her decision to become a nun. The beautiful daughter of a rich man is courted by the sons of the wealthy people, even by princes, one of whom sends her father the message: "Eight times her weight in gold will I give for her, and stores of gems in addition." But she has heard the Buddha and prefers the life of a mendicant nun.

---

[1]) *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Brethren, p. xxxi ff.

[2]) Therīg. 133-138, 51-53, 127-132, 312-337.

[3]) Therīg. 122-126, 25, 72-76, 145-150.

Neither is there any lack of tragedies. While Kisā-Gotamī [1] lies in the street, under labour pains, her husband dies in the jungle; she gives birth to a child, but wandering on she loses both her new-born babe and her elder child; at last she reaches her home, only to find her mother, father and brother dead, burning on one pyre: however, she now takes to the noble, eight-fold path, which leads her to "immortality," to the realisation of Nirvāṇa.[2] After the tragedy we have a comedy: The woman, who rejoices at being, by her conversion, released from the threshing of rice and from an unloved husband, expresses the incident humorously by saying that she is now rid of "three crooked things," mortar and pestle and her hunchbacked husband.[3]

The great importance of these pictures of life for our knowledge of the social conditions, especially of the social position of woman in ancient India, is self-evident. It need hardly be mentioned how largely, too, such pictures contribute to the animation of these poems, which always move in the same circles of ideas, namely the glorification of the Arhat ideal, though regarded from various points of view, thus giving the non-Buddhist reader the impression of a certain monotony.[4] Sure enough, in the "Songs of the Elders," the charming descriptions of nature are largely instrumental in making many of these religious poems real gems of Indian lyric poetry. The love of nature which we have already met with in the Rāmāyaṇa as a prominent feature of

---

[1]) Mrs. *Rhys Davids* (Psalms of the Sisters, p. 109) thinks that Kisā-Gotamī is here, not relating her own fate, but alluding to that of Paṭācārā, as told in the legend of the commentary to Therīg. 112 ff.

[2]) Therīg. 151-156, 16 f., 69, 102 ff., 338-365, 213-223.

[3]) Therīg. 11, perhaps a counterpart of Therag. 43, where a monk rejoices that he is freed from "three crooked things" (sickle, plough and spade).

[4]) Mrs. *Rhys Davids* (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 1) contests the very suggestion of monotony, because, as she has pointed out (Psalms of the Sisters, p. XXXVII f., Psalms of the Brethren, pp. XLII ff., 420 ff.) the one Arhat ideal is treated in various aspects.

Indian poetry, which we admire in the ornate epics and in the love lyrics, and even in the didactic gnomic poetry, was not foreign to these monks inspite of all their renunciation of the world. More poet than monk, they delight in lingering over the description of the forest and mountain scenery, in the midst of which the solitary sage pursues his meditations. When the thunder rolls and the torrential rain pours down out of the dark clouds, the liberated monk sits in bliss in his rock cave. Even the saint who is indifferent to pleasure and pain, does not refrain from describing the spring.[1]

The love of nature is also shown in many beautiful similes. The sage is compared to a rock, which stands firm, or to an elephant. The monk who is proud of his monk's robe is like the monkey in a lion's skin. The self-restrained monk sits like a lion in his den.[2] We find an elaborate accumulation of similes in one of the "Songs of the Lady Elders" (Therīg. 112ff.): As the peasant ploughs the field, sows the seed and reaps, so the nun desires to attain Nirvāṇa; while washing her feet she sees the water trickling down the rock, and, stimulated to reflection by this sight, she curbs her heart as one tames a noble steed; then she goes into the convent, takes the lamp, and with a needle, draws down the wick, and as the light of the lamp goes out, she attains Nirvāṇa. This artistic intertwining of similes already recalls the embellishments (alaṃkāras) of ornate poetry, and so do some very artificial word-plays which occasionally occur. A beautiful song, ascribed to Ambapālī, the former courtesan (Therīg. 252ff.) is also a very elaborate composition. Here the poetess, in the first two lines of each verse, describes the beauty of her body, and in the third line, the ravages which old age has made in the body which was so beautiful in youth,

---

[1]) Therag. 537 ff., 1062 ff., 1135 ff., 189 ff., 522 ff., 307 ff., 527 ff., *Cf.* C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, The Love of Nature in Buddhist Poems: The Quest Review, April 1910.

[2]) Therag. 692 ff., 1000, 1080, 1081.

whereupon the refrain follows : " The word of the proclaimer of truth is not belied."

The refrain and the repetition of typical phrases are a characteristic feature of these poems.[1] The semi-dramatic dialogue form, too, is very popular. Thus one of the " Songs of the Lady Elders " (Therīg. 271 ff.) is a conversation between daughter and father, in which the daughter sets forth the advantages of the monastic life, and converts her father. Another of these songs (Therīg. 291 ff.) introduces a man—he was first a monk, then became a hunter, had a son, and now desires to become a monk again—in conversation with his wife, who is trying to dissuade him from his resolve ; she threatens to kill the child if he leaves her ; but he remains firm :

" And if thou throw the child to jackals or to dogs,
O wretch, thou wilt not turn me back,—not even for my son ! "

This is already a kind of ballad. And in the " Songs of the Elders " and the " Songs of the Lady Elders," especially in the latter, we find quite a number of real ballads with and without narrative stanzas. One of the longest of these ballads, which, at the same time, is extremely dramatic, is to be found among the "Songs of the Lady Elders" (Therīg. 312-337).

In amazement a Brahman asks his wife how is it that she does not weep, though she has lost her seven children, while she formerly used to weep day and night for the departed. She replies that she has learnt from Buddha how one can escape birth and death. Then the Brahman goes to Buddha and becomes a monk. He sends his charioteer back with a message to his wife that he has become a monk. The woman is about to give the charioteer a horse and carriage and a thousand pieces of gold for the glad tidings, but he says : " Keep the horse and carriage and

[1]) *Cf.* W. *Stede* in JPTS 1924-1927, p. 34 ff. *Stede's* " Synoptical Table of Repeated Pādas or ' Repertory ' Phrases," l.c., p. 197 ff., shows how numerous these repetitions are.

money, I too am going to become a monk." The daughter, too, whom the woman wishes to appoint as heir to the great treasures of the house, renounces, and declares her intention of becoming a nun.

Perhaps the most beautiful of these ballads is that of the nun Subhā, who is pursued in the forest by a rogue with declarations of love.

In glowing words he praises her beauty, depicts to her the terrors of the forest, and tries to tempt her to the delights of love. She rejects him :

" Lo ! thou art wanting to walk where no path is ; thou
seekest to capture
Moon from the skies for thy play ; thou would'st jump o'er
the ridges of Meru,
Thou who presumest to lie in wait for a child of the
Buddha ! "[1]

She declares that she has cast all worldly desires from her like glowing coals, like poison. She describes the perishableness and ugliness of the body ; even the eye is only a loathsome ball of flesh. With these words she tears out her eye [2] and hands it to the man. The latter is contrite and begs for forgiveness. The nun, however, goes to Buddha, and as soon as he looks at her, her eye shines forth as before (Therig. 366-399).

One magnificent ballad relates how some robbers approach a monk, and, overwhelmed by his wonderful calmness and fearlessness, throw their weapons away, give up their trade, and become pious monks (Therag. 705ff.). The ballad of the robber Aṅgulimāla, which we came across in

[1]) Translated by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Sisters, p. 152.

[2]) When in the Christian legends St. Lucia and St. Bridget pluck out both their eyes because the young men fell in love with them on account of their beauty, it may quite well be mere chance coincidence. One need only think of St. Matth. 18, 9, to see that Buddhist influence can scarcely be assumed, as is the view of E. *Müller* (AR. III, 1900, p. 233). *Cf.* C. H. *Tawney*, Kathāsaritsāgara Transl., I, p. 248 note ; R. *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 116 ; E. W. *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, New Haven 1922, p. 325 ff.; and *H. Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? Leipzig 1922, p. 220 f.

the Majjhimanikāya,[1] recurs verbatim in the Theragāthā (866ff.). Some of the ballads, dialogues between Māra and the nuns,[2] in the Therīgāthā, are in part counterparts to, and in part other versions of, those which we have found in the Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya. A number of other songs and verses of this collection can be traced in the four Nikāyas, in the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta. In fact, in one passage (Therag. 145) similes of the Nikāyas are even assumed to be known, that is, they are directly quoted. But even if we were to see quotations or loans in all these cases, it would hardly prove the later origin of the two collections as such; for the passages in question might have been inserted later.

It is certain that, in the two collections, there is a considerable number of poems which must be of later origin. When, for instance, a monk relates that, only because he offered a single flower, he wandered through the heavens in eighty hundred million years and finally reached Nirvāṇa, it indicates a Buddha-cult such as we do not see fully developed prior to the later Mahāyāna-texts And when a seven-year-old saint performs miracles, when a monk multiplies himself a thousand times and flies through the air, when ten thousand gods in Brahma's heaven receive Sāriputta and do him honour,[3]— passages containing these and such other miracles, can scarcely belong to the oldest stratum of Buddhist poetry and thought. The two poems[4] which speak of the decay of the religion could only have originated centuries after the founding of the order and, as I believe, after the time of Aśoka. In the first poem the simple and pious life of the monks of former times is contrasted with the "present" life

[1]) No. 86, see above, p. 48.

[2]) Therīg. 182 ff., 189 ff,, 196 ff.

[3]) Therag. 96, 429 ff., 563 ff., 1082 ff.

[4]) Therag. 920-948 and 949-980. *Neumann* compares these with Aṅguttaranikāya, V, 79 and 80.

of the monks. "They, who once forsook wealth, wife and child, now do evil for the sake of a spoonful of rice," eat what they like, carry on profane conversations, and, in return for vanities which they offer the people, expect rich gifts, collect herbs like physicians, adorn themselves like courtesans, are crafty, cunning, hypocritical and so on. In the second poem, in reply to the question as to what the monks of the future will be like, Phussa draws a picture which seems to indicate a period of the complete decay of Buddhism. The monks, it is said, will be filled with anger and hatred, envy and obstinacy, they will not want to know anything of the truth, will distort the word of the Lord, will accept gold and silver, will despise the virtuous and true monks, monks and nuns will live without discipline, and so on—a remarkable picture, which cannot possibly date from an ancient period. The song of Isidāsī in the "Songs of the Lady Elders" (Therīg. 400-447) seems to belong to the same period of decay. Here it is regarded quite as a matter of course that a girl only becomes a nun in consequence of some misfortune. That a man should become a monk, discard his monk's robe in order to marry and return to the monastic life after a fortnight, seems to be taken from real life, but probably from the life of a time at which Buddhism had already passed through many a crisis. The last of the "Songs of the Lady Elders" (Therīg. 448-521), too, is either a later addition, or else a poem much distorted by later additions and overburdened with quotations.[1]

For this reason the assertion of K. E. *Neumann* that these songs "were already collected and carefully preserved during Gotama's lifetime and soberly fixed soon after his death," is not only without proof, but it is quite impossible for one part of the songs, and improbable for

[1]) Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, too (Psalms of the Sisters, p. xviii f.) regards the last two "Songs of the Lady Elders" as products of later ornate poetry.

another. Nevertheless, it is possible that some of the songs were already composed by the very first disciples of Buddha. Thus the line which so frequently recurs in the "Songs of the Elders":

"I find no delight in dying, I find no delight in life:
The hour of death do I await, with mind alert and discerning." [1]

might very well have been uttered by one of the first disciples. It is possible that Mahāpajāpatī, Gotama's foster-mother, really sang the hymn in praise of Buddha (Therīg. 157-162) as is ascribed to her. Similarly, the verses (Therīg. 981-994) in which the ideal of a monk's life is so minutely described, might indeed have been composed by Sāriputta. The beautiful words:

"Press on with earnestness and win the goal!
This is the commandment that I give to you.
Lo! now my going-out complete will be.
From all am I released and utterly." [2]

could in reality have come down as the legacy of Sāriputta, his last exhortation to the disciples. And the celebrated lines, which recur in several parts of the Pāli Canon, and are ascribed to the great Moggallāna in this collection:

"O transient are our life's experiences!
Their nature 'tis to rise and pass away.
They happen in our ken, they cease to be.
O well for us when they are sunk to rest!" [3]

---

[1]) Therag. 196, 607, *cf.* 20, 1002.

[2]) Therag. 1017, translation by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Brethren, p. 349. The verse is ascribed to Revata, the brother of Sāriputta, in 658. Perhaps the verse is only an enlargement on the last words of the Buddha (Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, Dīghanikāya XVI, 6, 7: appamādena sampādetha).

[3]) Therag. 1159, translation by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Brethren, p. 385. The verse is here said to have been spoken concerning the passing away of Sāriputta. In Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, Dīgh. XVI. 6, 10, god Sakka recites the verse on the passing

are probably so old that Moggallāna or another of the first disciples of Buddha could have composed them. Here, as in all the collections of the Tipiṭaka, the old and the new are combined, and here too the scholar will have to determine the age of each portion separately on its individual merits.

10. This is especially true of the collection of Jātakas included in the Khuddaka-Nikāya, "stories of former births (of the Buddha)" [1] or "Bodhisatta stories," as they might be more briefly called. A "Bodhisatta," in Buddhist dogmatics, is a being (Pāli satta, Sanskrit sattva), who is destined to obtain enlightenment (bodhi), *i.e.* to become a Buddha.[2] Gotama the Buddha (*i.e.* the "enlightened one") is called "Bodhisatta" up to the time when he attained enlightenment, not only in his last earthly existence, but in all the countless existences which he experienced as man, animal or god, before he was re-born for the last time as the son of the Sakya prince. Now, a "Jātaka" is a story in which the Bodhisatta plays a part in one of his former existences, whether as the hero of the story or as a secondary character or as a spectator only. Hence every Jātaka begins with the words: "At such and such a time (*e.g.* at the time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares) the Bodhisatta was re-born in the womb of such and such a being (*e.g.* of the queen or of a female elephant)"; then follows the story. In this way it was

away of the Buddha; so also Saṃyuttanikāya I, p. 158: but Buddha himself speaks the verse in Saṃyuttanikāya II, p. 193. The verse occurs again in Saṃy. I, pp. 6 and 200, and Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 392. K. E. *Neumann* (Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen, p. 243) says: "This famous saying is so popular that it was recited to me in pure Pāli by a servant in Colombo, and, what is still more significant in this case, was excellently interpreted by him in a popular way."

[1]) This is the usual and probably correct explanation of the word "Jātaka," which is derived from jāta, "birth." H. *Kern*, Der Buddhismus, I, 328, translates Jātaka by "little story." *Speyer*, Jātakamālā, p. xxii, agrees with him. But see *Oldenberg*, DLZ, 1896, c. 261.

[2]) Others explain Bodhisatta by "One whose essence (sattva) is perfect knowledge," Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE, II, p. 739.

possible to change into a Jātaka any story which was told among the people or which was known from secular literature. One had only to make a Bodhisatta out of some human, animal or divine being which occurred in the story, and any story, however worldly and however far removed from the sphere of Buddhist thought, could become a "Buddhist" story. Now the Buddhist monks would not have been true Indians, if they had not taken into account the need, so deeply rooted in the soul of the Indian people, of hearing and relating stories, and if they had not utilised this need to gain followers for their religion. In fact, not only the Buddhist monks, but the preachers of all sects in India, have always done what the Christian monks of the West did centuries later. Gregory the Great had already recommended to these last-named the use of "example," of the narrative serving as argument, "quia nonnunquam mentes audientium plus exempla fidelium quam docentium verba convertunt." [1] The monks in India likewise maintained this principle. Just like the Christian preachers later, the Buddhist monks utilised for their purposes all kinds of stories, fairy-tales, fables, anecdotes, etc. Therefore a good idea of the Jātaka collection is given by books like the "Gesta Romanorum" or *Wesselski's* "Mönchslatein," in which the stories, culled from the sermons of the clergy of various centuries, are collected, with their varied contents, mixture of sacred legends and often very worldly stories. The more rigorous Buddhist Theras of the olden days do not seem to have been greatly in favour of this story-telling, for several passages of the canon [2] speak disapprovingly of the loud conversations of the monks, who tell one another stories of kings, robbers, ministers, arms, wars, women, gods and spirits, sea-faring adventures, etc. However, in one of the earlier Buddhist Sanskrit

[1]) Alb. *Wesselski*, Mönchslatein, Leipzig 1909, p. ix.

[2]) Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga V, 6, 3; Dīghanikāya I, 17; IX, 3; XXV, 2; 21.

texts [1] we already read that the Buddha teaches by means of Sūtras, Gāthās, legends and Jātakas.

In ancient times it was not yet considered necessary to give the stories the form of "Jātakas." We still find isolated stories related, *e.g.* that of Dīghāvu ("Prince Longlived") in the Vinayapiṭaka,[2] without the hero being identified with the Bodhisatta. It was only at a later period that a Jātaka was made out of it. Yet there are also a few real Jātakas already to be found in the collections of the Suttas,[3] and they prove that the Buddhist monks, like their Christian colleagues in the Middle Ages, related these stories or used them as sermons.

Not all the Jātakas, however, were received into the canon when the work of combining them into a book was begun.[4] Indeed, it is difficult to determine how much of the Jātaka book, as we have it, belongs to the canon, for we do not possess the original canonical Jātaka, but merely a commentary on it. In this commentary, every single Jātaka consists of the following parts: (1) An introductory story, Paccuppannavatthu, *i.e.* "story of the present time," relating on what occasion the Buddha himself told the monks

---

[1]) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka II, 44 (SBE., Vol. 21, p. 45).

[2]) See above, p. 33, *cf.* Jātakas Nos. 371 and 428. In the same way the fable quoted above, on p. 32, is not a Jātaka whilst in Jātaka No. 37 the Bodhisatta is the partridge in the same story. Cf. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 195. E. W. *Burlingame*, JAOS, Vol. 38, Part 4, gives a list of ten Jātakas which are taken from the canon. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS 1919, p. 231, adds another three to the list. See also *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, p. 59 ff.

[3]) Thus the Kūṭadanta-Sutta and the Mahāsudassana-Sutta in the Dīghanikāya and the Makhādeva-Sutta in the Majjhimanikāya are Jātakas.

[4]) Majjhimanikāya, Sutta 81, is a Jātaka which does not occur in the Jātaka book. In the Milindapañha two or three Jātakas are mentioned, which cannot be traced in the collection; in the Dhammapada commentary, too, as well as in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, there are some Jātakas which are absent in the collection. See also L. *Feer*, JA ser. 7, t. V, 1874, 417 ff.; VI, 1875, 244 ff. It is probable, though not yet proved, "that a Book of Jātakas, as contained in the Pāli Canon was not the exclusive possession of this particular school, but belonged to ancient Buddhism in general" (*Oldenberg*, NGGW 1912, p. 195).

the Jātaka in question; (2) a prose narrative, Atītavatthu, *i.e.* "story of the past," in which a story of one of the former births of the Buddha, in other words a Bodhisatta story, is told; (3) the Gāthās, *i.e.* stanzas, which, as a rule, form part of the "story of the past," but which are very often, too, a part of the "story of the present time";[1] (4) short commentary (Veyyākaraṇa) in which the Gāthās are explained word for word; and (5) the "connexion" (Samodhāna)[2] in which, finally (again by Buddha himself) the personages of the "story of the present" are identified with those of the "story of the past." This huge narrative work in the form of a commentary, the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā, or "elucidation of the meaning of the Jātakas,"[3] is the work of an unknown

---

[1]) The commentary generally calls these verses Abhisambuddha-Gāthās, *i.e.*, "verses spoken by the Buddha after his enlightenment." Cf. *Senart*, JA 1901, ser. 9, t. XVII, p. 385 ff.

[2]) As a rule the Samodhāna is in prose, but verses occur here and there.

[3]) Standard edition by V. *Fausböll*, Vols. I-VII (Vol. VII: Index by D. *Andersen*), London 1877-1897. A new edition, in Siamese characters, has been issued by their Majesties Queen Aunt and Queen Suddhasinninath of Siam in 1925 (10 vols.). Translations: Buddhist Birth Stories, or Jātaka Tales, translated by T. W. *Rhys Davids*, London, 1880 (contains Nos. 1-40). The Jātaka or stories of the Buddha's Former Births, translated from the Pāli by various Hands under the Editorship of E. B. *Cowell*, Vols. I-VI, Cambridge 1895-1907 (the translators are R. *Chalmers*, W. H. D. *Rouse*, H. T. *Francis*, R. A. *Neil* and *Cowell* himself): Vol. VII contains the Index. A considerable number of Jātakas have been translated by R. *Morris* in Folk-Lore Journal II-IV and Paul *Steinthal* Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, N. F. VI, 1893, pp. 106 ff, VII, 1894, pp. 296 ff., X, 1896, pp. 75 ff., XI, 1897, pp. 313 ff. and Studien zur vergleichenden. Litteraturgeschichte I, 1901, pp. 475 ff., II, 1902, pp. 265 ff.; A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Studien I, Berlin 1897 gives 55 Jatakas partly in extract, and partly in translation. Selections have been translated by Else *Lüders*, Buddhistische Märchen, mit einer Einleitung von H. *Lüders*, Jena 1921. A complete German translation by Julius *Dutoit* was published in Leipzig in 1908 ff. Literature on Jātakas: Léon *Feer*, JA 1875, s. 7, t. V. pp. 357 ff., t. VI, pp. 243 ff.; 1895, s. 9, t. V, pp. 31 ff., 189 ff.; 1897, s. 9, t. IX, pp. 288 ff.; S. d'*Oldenburg* JRAS 1893, pp. 301 ff.; R. O. *Franke*, Beitr. 22, 1897 pp. 289 ff., WZKM 20, 1906, pp. 317 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, pp. 189 ff.; Album Kern, Leide 1903, pp. 13 ff.; *Oldenberg*, Literatur des alten Indien, pp. 103 ff; NGGW 1912, pp. 183 ff.; 214 ff.; 1918, pp. 429 ff.; 1919, pp. 61 ff., and Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prose (AGGW 1917, pp. 79 ff.); S. *Lévi*, Les Jātakas (Conférences du Musée Guimet XIX, 1906): W. *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, pp. 20 f.; *Winternitz* in ERE, Vol. VII, pp. 491 ff.

Singhalese monk,[1] who took his materials from an earlier commentary on the Jātakas, the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. This last-named work, as indeed the Aṭṭhakathās in general, is said to have been written in Pāli immediately after the canon, brought to Ceylon with the canon itself, there translated into the Old Singhalese language, and then translated back again into Pāli by the compiler of the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā.[2] It is only the prose, however, which was translated into Singhalese and then translated back again ; the Gāthās were preserved unchanged in Pāli. According to tradition, it is only these Gāthās, the stanzas, which were included in the canon.[3] This tradition is probably correct in so far as both prose and verse originally came down orally ; but the prose naturally had a less stable form than the stanzas, so that when the canon was compiled, and later on, when it was written down, only the verses retained their original form, whilst, in the case of the prose, the rendering of it was at first entrusted to the reciters, and it was only at a later period committed to writing by commentators.

The majority of Jātakas, in fact, belong to that type of literary work which consists of a mixture of prose and verse,

---

[1]) According to the Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886, p. 59), Buddhaghosa (5th century A. D.) is said to be the author of Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā. T. W. *Rhys Davids*, in Buddhist Birth Stories, p. lxiii ff., had already, on good grounds, questioned the authorship of Buddhaghosa. E. W. *Burlingame* (Buddhist Legends, HOS, Vol. 28, pp. 49, 59f.) adds that both the language and the style of the Jātaka commentary differ from those of the authentic works of Buddhaghosa. See below.

[2]) *Burlingame* (JAOS 38, 1918, pp. 267 f.) declares this tradition to be unreliable, as it has been shown that Pāli sources were used for the commentary. But it is difficult to understand how and why so definite a statement could have been made without any historical background. It is quite feasible, in fact perfectly natural that, when translating into Pāli, the compilers should have accepted both canonical and noncanonical Pāli texts in their original Pāli form, without going to the trouble of translating the texts from the Singhalese.

[3]) Cf. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. lxxvii. It was hitherto thought that this Jātaka, which consists entirely of verses, had been preserved in manuscripts. Friedrich *Weller*, however (ZII 4, 1926, pp. 46 ff.), examined three manuscripts of Jātaka verses, and came to the conclusion that these manuscripts only contain extracts from the

a type which is such a favourite in Indian literature. It was ever a favourite method in ancient India to enliven narrative prose by verses, and to introduce or to garb narrative verses by explanatory prose passages. The teller of fairy-tales would insert into his story such fairy-tale verses as those familiar to us from our own fairy-tales. The writer of fables would give the moral or the point of the fable in one or two verses. The ballad poets and the singers, who recited their songs in alternating stanzas to correspond to the speeches of the dialogue, must often have prefaced them by a prose introduction, sometimes inserting explanations in prose, if occasion required it.[1]

We should, however, be mistaken in supposing that all the Gāthās which are included in the Jātaka commentary, belong to the canon. In accordance with a system of classification popular in India,[2] the Jātaka book is arranged according to the number of verses contained in them. The entire book consists of 22 sections (Nipātas), of which the first

---

Jātaka commentary, but not the ancient verse Jātaka which belongs to the canon. This serves to confirm the hypothesis put forward by J. *Hertel* (ZDMG 64, 1910, 58 ; WZKM 24, 1910, 23). *Weller* (l. c. ; p. 54) raises the question as to whether a verse Jātaka ever existed at all. In the commentary itself, however, a distinction is often made between Pāli and Aṭṭhakathā, and in this case "Pāli" cannot refer to anything but the verse Jātaka. Moreover, the fact that the principle of division of the Jātaka book in 22 sections (Ekanipāta etc.) is based upon the verse Jātaka, and no longer agrees with the number of verses in the Jātaka commentary (see below), is further proof of the existence of the canonical verse Jātaka. *Senart* (JA 1901, s. 9, t. XVII, pp. 385 ff, cf. *Oldenberg* NGGW 1911, p. 447f.) adduces still further arguments in favour of the verse Jātaka, arguments which have not been confuted by *Weller*.

[1]) *Cf.* above Vol. I, p. 101 and *Oldenberg*, The Prose-and-Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas (translated from NGGW 1911), in JPTS 1910-1912, pp. 19 ff. F. W. *Thomas* (JRAS 1903, pp. 402 f.) says : "The conjunction of a text in itself brief and obscure with an indispensable commentary is, one might say, the prevailing one in all periods of Indian literature down to the present .....The figure of the poet who recites his verse in the middle of a prose narrative is still familiar in all parts of India, and may have been familiar to the earliest age."

[2]) For instance, the Theragāthās are also classified according to the number of verses.

contains 150 stories of one verse each, the second 100 stories of two verses each, the third 50 stories of three verses each, etc. In each subsequent section the number of verses increases, whilst that of the stories decreases.[1] Now, the number of Gāthās does not by any means always tallies with the title of the sections in question. Thus, for instance, in the "section of one," we find stories of 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11 stanzas, in the "section of two" there are some stories of from 3 to 10 stanzas, in the "section of twenty" there is one case of 44, in the "section of seventy" there are only two stories, one of 92 and the other of 93 Gāthās, in the "section of eighty" stories of 103 and 123 stanzas occur, and so forth. The only explanation of this is, that the classification is based on the verse-Jātaka, and not on the Jātaka commentary, and that the verse-Jātaka of the canon contained a far smaller number of Gāthās.

Nevertheless we may certainly say that, on the whole, the Gāthās have a stronger claim to be regarded as canonical than have the prose portions of the Jātakas. At all events the prose was more exposed to changes. In many cases it is nothing but the miserable performance of a very late period. It contains allusions to Ceylon, and not infrequently it is at absolute variance with the Gāthās.[2] Moreover, the language of the Gāthās is more archaic than that of the prose.

On the other hand, there is no chronological significance

---

[1]) In the original verse-Jātaka the number of verses must have tallied exactly with the title of the section (Eka-Nipāta, Duka-Nipāta etc.) otherwise the Pakiṇṇaka-Nipāta, "Section of mixed (number of verses)" would not have been inserted after Section XIII, neither would the Mahā-Nipāta, "Great Section," which contains only 10 stories, each consisting of a very large number of Gāthās, have been placed at the end, as Section XXII.

[2]) *Lüders* (NGGW 1897, pp. 40 ff.) has shown that the author of the prose of the Dasaratha-Jātaka (No. 461) did not understand the meaning of the Gāthās, and in ZDMG 58, 1904, 689 ff., that the Kṛṣṇa legend is presented "in a degenerate condition" in the prose of the Ghata-Jātaka (No. 355), "as so complicated a legend, separated from its home, was gradually bound to be in course of time." *Hertel*, too (ZDMG 60, 1906, 399 ff.), and *Charpentier* (ZDMG 62, 1908, 725 ff.), have pointed out contradictions

in the distinction between "stories of the present" and "stories of the past," for both are the work of one and the same commentator.[1] Very frequently, however, this commentator made use of good and old materials. It is for this reason that, especially in the prose of the shorter fables and fairy tales, we find very many stories excellently told, whilst in other Jātakas, especially in those which do not require prose, the prose narrative is extremely inferior and dull and frequently not at all in harmony with the Gāthās. It is not feasible to think that the same commentator on one occasion told his stories skilfully and humorously, and on another occasion in a dull and spiritless manner, but we must assume that, when he told them well, he used good old models or traditions. Therefore, in the prose, too, much that is old may have been preserved.

That this is actually the case, and that some of the Jātakas, even as regards the contents of the prose, belonged to Buddhist tradition in the second or third century B.C., is proved by the reliefs on the stone walls around the Stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchi;[2] these reliefs are extremely

---

between the prose and the verse. Such contradictions, however, assail us at every turn. In No. 128 the prose has a fable about a jackal, whilst both in the verse and the title, the animal is a cat. The fact that Jātaka No. 253 occurs in the Vinayapiṭaka with the same Gāthās, but different prose, is additional proof that, generally speaking, the prose of the Jātakas cannot claim to be authentic.

[1]) In his edition, *Fausböll* differentiates the Paccuppannavatthus from the Atītavatthus by printing the former in smaller type. But this distinction cannot by any means be maintained throughout. It is often clear that both were written or compiled at the same time. It is possible that the word-for-word explanation of the Gāthās was the work of a still later commentator. Cf. R. O. *Franke* in Bezz. Beitr. 22, 1897, 289 ff.; *Senart*, JA. 1901, s. 9, t. XVII, p. 406. It is perfectly natural that the "Stories of the present" tell chiefly of Kosala and sometimes of Magadha, *i.e.*, those districts where Buddha taught; on the other hand, when the scene of most of the Atītavatthus is laid in Benares, it is merely the result of a stereotyped convention. (It is only rarely that Taxila is the scene of the story; very occasionally the scene is laid in other cities of India, and once in Ceylon.) There is no justification for *Fausböll's* statement (Jātaka Ed., Vol. VII, p. viii) that the Atītavatthus are necessarily earlier on this account.

[2]) See above, p. 16, note 3, and see also S. d'*Oldenburg*, JAOS 18, 1897, pp. 183 ff.;

important from the point of view of the history of the Jātakas. These precious Buddhist monuments depict scenes from the Jātakas, including scenes which occur only in the prose, in fact in Bharhut the titles of the Jātakas are written above the reliefs.[1] These reliefs prove, then, that a number of narratives, which are also to be found in the Jātaka book, were in the 2nd (perhaps even in the 3rd) century B.C. technically called "Jātaka," and were regarded as Bodhisatta stories. They prove that even at that early time many worldly narratives, which were found already current by the Buddhist monks, were "Buddhistised," that accordingly they must have been known in India long before, and possibly belonged to the pre-Buddhist period.

If, therefore, a few prominent scholars[2] have assumed that the Jātakas offer us a picture of the narrative literature and the conditions of civilisation at the time of Buddha or a still earlier time, it is true only in a very limited sense. Some of the poems and a few of the prose narratives may perhaps reach back to such great antiquity. Some of the sayings and legends may indeed belong to the pre-Buddhist ascetic poetry. For the great mass of the verses, however, no greater

---

E. *Hultzsch*, JRAS 1912, pp. 399 ff.; B. M. *Barua*, Ind. Hist. Qu. II, 1926, 623 ff. and Calcutta Review, Dec. 1926, pp. 430 ff.

[1]) In the Jātaka book, every Jātaka has a title, which is formed either after the hero of the narrative (usually the Bodhisatta) or another person, or from the first words of the first stanza. The same Jātakas, however, appear under various titles. *Cf.* Dines *Andersen* in Vol. VII, p. xv of the Jātaka edition. On the Bharhut stūpa, too, the titles are sometimes the same as those in the Jātaka book, but in other cases they differ. This makes it difficult to identify them. A list of the 27, or 29 Jātakas of the Bharhut stūpa which have been identified so far, is given by *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 209, and *Hultzsch*, JRAS 1912, p. 406.

[2]) Thus G. *Bühler*, on the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, 2nd Ed., Strassburg 1898, pp. 16 ff.; R. *Fick*, Die soziale Gliederung im nordostlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit, Kiel 1897 (English translation by S. *Maitra*: The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, Calcutta 1920); T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, 201 ff. and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India, JRAS 1901, 859 ff.

antiquity than the 3rd century B.C. can conscientiously be urged, certainly not proved, and much of the prose assuredly belongs to the Christian era. We have already mentioned that not even all the Gāthās belonged to the canonical Jātaka. Now the last-named is not the work of a single, individual author, but is the product of the labours of compilers.[1] The compilers arranged the verses in such a manner as they thought proper, in order to form a narrative. Such procedure must have entailed many an error.[2]

From all this it can only be concluded that the position of the Jātaka book is probably no different from that of the Mahābhārata.[3] Not only every large section and every single narrative, but often also every single Gāthā, will have to be tested independently as regards its age. Some of the

---

[1]) It is quite impossible for the Jātaka Gāthās to be, as is the opinion of *Franke* (WZKM 20, 1906, p. 318, *cf.* ZDMG 63, 1909, p. 13) " when considered as a whole, the personal production of a single author," who " not only put them together, but very often composed them himself, adapted, altered and patched them up, and in fact endowed the complete work with the stamp of his own individuality." If we change the word " author " into " compiler " or " editor," there is some truth in these words of Franke; for the compilers of Indian literary collections have never scrupled to alter the verses of other poets and to add verses of their own composition to them.

[2]) Thus we may doubt whether the verses of Jāt. 61-65 were really intended as Gāthās for 5 different stories. The Gāthās of No. 377 and No. 487 probably belonged to one story, and in the same way those of Nos. 523 and 526. Cf. *Lüders* In Festschrift Windisch, pp. 228 ff. and NGGW 1897, 1. Jāt. No. 203 with 5 Gāthās, though it is included in the Section of two, is a snake incantation, in which, besides Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, the " seven Buddhas " are also worshipped, though it is absurd to imagine that Gotama Buddha could have been worshipped as the seventh Buddha in the Atītavatthu, that is, at the period of one of his previous existences !

[3]) See above, Vol. I, p. 469. Even the manifold connections between the Jātakas and the Epics (*cf.* Vol. I, pp. 400 note 4, 401, 410 note 3, 415 note 1, 471 f., 473 note 1, and 508 f.) are of no use in determining the date, as the period of the epics is far too uncertain. Unfortunately, the fact that numerous Jātakas are mentioned and quoted in Book IV of the Milindapañha, and that in Book V of the same work, Jātaka reciters are mentioned side by side with the Dīgha and Majjhima reciters, does not help us. For these books belong to the later parts of the Milindapañha, which are missing in the Chinese translation, and are of uncertain date. The fact that in Milindapañha IV even fairy-tale verses which contain nothing Buddhistic, are quoted as " words of the Buddha," only proves that a few centuries after Christ, these verses were canonical, and every word of the canon was regarded as a word of Buddha. The fact that, even in these late books of the Milinda-

Gāthās may possibly date back to the Vedic period,[1] others should perhaps be regarded as a preliminary stage of epic poetry ;[2] but the collection as we find it in the Jātaka-ṭṭhavaṇṇanā, cannot as such, be the "earliest" collection of Indian fables, fairy tales and narratives, as has often been affirmed.

Nevertheless, we are obliged to take our stand on this very Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā, the only Jātaka-text known hitherto, for the following account of the contents of this collection of Buddhist tales, which is of the utmost importance not only for the history of Indian Literature, but also for the history of the literature of the world. The "stories of the present" it is true, can certainly be left aside. They are sometimes only duplicates of the "stories of the past," sometimes foolish and entirely worthless inventions, and at best narratives which have been borrowed from other parts of the canon, *e.g.* Vinayapiṭaka, Suttanipāta, Apadāna, or from other commentaries. So much the more valuable are the actual Jātakas or the "stories of the past."

Among the Jātakas of our collection, far more than 500,

---

paṭha, deviations from the Jātaka book occur in the quoted Jātakas, shows the uncertainty of the transmission. The circumstance that a few Jātaka verses occur in *Patañjali's* Mahābhāṣya, and that the language of the latter shows points of contact with the language of the Jātakas (F. *Kielhorn* JRAS 1898, 17 ff. and R. G. *Bhandarkar* in OC IX, London 1892, I, 421 ff.), would indicate that some of the Jātakas originated in the 2nd century B.C.

[1]) For instance, if *Lüders* (Festschrift Windisch, pp. 228 ff.) has proved that some of the Gāthās of Jātakas Nos. 377 and 487, having reference to Śvetaketu, who is familiar to us from the Upaniṣads, date back to the Vedic period, then the statement is only true of these particular Gāthās, and we are *not* warranted to make the generalisation that the Gāthā poetry of the Jātakas forms "the connecting-link between the Vedic Ākhyāna and the epic poetry."

[2]) *Oldenberg*, in his researches as to the style of the Jātakas (NGGW 1918, 429 ff.; 1919, 61 ff.) comes to the conclusion that the Jātaka Gāthās represent a more ancient type of poetry than the epic. He is compelled to admit, however, that it is not possible to decide for certain whether that type which is more primitive as regards development is, at the same time, also the earlier as regards actual chronology.

in number,[1] all kinds and forms of narrative composition are represented. First, as regards the form, we find: 1. Narratives in prose with fable verses, fairy-tale stanzas, or aphorisms inserted here and there. Prose and verses easily join with one another, and together form such a beautiful whole that we cannot but assume that in these cases the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā used good old traditions for the prose also. 2. Ballads, (*a*) in dialogue form,[2] (*b*) in a mixture of conversational verses and narrative stanzas. The prose which we find in the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā, is, as a rule in these cases, the entirely superfluous and insipid fabrication of some commentator, and, as a matter of fact, is not infrequently in actual contradiction to the verses. 3. Longer narratives, beginning in prose and continued in verse, or in which prose narration alternates with narrative and conversational verses. Here prose is indispensable, but the prose of the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā is not a faithful copy of the original prose, but greatly enlarged on and disfigured by commentatorial additions.[3] 4. Collections of sayings on any subject, and 5. Regular

---

[1]) There are 547 numbers in the Jātaka book. But as, in some of these numbers, several narratives are included, while others only contain references to later Jātakas, and as sometimes the same narratives recur in different versions, the figure 547 does not agree exactly with the actual number of Jātakas. The Culla-Niddesa (p. 80) speaks of 500 Jātakas. Fa-hien, too (Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, transl. by J. *Legge*, Oxford, 1886, p. 106), speaks of pictures illustrating " 500 Jātakas " which he had seen in Ceylon. *Cf.* B. M. *Barua*, Ind. Hist. Qu. II, 1926, pp. 623 ff.

[2]) Dramatic as many of these ballads are—L. *Feer* (JA 1895, s. 9, t. V, pp. 47 ff.), for instance, calls the Chaddanta-Jātaka (No. 514) " un véritable drame," and the same could be said of many other Jātakas—we can scarcely look upon them as " dramas " in the true sense of the word. What has been said above, p. 59 ff, regarding the ballads of the Saṃyuttanikāya may be applied to these ballads also.

[3]) It is impossible to deny, as A. B. *Keith* does (JRAS 1911, 979 ff.; 1912, 435 ff.) that the Jātakas belong to the type of composition which consists of prose and verse; neither can we agree with *Oldenberg* (NGGW 1911, p. 444=J PTS 1910-1912, p. 22, but see note 3) in speaking of the prose-and-verse type as " *almost* the only prevailing one " in the Jātakas, even if we emphasize the " almost." Nor can we say with *Charpentier* (ZDMG 66, 1912, pp. 41 f.) that " in general " the Jātaka prose rests on ancient tradition, but only that this is sometimes the case. *Charpentier* (WZKM 27, 1913, pp. 92 f.) repeats his opinion, though without putting forward any new grounds.

epics, or epic fragments. In the latter two cases, the prose in the book is again a superfluous commentary, and mostly spiritless into the bargain.

As regards the contents, we find in the Jātakas: 1. Fables, most of which, like Indian fables in general, aim at teaching Nīti, *i.e.* worldly wisdom. Only a few of them have the moral tendency as evinced in the ascetic poetry, and only a very few are genuinely Buddhist. 2. Fairy tales, including many animal fairy tales, almost entirely in the style of the European popular fairy tales, and without the remotest reference to Buddhism. Only in a few cases have they been furnished with a Buddhist tendency, so to speak "Buddhistised," and some few may also be purely Buddhist inventions. 3. Short anecdotes, humorous tales and jokes, which have nothing Buddhist about them. 4. Novels and even long romances abounding in adventures, and sometimes with a greater or lesser number of narratives within the story. Here, too, there is nothing Buddhist, except that the hero is the Bodhisatta. 5. Moral narratives. 6. Sayings, and 7. Pious legends, all of which are only partly of Buddhist origin, while many of them belong to the common property of Indian ascetic poetry. Thus we can scarcely be much mistaken in saying that far more than one half of all the Jātakas, if we omit the commentary, is not of Buddhist origin. The explanation of this fact lies near at hand. The Buddhist monks were recruited from all classes; hence, there were many among them who were quite familiar with the popular tales and anecdotes of the workers, artisans and especially merchants; others, who knew well the old ballads and heroic songs of the warriors and yet others, who had often heard the sacred legends and myths of the Brahmans and forest hermits. When they became monks, they endeavoured as far as possible to connect these memories with the monkish and purely religious traditions. Now, it is precisely this which makes these Jātakas of so much greater importance in the history of Indian literature. The Buddhist

preaching monks crammed into the Jātaka book everything that pleased them and their audience. As in contents and form, so in extent also, the Jātakas are very varied. By the side of short stories which hardly occupy half a printed page, there are extensive compositions of very many pages, some of which could equally well be called independent books.[1]

In the first sections, which contain the shorter Jātakas, we find most of the fables. Here again we meet with the hypocritical cat, which devours the mice, while pretending to be a pious ascetic.[2] Here we also find numerous fables, which recur in other Indian narrative works, Tantrākhyāyika, Pañcatantra, etc., and not a few of those fables of the world's literature whose home is difficult to determine, because they have become equally at home in the East and in the West. How the lion and the bull, the two friends, are separated by the jackal and kill each other, is told in Jātaka No. 349, in agreement with the frame narrative of Book 1 of the Tantrākhyāyika. The Jātaka book has several variants of the delightful story of the monkey which outwits the crocodile, which forms the frame story of Book IV of the Tantrākhyāyika.[3] As in Æsop's fable, the ass in Jātaka No. 189 has clothed himself in a lion's skin, while the Tantrākhyāyika

---

[1]) The numerous allusions in the Jātaka book, of one Jātaka to another, preceding as well as later ones, seems to me to confirm that the single Jātakas were in existence as independent texts long before they were combined to form a large collection. The long Jātakas of the last books, in particular, which in their turn are divided into sections, and to which reference is often made in earlier short Jātakas, were surely originally independent poems. *Cf.* J. *Dutoit*, Jātakazitate in den Jātakatexten, in Festschrift Kuhn, 345 ff.

[2]) Jāt. No. 128. The verse: "If one constantly raises aloft the banner of religion, like the raised sign of an inn, but sins in secret, it is called a cat's vow," agrees literally with Mahābh. V, 160, 13, and has also found its way into the law books (Manu IV, 195; Viṣṇu 93, 8). *Cf.* above, Vol. I, p. 406.

[3]) Nos. 57, 208. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 420 ff. This fable has also been found among the Suahelis in Africa, s. R. *Köhler*, GGA., 1870, p. 1658; Kleinere Schriften, I, 515, and *Franke*, WZKM., 7, 1893, 215 f., 384 f. The frame-story of Book II of the Tantrākhyāyika, too, has a parallel in Jāt. No. 206, and there is a very beautiful relief of this on the Bharhut Stūpa (Cunningham, Pl. 27, Fig. 9).

gives him a panther's skin, and the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa a tiger's skin. Other well-known fables are those of the jackal which praises the crow's beautiful voice, and thereby gains some nice fruit ;[1] of the ox, which envies the pig on account of its good food, until he hears that the pig is being fattened only for the slaughter ;[2] of the cunning crane or ibis which pretends to lead the fishes into pleasant waters, but devours them all, until at last he receives his well merited punishment from the crab ;[3] of the parrot which is to watch over the chastity of a frivolous wife, and is killed by her for its indiscretion.[4] The fable of the dancing peacock which, by its impudent dance, forfeits its bride, the daughter of the bird-king,[5] is an ancient one. As the fable was already represented on a relief of the Stūpa of Bharhut in the 3rd century B.C., it must already at that time have been a Jātaka. Another relief on the same Stūpa is an

---

[1]) Jāt. No. 294. In No. 295 it is, conversely, the crow which flatters the jackal, thereby obtaining a morsel of ox carrion. In *La Fontaine*, Fables, I, 2, the fox praises the raven's beautiful voice, and thus obtains the cheese.

[2]) Jāt. No. 30, variant No. 286; *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 228 f. I. *Scheftelowitz* in ZB., VII, 1926, pp. 284 f.

[3]) Jāt. 38. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 174 ff.; Tantrākhyāyika I, 5; *La Fontaine*, Fables, X, 4. A gypsy version ZDMG. 42, 122 f.

[4]) Jāt. No. 198 (*cf.* No. 145); recurs in "Arabian Nights," "Gesta Romanorum," "Sindbad," and in *Chaucer* (Wife of Bath I, 231). *Cf.* JRAS., 1890, p. 504.

[5]) Jāt. No. 32. The fable seems to have migrated very early *viâ* Persia to Greece, where Herodotus (VI, 130) wove it into the history of Hippokleides. The hypothesis of C. H. *Tawney* (Journal of Philology XII, 1883, p. 121) that the story was brought to India by the Greeks when they ruled in Bactria, seems to me improbable, because it is more feasible for a fable to be transferred to human conditions, than for a fable to be made out of an anecdote. Moreover, the peacock, which, when it dances, bares its hind-quarters, is proverbially known in India as the type of shamelessness. Cf. *Böhtlingk*, Indische Sprüche No. 5233; *Benfey*, Pantschatantra, I, 280; J. G. V. *Hahn*, Sagwissenschaftliche Studien, Jena 1876, p. 69. S. J. *Warren*, in "Hermes," Vol. 29, 1894, pp. 476 f. says: "The details of the story as told by Herodotus are so exceptional, they are so reminiscent of an Indian svayamvara, where the maiden or the father selects a husband from among the assembled suitors, that one would assume Oriental origin, were it not for the fact that Herodotus narrated it all with such convincing certainty as if it had actually taken place."

illustration to Jātaka No. 383, which relates in four verses, how the cat, by flattering the cock and promising to be his submissive wife, endeavours to get him into her power. But the cock sees through her cunning, and drives her away. In three verses, the genuinely Buddhist doctrine is extracted from it: like the cat, so do crafty women act, when they want to seduce men, but the sage is equal to them, as the cock was equal to the cat. One of the few fables decidedly Buddhist in origin, is No. 278. Here the Bodhisatta is reborn as a buffalo, and as such exhibits unbounded patience: an impertinent monkey climbs on his back, befouls him, seizes him by the horns and does all kinds of mischief to him. Then the monkey does the same to another buffalo and is killed by him. In this way, as the prose commentary expressly says, the Bodhisatta preserves his virtue of patience, and yet the monkey is punished.[1]

Closely related to the fable is the animal fairy tale, a few beautiful examples of which are to be found in the Jātaka book. There is delightful humour in the story of the jackal All-tooth (Sabbadāṭha):

This jackal uses a magic spell, which he has heard accidentally, for making all four-footed creatures subject to him. In his arrogance he decides to go to war against the King of Benares. A lion had to stand on the backs of two elephants, and on the back of the former the jackal seated himself with the female jackal whom he had made his first queen, and thus, with great pomp, he marched towards the city of Benares. Impudently he challenges the king to yield his kingdom; all are in great terror, but through the cunning of the domestic priest (who is the Bodhisatta) the jackal with his animal host is annihilated. Then the people of Benares rush out of the city gate, in order to fetch meat, which, in a most un-Buddhistic manner, the Bodhisatta has told them to do, and what they cannot eat they dry. "At that time," thus concludes the

[1]) This Jātaka is represented in a fresco in a cave-temple of Ajantā, s. John *Griffiths*, The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantā, London 1896, I, 12f., Fig. 27, p. 13.

Jātaka, in the true manner of the genuine animal fairy tales, "the drying of meat is supposed to have originated."[1]

More numerous than the purely animal fairy tales are the fairy tales of animals and human beings, in which the animals, as a rule, cut a better figure than the people, as, in the fairy tale of the wise partridge, which has learned the Vedas from a celebrated teacher. Many youths come to it in order to learn. The lion and the tiger are among its friends. It lives in a golden cage and is guarded by a lizard. One day there comes a wicked ascetic who has an interesting past career (he was formerly a porter, a hawker, a juggler, a hunter, a fencer, a bird-catcher, corn-measurer, dice-player and hangman's assistant), kills the young of the lizard and also the partridge, and, as a punishment, is torn to pieces by the tiger.[2] This class includes more especially those fairy tales, so widespread in universal literature, of grateful animals and ungrateful man, of which there are several in our collection. One of the prettiest is No. 73:[3]

There was once a king who had a wicked son, called Prince Rascal. He was like a poisonous snake, never spoke a pleasant word to anyone, and was "like grit in the eye." Once when he wishes to bathe during a great storm, the people bring him out into the river in order to let him drown. But he escapes on to a tree trunk in company with a snake, a rat and a parrot. All the four are pulled out of the water by an ascetic and taken home, where the pious man first attends to the animals as being the weaker, and only then attends to the prince. The latter is enraged at this. All the three animals promise the ascetic to prove their gratitude to him; so also does the prince, while, internally he vows vengeance on him. After some time the ascetic wishes to put the rescued ones to a

[1]) No. 241. Translated and discussed by A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, 2nd Ed., Berlin, 1900, pp. 53 ff.

[2]) No. 438. Cf. E. *Windisch* in Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 64 ff. and *Fick*, Soziale Gliederung, etc., p. 193 (Social Organisation in North-East India, p. 301 f.).

[3]) See also Nos. 482 and 516. Cf. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 193 ff. (where also the versions of Rasavāhinī, Chap. 3, and the Tibetan Karmaśataka are translated), 286, 603; II, 128 ff., Kathāsaritsāgara, 65, 45 ff.

test. The three animals immediately prove their gratitude, but the prince, who has meanwhile become king, causes the ascetic, as soon as he recognises him, to be whipped, and wants to have him executed. At every stroke of the whip the latter utters the verse:

"True is the proverb which says: A log of wood,
Washed up by the water, is better than many a man."

Questioned by the people regarding what he is saying, he relates the story. Thereupon all the people assemble and seize the tyrant, beat him to death, and crown the ascetic as king in his place.

The fairy tales of universal literature include also that of the ungrateful wife:

A man had once saved the life of his wife by giving her his own blood to drink. She, however, falls in love with a wretched cripple. In order to be able to belong entirely to the latter, she pushes her husband down from a hill. He is saved by a lizard, however, and in a strange way becomes king, in which capacity he has the opportunity of seeing his unfaithful wife again with her cripple lover, and of punishing her.[1]

World-wide circulation has also been attained by the humorously told fairy tale of the king who, by virtue of a spell, understands the language of beasts:

He should not betray the magic spell to any one; otherwise he must die. One day the king laughs at the comical conversation of ants and gnats. The queen enquires the cause of his laughter and importunes her husband to impart the spell to her, though he tells her that this would cause his death. The king is just about to give in to the insistence of his inquisitive wife. Then Sakka, the king of gods, appears in the form of a goat, and advises the king to give his wife a thrashing; then she will give up her request for the spell. The king follows the advice, and the desired effect is produced.[2]

---

[1]) Jāt. No. 193. Cf. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 436 ff., II, 303 ff.; and Gaston *Paris* in ZVV, XIII, 1903, who traces the story in Oriental and Romance fairy-tale literature; *Chavannes*, Cinq Cents Contes, No. 12.

[2]) Jāt. No. 386. Similar in the Arabian Nights (cf. Orient und Okzident II, 133 ff.) and Gesta Romanorum (Grässe II, pp. 190 ff.). Regarding this story, so wide-spread in

We are reminded of the German fairy tales of "Table fill thyself," and similar magic things, by the fairy tale of the three brothers; the first of these has a magic axe which he needs to touch in order to obtain fire-wood, the second a drum by whose aid he can conquer all enemies, and the third a whey-pot, out of which, when it is turned, a great stream of whey issues.[1] A similar fairy tale is that of the youth who has wasted his whole fortune, and whose deceased father, reborn as the god Sakka, presents him with a pot which fulfils all wishes, but which he must take great care of, for only so long as the pot exists will he have a sufficiency of money. One day, in his intoxication, the youth repeatedly hurls the pot into the air in order to catch it again, but soon the pot lies smashed on the ground. From that moment his good fortune is at an end; he becomes so poor that finally, as a beggar clothed in rags, he remains lying against a wall and dies.[2]

Although so many fairy tales have found their way from India to the West, yet there can scarcely be any doubt that conversely, many a foreign fairy tale has wandered to India. That is possibly so, for instance, in the case of the mariners' fairy tales, which tell of shipwrecks and all kinds of strange sea-adventures. The female demons (Yakkhinīs), who lure the shipwrecked men and delight them with their love, in order to kill and devour them later, at once recall the Sirens and beings like Circe and Calypso.[3] A weird mixture of

---

the literature of the world, see also *Hertel*, Das Pañcatantra, pp. 284 f.; J. J. *Meyer*, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, 376. *Zachariae* also refers me to *Kuhn*, Barlaam und Joasaph, p. 81; R. *Köhler*, Kl. Schriften II, 610 f.; III, 539; Linguistic Survey of India VIII, 1, pp. 410 f. and others.

[1]) Jāt. No. 186. Cf. *Grimm*, Kinder-und Hausmärchen Nos. 36 and 54.

[2]) M. *Gaster*, JRAS., 1897, pp. 379 f. and Alfred *Forke*, Die indischen Märchen und ihre Bedeutung für die vergleichende Märchenforschung, Berlin 1911, pp. 8 f.; compare with it *Uhland's* well-known ballad "Das Glück von Edenhall."

[3]) Valāhassa-Jātaka, No. 196. The shipwrecked men are rescued by a winged horse (the Bodhisatta). Cf. Divyāvadāna, pp. 120, 524 ff.; Kāraṇḍavyūha, p. 52; Nāyā-

popular fairy tale and moral narrative is the Jātaka of Mittavindaka, who experiences wonderful adventures at sea, enjoys himself with ghostly women in magnificent palaces on islands in the middle of the ocean, and finally, because of his insatiable desire, or, according to a second version, because he ill-treated his mother, goes to a hell, where a wheel with sharp knives unceasingly revolves on his head.[1]

In the fairy tales of man-eating giants too, genuine popular fairy tale motifs mingle with moral tendencies. These cannibal fairy tales are associated with the name of King Kalmāṣapāda, familiar from Brahmanical literature, who became a cannibal through a curse. The real point of the Buddhist narrative however, is that the pious King Sutasoma is caught by the cannibal and again released by him, in order to redeem his promise to a Brahman, but again returns to the monster to be devoured, according to his promise, whereupon the cannibal, touched by such a love of truth, is converted.[2]

---

dhammakahāo IX; *Charpentier*, JA., 1910, s. 10, t. XVI, pp. 606, 608; WZKM., 27, 1913, p. 93 Other Mariners' fairy-tales are No. 463 (of clever Suppāraka who, in spite of his blindness, is made first steersman, and bears himself splendidly) and No. 360 (of Garuḍa, who plays at dice with the king and elopes with his wife, with whom the royal singer after he has suffered shipwreck and has been cast on to the island of Garuḍa, later enjoys himself).

[1]) No. 439, with the variants and fragments belonging to it, Nos. 41, 82, 104 and 369. Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 56, 141 ff. L. *Feer* (JA., 1878, s. 7, t. XI, pp. 360 ff.; 1892, s. 8, t. XX, pp. 185 ff.) has dealt with all the various Pāli and Sanskrit versions of this fairy-tale.

[2]) The numerous Buddhistic versions of this Jātaka No. 537 in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan literature, and its fore-runners in the epic-puranic tradition, have been treated in detail by K. *Watanabe*, in JPTS., 1909, pp. 236 ff. Cf. *Charpentier* in WZKM., 23, 1909, p. 161, note 3; 24, 1910, p. 396 note. *Pavolini* (GSAI., 25, 324) also refers to H. *Kern* in Versl. en Meded. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterk. IV, 11, pp. 170 ff. J. S. *Speyer*, and after him R. *Garbe* (Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity, Chicago 1911, pp. 42 ff. and Indien und das Christentum, Tübingen 1914. pp. 101-111) seek to establish a connection between the Christian legend of Saint Christopher and this Jātaka; but the two legends have nothing in common but the conversion of a cannibal giant; the Christian legend bears no trace of the actual nucleus of the Buddhist fairy-tale. See also H. *Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? Leipzig 1922, pp. 19 ff.

Superhuman beings of all kinds, snake and bird deities (Nāgas and Garuḍas), Yakkhas, Kinnaras [1] and so on, play a large part in the fairy tales. Some of these Jātakas have been elaborated into long fairy-tale compositions. Jātakas like No. 504, of the pair of Kinnaras who are in deep mourning, because they have been separated for one single night, or No. 485, of the Kinnara woman, who weeps so long for her beloved, who was shot by a king, until, through an elixir of life, he comes to life again, are really lyrico-dramatic fairy-tale compositions, in which the lyrical element prevails. A longer fairy-tale composition in prose and verse with inserted narratives is Jātaka No. 432, where the Bodhisatta is reborn as the son of a horse-headed man-eating Yakkha woman. Jātaka No. 543, which betrays itself as having been originally an independent work by its being divided into 8 sections (Khaṇḍas), is a long composition, of a mixture of prose and verse, dealing with the world of the Nāgas and Garuḍas, a strange mixture of popular fairy tale motifs and Buddhist dogmatics. The Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka,[2] the hero of which is the wise Vidhura, the minister of the Kuru king, is a real epic in 6 sections (Khaṇḍas). This Vidhura, who recurs several times in the Jātaka book, is none other than Vidura, known to us from the Mahābhārata, the half-brother and wise counsellor of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who already in the epic appears as a knower of fables, parables and wise sayings.[3] Through this name, as well as the lifelike description of a game of dice, this Jātaka is in some way related to

[1]) Kinnaras are semi-human winged beings. Regarding the representation of them in Buddhist painting and sculpture, see *Grünwedel*, Buddhist. Kunst in Indien, pp. 44 ff.

[2]) Jātaka No. 545. English translation by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, pp. 126-156. R. F. *St. Andrew St. John*, JRAS., 1896, 441-475, has translated the Jātaka according to a slightly diverging Burman version. It is also to be found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, s. *Chavannes*, Cinq Cents Contes, III, p. 100.

[3]) Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 323, 406, 408, 425, 472. We meet with Vidhura also in Theragāthā 1188 and Majjhimanikāya, 50.

the Mahābhārata, and is therefore of especial interest. Even taken on its own merits, however, it is an epic fairy tale composition of no slight poetic value.

The numerous short and often very witty anecdotes of the Jātaka book, have originally even less connection with Buddhism than the fables and fairy tales have. The ancient Indians were just as fond of laughing at all kinds of fooleries as we are of laughing at the silly tricks of the "wise men of Gotham," and the like. This is proved by narratives such as that of the son who, wishing to kill a mosquito on the head of his sleeping father, shatters the father's skull ; [1] or of the monkeys who are to water the trees, and do this by pulling up every tree by the roots, in order to see which requires more water and which less.[2] The fool is not infrequently a priest or a monk. Thus a Brahman mendicant monk comes to a place where two rams are fighting each other. As he sees the one ram jumping backwards before him, he imagines that the ram knows good manners, and wants to honour him. A merchant warns him that the ram is only taking a run prior to attack ; but already the animal comes running forward and knocks the monk over, who cries out lamentingly : "Help ! a saint is being murdered.[3] There is grim humour in the story of the wicked king Mahāpiṅgala (No. 240) :

This king was a great tyrant. When he died, the whole of Benares rejoiced—only the doorkeeper weeps. The Bodhisatta asks him the reason, and he replies : "I am not weeping because Mahāpiṅgala is dead, for every time he came down from the palace or went up, he gave me eight blows on the head, as with a sledge-hammer. Now I am afraid that, when he is in

[1]) Jāt. No. 44, with variant No. 45. Cf. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 283, 292 f. ; II, 154 ff., *La Fontaine*, Fables VIII, 10.

[2]) Jāt. No. 46, illustrated on the stūpa of Bharhut.

[3]) Jāt. No. 324. A coarse joke, in which the avarice of the Brahmans is ridiculed, is to be found in Jātaka No. 113. The fact that it is not everyone who can profit by good advice, is discovered by an over-wise ascetic at his own cost, in Jāt. No. 376.

the other world, he will do the same to Yama, and Yama will send him back to earth, and then I will get my eight blows of the fist again, therefore I am weeping." The Bodhisatta consoles him: "The dead man will not return, he has been thoroughly burnt, the pyre has been extinguished with water, and the earth round about it has been well replaced."

Highly sarcastic is the anecdote of the monkey, who has stayed for some time in the palace of a king, who then sets him free. When he reaches his companions again, they surround him and wish to know how things go on in the world of human beings, of whose daily life he must have seen a great deal. The monkey describes the life of man in two verses:

"'The gold is mine, the precious gold!' so cry they, night and day:
These foolish folk cast never a look upon the holy way.
There are two masters in the house; one has no beard to wear,
But has long breasts, ears pierced with holes, and goes with plaited hair;
His price is told in countless gold; he plagues all people there."[1]

Then the monkeys do not want to hear any more, they cover their ears and run away. (Jāt. No. 219.) Remarkable on account of its relation to Greek literature, is the anecdote of the woman whose husband, son and brother are to be executed, and who is offered by the king the choice of the life of one of her three relatives. She decides for the brother, giving as a reason that she could easily obtain a husband and a son, but could never again obtain a brother. The same anecdote is told by Herodotus of the wife of Intaphernes, and Sophocles lets Antigone argue in the same way. The same idea recurs in India in the Rāmāyaṇa, in connection with an old Indian proverb which says that one can have everything in the world more easily than a real brother. The anecdote, therefore, is very old in India aswell as in Greece; but it is just as little characteristically Indian as specifically Greek, so that it can hardly be determined where its actual home is to be found.

[1]) Translated by W. H. D. *Rouse*.

Only it seems certain to me that it could not have originated twice.[1]

This anecdote belongs to a class of narratives, which are just as popular in the narrative literature of all peoples, as those of foolish tricks, namely the narratives of ultra cleverness or skill, which finds expression in clever answers, especially answers to riddles, or in the skilful accomplishment of difficult tasks, or in wise judgments or in the accomplishment of wonderful works of art. We find numerous narratives of this kind in the Jātaka book, and many of them belong to universal literature. One of these, for instance, is the story of the wise judge, who gives all kinds of "Solomon-like" judgments, whereby he rescues a poor fellow—who unintentionally lames a horse, and causes a pregnant woman to have an abortion, and so on—and at the same time answers several riddles put by animals and men.[2] An artist, who can turn his hand to anything, is the hero of the charming Kusajātaka (No. 531):

Kusa, the son of King Okkāka, is as ugly as he is clever and wise. As he wishes to marry, he makes a most beautiful image of a woman in gold, and declares that he will only marry a girl who is as beautiful as the golden image. The image is taken from town to town, and at last Pabhāvatī, the daughter of the Madda king is discovered, who is as beautiful as the image. She is given in marriage to Kusa. Owing to the prince's ugliness, however, the queen-mother makes the condition that the married couple shall, till the conception, meet only at night. However, they cannot overcome the desire to see each other, and by various means they at

---

[1]) Jāt. No. 67. Cf. Herodotus, III, 119. Sophocles, Antigone, 909 to 912. *Pischel*, in Hermes, Vol. 28, 1893. 465 ff., believes that the anecdote is of Indian origin; Th. *Noeldeke*, in the same journal, Vol. 29, 1894, 155 f., is in favour of Persian origin; R. O. *Franke*, Theolog. Literaturzeitung, 1914, p. 166, is for Perso-Indian, and C. H. *Tawney*, Ind. Ant. X, 1881, 370 f., for Greek origin.

[2]) Jāt. No. 257, translated in German verse by J. J. *Meyer*, Kāvyasaṃgraha, pp. 46 ff. The same story is retold after the Tibetan Dsanglun by *Benfey*, Pantschatantra, I, 393 ff., and traced through universal literature down to Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Cf. also *Tawney* in Journal of Philology, XII, 1883, 112 ff.

last succeed in seeing each other, which results in the princess's return to her parents, because she cannot bear such an ugly husband. But Kusa is filled with longing for his wife, and determines to win her back at all costs. He sets out on the journey to Sāgala, where the princess is staying. There he attracts the king's attention, first as a musician, by his beautiful lute-playing, then as a potter by marvellously formed figures, next as a basket-maker by valuable fans, again as a gardener by a magnificent garland, and finally as a cook by preparing a bone in such a way that a pleasant fragrance is diffused through the whole town ; he succeeds in coming into the presence of the princess, but is each time repulsed by her with scorn and contempt. Then Sakka sends seven kings who court Pabhāvatī, and King Madda is in great perplexity ; for if he were to give his daughter in marriage to one of the kings, the others would make war on him. Therefore he explains to the princess that he will have her cut into seven pieces, in order to give each of the seven kings a piece of her. In her terror she flees to Kusa, who is staying in the palace as a cook, and throws herself at his feet on the dirty floor of the kitchen. Kusa, the artist, now proves himself to be a great hero also. In the twinkling of an eye he conquers all the seven kings and captures them ; but as he is just as good as he is clever, he causes the king to give them his seven unmarried daughters in marriage. He himself returns home with his newly-recovered Pabhāvatī.[1]

In a shorter narrative the Bodhisatta is a master of the smith's craft, and obtains in marriage, the beautiful daughter of a smith, by fashioning a marvellous needle, enclosed in such a fine case, that the smiths of the village take the case to be the needle.[2] The Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (No. 546) is, as it were, a reservoir of such stories of extraordinary cleverness and art. This is a lengthy romance in which numerous anecdotes, riddles and narratives are included, truly a popular book such as we still find in India to-day, which is of especial interest because it exhibits points of contact with

[1]) A Singhalese version of this tale has been translated into English by Th. *Steele*, An Eastern Love Story, London, 1871.

[2]) Jāt. No. 387. In a Chinese version of the story, the artistic smith makes such fine needles that they float on the water, similarly in the Sanskrit Divyāvadāna. Cf. A. *Schiefner*, Indische Künstleranekdoten, Mélanges asiatiques, VII (1875), pp. 519 ff.

the stories of the wise Ahiqār (Haikar or Heykar in the "Arabian Nights" and with the "Life of Æsop" of Planudes.[1]

The hero of this Jātaka is Mahosadha, who already as a boy, gives proof of great wisdom, and especially proves himself to be a clever judge. Thus, like King Solomon, he determines to which of two quarrelling women the child belongs, by allowing mother-love to decide. He draws a line on the ground and lays the child in the middle, ordering the one woman to pull the child by the hands and the other by the feet, so that it shall belong to the one who pulls it over the line to herself. They begin to pull and the child cries. Then the real mother lets go of the child, whereby the dispute is, of course, settled.[2] Whatever riddles and puzzling tasks the king may wish to have solved, Mahosadha is never at a loss. By laying a pole in the water and seeing which is the heavier end, he determines where the root and where the top of the tree was, out of which the pole has been made. Like a modern anthropologist, by observation of the sutures, he distinguishes between a male and female skull. He can also distinguish male from female snakes. When the king requires to have sent to him a white bullock with horns on its legs and a hump on its head, which raises its voice after three notes, nobody except Mahosadha knows that the king wants a white cock. The king commands that cooked rice shall be brought to him under the following conditions: it must be cooked without rice, without water, without a pot, without a stove, without fire and without fire-wood, and may not be carried across the street either by a man or a woman. Mahosadha accomplishes this also. The king asks for a string

---

[1]) Cf. *Benfey*, Kleine Schriften II, 192 ff. and B. *Meissner*, ZDMG 48, 174 ff.; V. *Jagić* and E. *Kuhn* in Byzantin. Zeitschr. I, 1892, 107 ff., 127 ff.; Th. *Zachariae*, ZVV 17, 1907, 174 ff. (cf. 16, 139; 145); WZKM 26, 1912, pp. 418 ff.; 30, 151 ff.; Kleine Schriften, Bonn und Leipzig 1920, pp. 55 ff.; M. *Bloomfield*, JAOS 36, 1916, pp. 65 ff.

[2]) This "Solomon's judgment" forms the nucleus of the Chinese play "Hoei-lan-ki or the chalk circle." It may be regarded as certain that this anecdote and the Judgment of Solomon in I. Kings 3, 16-28, could not have originated independently of each other. A. *Weber*, Indische Streifen III, p. 60, regards it as out of the question that the Jews had borrowed it from the Indians, similarly *Garbe*, Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity, Chicago 1911, p. 12, note 16. On the other hand, Hugo *Cressmann* (Deutsche Rundschau, Vol. 33, 1907, pp. 212 ff.) has adduced very good reasons in favour of its Indian origin. Cf. also Th. *Benfey*, Kleine Schriften II, 170 f.; R. *Köhler*, Kleinere Schriften I, 531 ff.; H. *Gaidoz*, Mélusine, t. IV; R. *Engelmann* in Hermes, Vol. 39, 1904, 148 f.; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddh. Birth Stories, p. xliv ff; *Zachariae*, Kleine Schriften, pp. 150 ff.

of sand for his swing. Mahosadha declares himself prepared to produce this, only he requests a sample of the old string of sand, in order to make it of the same thickness and length. He can also discover the thoughts of animals, *e.g.*, of a chameleon. The wise Mahosadha, who, through his displays of wisdom, has succeeded in becoming one of the king's counsellors, also chooses for his wife a supremely clever maiden,[1] who understands all his riddles. In an extremely clever manner, she manages the ministers who try to set traps for her and are jealous of Mahosadha. Mahosadha also shows himself to be a wise political counsellor in the fight against external enemies, and finally proves himself a splendid master-builder also, who builds a tunnel whose description reminds us of the most artistic Indian cave structures, such as those of Ajanta.[2]

The remarkable romance, which is, indeed, an independent book in itself,[3] concludes with a glorification of Mahosadha who, of course, is the Bodhisatta. Apart from the fact that it is as the Bodhisatta that Mahosadha possesses his great wisdom and skilfulness, there is nothing Buddhistic in the whole of the long romance.

Neither is there much that is Buddhistic to be found in the robber tales and other narratives of the Jātaka book, in which robbers, vagabonds, dice players and courtesans are the chief characters. All these narratives are very interesting from the point of view of the history of civilisation. The Bodhisatta himself is twice a highwayman.[4] One of these stories relates how, through a magic spell, a Brahman causes a

---

[1]) Cf. *Benfey*, Kleine Schriften II, 156-223; "Die kluge Dirne, die indischen Märchen von den klugen Rätsellösern und ihre verbreitung über Asien und Europa" and R. *Köhler*, Kleinere Schriften I, 445 ff.

[2]) In any case the description presupposes that really magnificent subterranean buildings were familiar to the narrator.

[3]) A Tibetan version, enlarged and deteriorated, of this Jātaka is given from the Kandjur by A. *Schiefner*, Indische Erzählungen (Mélanges Asiatiques, VII, 1876, 673 ff.). The Singhalese version: Ummagga Jātaka (The Story of the Tunnel) translated from the Singhalese by J. B *Yataware*, London 1912, was not accessible to me.

[4]) Jāt. Nos. 279 and 318, cf. Nos. 419, 91, 193, 360. We hear of organised robber bands, and of entire robber villages. Cf. R. *Fick*, Social Organisation in North-East India, p. 274, and J. J. *Meyer* in the Introduction to his German translation of Daṇḍin's Daśkumāra-Carita, pp. 14 ff, 32 ff.

shower of precious stones to fall, how, for the sake of the treasure thus obtained, two gangs of robbers begin to fight and kill each other, so that only two remain, and how these two also, each wishing to have the sole possession of the treasure, kill each other—exactly like the rogues in *Chaucer's* "Pardoner's Tale." [1] Great is the number of stories that deal with the wickedness of women, a subject which is so inexhaustible to Indians. A whole cycle of such stories is to be found in Jātakas Nos. 61-66, while the Kuṇāla-Jātaka (No. 536) combines in one frame a whole collection of stories and sayings on the same subject. In endless variety, by ever new, sometimes extremely subtle stories, it is attempted to prove that every woman is inclined to conjugal infidelity provided a seducer is available. An especially subtle story is that of the Brahman who, in order to be quite sure, has a girl brought up in his house from the moment of her birth, and after she has grown up and has become his wife, has her strictly guarded in a tower surrounded by seven ramparts, but is, after all, deceived by her in the end; she, however, denies her infidelity, and even subjects herself to an ordeal, which she cleverly forges.[2] In the Kuṇāla-Jātaka, we find, among others, the story of Kaṇhā (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇā or Draupadī), who, not content with her five husbands, commits adultery with a hunchbacked dwarf, which causes the Pāṇḍavas to renounce the world and retire to the Himālaya.[3] This Jātaka, the greater part of which is merely a sermon on the

---

[1]) Jāt. No. 48. Cf. R. *Morris* in Contemporary Review, May 1881; C. H. *Tawney* in Journal of Philology, XII, 1883, 203 ff.

[2]) Jāt. No. 62, translated and discussed by *Pischel* in "Philolog. Abhandlungen Martin Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag," Berlin 1888, pp. 74 ff. Cf. *Chavannes*, Cinq Cents Contes, Vol. I, No. 116, and J. J. *Meyer*, Isoldes Gottesurteil, Berlin 1914, pp. 112 ff.

[3]) Cf. above Vol. I, p. 472. The composition of the Kuṇāla-Jātaka is very confused, "Stories of the present" and "Stories of the past" being jumbled together, and the style, which is, in part, veritable ornate prose with very long compound words, is most peculiar, and reminds us of such works as the Divyāvadāna. Cf. *Oldenberg* in JPTS 1910-1912, p. 26, note 3.

wickedness of woman-kind, attributed to Buddha himself, also abounds in sayings against women, of which we may quote a few especially characteristic ones:

"Like poisoned draught or robber fell, crooked as horn of stag,
Like serpent evil-tongued are they, as merchant apt to brag.

"Murderous as covered pit, like Hell's insatiate maw are they,
As goblin greedy or like Death that carries all away."

"Women like flames devour their prey,
Women like floods sweep all away,
Women are pests, like thorns are they,
Women for gold oft go astray." [1]

Such stories, which were at all times immensely popular in India, could, of course, easily have a "Buddhistic" tendency tacked on to them, and be incorporated in Buddhist sermons. For it was only grist to the monks' mill, if, by such narratives, they could prove what a snare and danger every woman is to man, and how very carefully one must protect oneself against these temptresses.

Thus these often very immoral tales form the transition to the moral tales of the Jātaka book. Jātaka No. 527 [2] is a long moral story in the form of a ballad, which is so extremely dramatic that one could well imagine it as a short drama.

A prince catches sight of the wondrously beautiful wife of his commander-in-chief Ahipāraka, and falls passionately in love with her. But when he hears that she belongs to another, she is unattainable to him. In a melancholy, tender lamentation he gives expression to his feelings. Ahipāraka, though he loves his wife dearly, is prepared to yield her to the king, as he fears for the health of the latter. But the king refuses to commit a sin. In a most excellent, extremely dramatic dialogue, the king

[1]) Translated by H. T. *Francis*.

[2]) Ummadantī-Jātaka, cf. *Zachariae*, Bezz. Beitr. 4, 375 ff.

and his commander-in-chief vie with each other in nobility. Virtue finally triumphs, and the king renounces.

Some of the moral tales (as well as some of the fables) have an avowed pedagogical aim, and look as though they had been composed for children. Of this kind, for instance, is No. 484, of the Bodhisatta as a wise parrot, which not only eats rice from the field, but also carries some away in his beak, and in answer to the enquiry for his reason for doing this, replies : " I pay a debt, I give a loan, I lay down a treasure," meaning that he brings food to his old parents, nourishes his young ones, and gives food to other weak birds.

The " Consolatory stories," with a few of which we have already met in the Mahābhārata, are a kind of moral narratives.[1] The subject of but two such stories shall be given here :

No. 352. A man is inconsolable at the death of his father. Then the man's son is seen standing in front of a dead ox and giving it grass and water. The man naturally thinks his son has gone mad, but the latter says : " Here are at least still a head, feet and tail, so that the ox might be able to get up again ; but there is no longer either head, hand or foot of my grand-father's, it is you who seem to have lost your senses as you weep continually at his grave." Thereupon the father is comforted.[2]

No. 454. Kaṇha (the Kṛṣṇa of the legend) is inconsolable at the death of his son. Then his brother Ghata pretends to be mad, and runs through the town, crying : " Give me the hare ! " Kaṇha asks him what it is he wants. Ghata replies : " The hare in the moon." Kaṇha shows him that he is asking an impossibility, but Ghata declares that he too is asking an impossibility when he mourns for his son who is long dead, and wants to have him back. These words cure Kaṇha of his paternal grief.[3]

---

[1]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 395 ff., 412 f.

[2]) This is a dialogue between the father and the son in eight verses, the meaning of which is quite clear even without the prose. On the stūpa of Bharhut there is a very beautiful relief (*Cunningham*, Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. 47, Fig. 3), showing how the youth gives the cow grass to eat, and his father stands behind him. The same story in the Commentary to Petavatthu, s. Bimala Charan *Law*, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, Calcutta 1923, pp. 21 f.

[3]) This, too, is a ballad in the form of a dialogue. The prose, which contains a deteriorated form of the Kṛṣṇa-legend is only a commentary. Cf. above p. 119 note, 2 and Vol. I, pp. 471 f. No. 372 also is a consolatory story.

The same purpose as these consolatory stories, namely to comfort those who sorrow for the departed, is pursued also by the consolatory verses of Rāma in the Dasaratha Jātaka (No. 461), which were probably taken from an old Rāma-ballad.[1] Apart from the prose commentary, this Jātaka does not really contain any narrative at all, but only moral sayings. In the same way, Jātaka No. 512, for instance, is nothing but a collection of sayings. Though the prose does relate a legend of the origin of the vice of drink, this legend is nothing but a silly commentators' invention. Only the verses are old which, for the edification of a king, describe, in forceful language, the frightful consequences of the drinking of spirituous liquor, verses which will delight the heart of every abstainer. The ironically used refrain "Therefore buy a full jug of this drink" seems, however, to have been taken from an old drinking song. The dialogue between the Kuru-king Yudhiṭṭhila (Yudhiṣṭhira) and his wise counsellor Vidhūra (Vidura) on the question of who is a "true Brahman," which could just as well be in the Suttanipāta,[2] also belongs to gnomic poetry. The commentator associates the Mahāmaṅgala-Jātaka (No. 453) with the Maṅgala-Sutta, but in reality it is a collection of sayings, which do not answer the question "What is the best Maṅgala?" but rather the question "What is happiness?"[3] The sayings are by no means entirely Buddhistic, but correspond more to the Brahmanical ideal of life. Thus also the sayings in Jātaka No. 473 in reply to the question as to how one can recognise a true friend, are not Buddhistic at

---

[1]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 508 ff. On Chinese-Buddhist versions of the Dasaratha-Jātaka and the Rāma story, see Vol. 1, p. 513.

[2]) Jāt. No. 495, translated by *Fick*, Soziale Gliederung, etc., pp. 140 ff. (Social Organisation, etc., pp. 216 ff.), who has also already referred to the Vāseṭṭha-Sutta of the Suttanipāta.

[3]) In the commentary, the "Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta" is mentioned, but not the Khuddaka-pāṭha or the Suttanipāta, in both of which the Sutta appears. See above, p. 78, note 1, and p. 79.

all, but, on the contrary, resemble those which we find in Sanskrit gnomic poetry.[1]

The greatest bulk in the Jātaka book, especially in the last books, is occupied by legends. Some of these, exactly like some of the dialogues of the Upaniṣads and especially the Itihāsa dialogues of the Mahābhārata,[2] are merely frames for the speeches and sayings. Such is the extremely interesting dialogue in Jātaka No. 544, which is here given in extract:

King Aṅgati of Videha summons his three ministers and asks their advice as to what he should do. Alāta, the commander-in-chief, advises a gay and gallant war. Sunāma declares that a war is not necessary, it is better to enjoy music, dancing and pleasures. Vijaya, however, suggests hearing a pious ascetic or Brahman, and on the advice of Alāta, the king has the naked ascetic Guṇa Kassapa summoned. The latter appears, and proclaims coarsely materialistic doctrines like the following: There is no Karman, there are no ancestors, no parents, no teachers; all beings are equal, and have their fate fore-ordained; the giving of presents is of no use, punishment and reward in the Beyond are meaningless. Alāta declares himself in perfect agreement with these doctrines, and says: "I remember my former births: I was a cow-killer, a hunter, I took the life of many beings, and yet I have been born again in a respected family, and am now commander-in-chief." The slave Bījaka, who is present, assents with a sigh: "In a former birth I was good and generous, and yet I have been reborn the son of a courtesan, and am now a slave. I lose my game in the gamble of life, Alāta wins like a skilful player." King Aṅgata is convinced by these speeches, and commences a life of delight, no longer thinks of anything but enjoyments, and lets others rule his kingdom. Then his good and pious daughter Rujā appears, and proclaims the true doctrine: He who associates with bad companions, himself becomes bad. As the ship of a merchant sinks under a too heavy cargo, so the man who has gradually burdened himself with too great a load of sin, sinks into hell. Then she tells about her former births, in which, as a young man, she frivolously seduced women, and afterwards was reborn many times, in the

[1] *Lüders*, ZDMG 61, 1907, pp. 641 ff., has shown that also many ancient Dharmaśāstra sayings are to be found in the Jātaka book.

[2] See above vol. I, pp. 405, 414 ff.

worlds of human beings, animals, and hell, and endured terrible tortures. Then Nārada comes from heaven, and, like Rujā, teaches that there is a Karman, and a Beyond. But the king says : " If there is a Beyond, then lend me five hundred, I will give thee a thousand in the next world." Nārada replies : " I would indeed lend thee the five hundred but who will stand surety to me that thou wilt repay them when thou art in hell? Even in this world one lends money only to one worthy of confidence." Thereupon he gives a detailed description of hell and its torments. He concludes with a simile of the carriage, with which the human body is compared,[1] and finally converts the king.

Jātaka No. 530 is a similar Itihāsa dialogue, which, however, reads more like a passage from an old Purāṇa. Here it is announced to King Brahmadatta that the saint Saṃkicca, his former domestic priest, has come. The king goes to meet him, and asks him what the fate of sinners is in the Beyond. Saṃkicca replies with a sermon, which contains a detailed description of hell. The speeches are the essential part also in the legend of the two friends who were reborn consecutively as Cāṇḍālas, antelopes, sea-eagles, and finally as Citta, the son of a priest, and Sambhūta, the prince (No. 498). In these speeches Citta, recalling his death and former births, praises the ascetic life, and exhorts the king, his old friend, that, if he cannot renounce the world entirely, at least to rule justly, always bearing in mind that he, who is now king, was once poor and humble.[2]

Almost all these legends are in the form, already known to us, of sacred ballads. A large number of these poems tell of kings, who were stimulated to thought by some insignificant event or other, gave up the throne, renounced the world,

[1]) With this simile, cf. Ait. Ār. II, 3, 9 ; Śvet. Up. II, 9; Kaṭh. Up. I, 3 ff.; Sanatsujātīya VI ; Anugītā 36.

[2]) This beautiful specimen of the old ascetic poetry has been traced in other versions, including one among the Jains, by E. *Leumann* (in WZKM 5, 1891, 111 ff. and 6, 1892, 1 ff.). Jātaka No. 497, to which *Charpentier* has pointed out a Jain parallel (ZDMG 63, 1909, 171 ff.) also belongs to the ascetic poetry.

and led a quiet contemplative life as hermits [1] in the Himalayas. A king sees a mango tree bereft of its fruits, is thereby reminded of the transitoriness of all earthly things, and renounces the world. Another, by hearing the tinkle of two bangles on a girl's arm, is reminded of the fact that only the solitary man can find peace; a third, seeing vultures fighting for a piece of meat, and tearing one another, learns how contemptible greed is; a fourth, sees how a mad bullock rushes towards a cow and is pierced to death by a second passionate bullock, and learns to despise the desire of love. The result is always the same.[2] The legend of King Makhādeva (No. 9), whom the sight of his first grey hair impels to renounce the world, also belongs to this group. The most beautiful of these poems, however, is the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (No. 539), the hero of which is that wise King Janaka of Videha whom we have already met so frequently in the Upaniṣads and in the Mahābhārata. According to the Jātaka he is supposed to have pronounced his famous utterance: "Though the whole of Mithilā burn, nothing of mine burns," [3] when the queen showed him the blazing town, in order to persuade him to return. How Janaka arrives at his decision of renouncing the world, how he first stays on the balcony of the palace in deep meditation, but is soon convinced that he must go away into solitude with the earthen begging-bowl instead of the golden coronation bowl, how his wives attempt to hold him back, how he is strengthened more and more in his resolve, how he remains unassailable and finally goes on his solitary way—all this is described with

[1]) In Buddhist dogmatics they are called Pacceka-buddhas, *i.e.* "Enlightened ones, who have attained enlightenment by themselves (without a teacher) and for themselves (not in order to become teachers)."

[2]) Nos. 408, 529, 539. Cf. P. E. *Pavolini*, sulla leggenda dei quattro Pratyekabuddha, OC XII, Rome 1899, I, 129 ff. and J. *Charpentier*, Studien zur indischen Erzählungslitteratur, I Paccekabuddha-Geschichten (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1908, Filosofi, Sprakvetenskap och hist. vet., 4) Upsala 1908 and ZDMG 66, 1912, pp. 38 ff.

[3]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 414 f.

such thrilling force, as could only have been inspired by the very deepest conviction, combined with no mean poetical talent.

All these legends belong to that common stock of ancient Indian ascetic poetry from which, as we have seen,[1] many of the most beautiful legend poems in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are culled. It has already been mentioned that the poem of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (he is called Isisiṅga in Pāli), which belongs to the same literature, recurs in the Jātaka book, and that in the Naḷinikā-Jātaka (No. 526) the older form of the legend has still been preserved.[2] A duplicate of the same legend has been preserved in Jātaka No. 523, where the heavenly nymph Alambusā seduces the young saint Isisiṅga, who has never seen a woman, in the same way as Śāntā seduces Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the older poem. In the prose introduction to this Jātaka it is related how Isisiṅga was born of an antelope. This introduction must be old, as a Bharhut relief already represents a scene in which a little boy born of an antelope is picked up by an ascetic (the father of Isisiṅga).[3] The Sāma-Jātaka (No. 540), the contents of which are given below, shows points of contact with the tragic story which King Daśaratha tells on his death-bed.[4]

Sāma is a pious hermit boy, who lives in the forest with his blind parents and devotes himself entirely to attending on them. One day, while he is fetching water for them, he is struck by a poisoned arrow which was aimed at him by King Piliyakkha of Benares, in the wantonness

---

[1]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 320, 405 ff., and M. *Winternitz*, Some Problems of Indian Literature, Calcutta 1925, p. 21 ff.

[2]) See above, Vol. I, pp. 399 ff., 473 note, 520 f., 540.

[3]) *Cunningham*, Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. 26, Fig. 7.

[4]) Rāmāyaṇa II, 63, 25 ff. Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 483, and *Charpentier*, WZKM 24, 1910, p. 397, note 2; 27, p. 94. *Oldenberg* (NGGW 1918, 456 ff.) has compared the epic tale with the Jātaka as regards style, and has shown that, in the Jātaka, the story is told with greater simplicity and less subtlety than in the Rāmāyaṇa.

of the chase. No curse, no angry word escapes the lips of the youth, but only a woeful lament at the fate of his poor parents, who are now bereft of their support. Remorsefully the king consoles him and promises to undertake the care of his parents. Sāma tells him in which direction his parents' hut lies, and, uttering expressions of thanks, falls unconscious. Filled with bitter remorse, the king bursts into lamentations and is comforted by a forest spirit, who tells him that he will be freed from his heavy guilt, if he goes to Sāma's parents and tends them like a son. Lamenting, the king takes the water pitcher, and goes to the parents' hut. By the footsteps of the approaching king, the old father recognises that it is not the expected son. Piliyakkha tells who he is, and the blind old man welcomes the king with friendly reverence, and offers him water and fruits as gifts of hospitality. The king asks whence he obtains fruits, as he cannot seek them himself, and the old man answers: We have a dear son, young and handsome, it is he who brings us water and fruits. Then the king announces the dreadful news: Your faithful son is dead, I have slain him. Mild, but full of piteous complaint are the words of the father. But the mother bursts into loud lamentations, and cannot understand the gentleness of her husband, who wishes the king no harm. The king comforts the parents, and begs of them to accept him in the place of a son; he will take care of them as Sāma did. But the parents only beseech him to lead them to their son's corpse, which the king does, though reluctantly. Before the corpse the blind parents burst into touching plaints, which however, end with conjurations.[1] The mother says: If it is true that Sāma always lived a virtuous life, then may the poison vanish, and may he stand before us in good health once more. The father repeats the conjuration with reference to his own virtues and those of his wife. The forest spirit also utters a similar conjuration. Then Sāma arises, stands fresh and well before his parents, and bids the astonished king welcome. He declares that he had only fainted; for those who honour their father and mother enjoy even in this world the support of the gods, and after death go to heaven. Then the king seeks Sāma's protection,

[1]) Such spells, or Saccakiriyās (literally "confirmations of truth") which consist of a person's referring to his virtue, and thereby performing a miracle, are not rare in the Buddhist legends; we also meet with them in the epic (thus in the Nalopākhyāna, Mahābhārata III, 63) and frequently in the later narrative literature. Cf. E. W. *Burlingame*, JRAS 1917, pp. 429 ff., and N. M. *Penzer*, New Edition of C. H. Tawney's Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara, I, 166 f.; II, 31 ff.; III, 179 ff.

and the latter preaches to him on the virtues which a king should practise.[1]

Exceeding kindness and gentleness, and self-sacrifice transcending by far the bounds of what is natural, characterise those legends whose purely Buddhistic origin is unmistakable. The legend of King Sivi (Sanskrit Śibi), who gives away his eyes, has already been mentioned.[2] Jātaka No. 440 tells of Prince Kaṇha, who gives away everything he possesses, in order to go to the Himālaya as a hermit. Sakka offers to grant the pious hermit his wishes; but he wishes only for calmness, freedom from hatred, desire and lust, and the most truly beautiful of all gifts:

> " If you would grant a boon to me,
> O Sakka, lord of every creature,—
> Let none, Sakka, on my account,
> Be harmed, whether in mind or body,
> At any time or place. This, Sakka,
> This would I choose as boon of boons." [3]

The moral of love for one's enemies is proclaimed in naive manner by the legend (No. 151) of the two kings who meet in a narrow pass. They are both equally just, equally old, equally famous, equally powerful—and the question is, who shall move aside to let the other pass. As the one not only returns good for good, but also good for evil, the precedence is granted to him. Another genuine product of Buddhism is the Khantivādi-Jātaka (No. 313), the Jātaka of the "patience

---

[1]) The legend is already to be found in the 3rd century B. C. on a relief on the Stūpa of Sānchi. A whole series of scenes is represented in the Gandhāra sculptures of Jamālgarhi. Cf. A. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra I, 279 ff.

[2]) See above, Vol. I, p. 409, and *Winternitz*, Some Problems of Indian Literature, p. 38.

[3]) Translated by T. W. *Rhys Davids* in SBE., Vol. 36, p. 310. The verse is quoted in Milindapañha, p. 384 (ed. Trenckner).

preacher," in which the Bodhisatta is whipped and mutilated by an enraged king, but he endures it all with patience, and forbears from any thoughts of revenge.[1] In many of these legends, which we might call "animal legends," the Bodhisatta is a good and noble animal. Here we find legends like that of the self-sacrificing male gazelle, which is prepared to sacrifice its life for the sake of a pregnant gazelle, and then is able to persuade the deeply moved king, not only to spare the herd of gazelles, but to give up hunting altogether;[2] of the hare which throws itself into the fire in order to serve itself as meat to the guest (No. 316);[3] of the monkey-chief, who makes himself into a bridge across the Ganges in order to save his retinue;[4] of the monkey who rescues a man who has fallen into an abyss, and whom this man,

---

[1]) The frequent occurrence of this legend in Buddhist literature and art bears witness to its great popularity among the Buddhists of all nations. Cf. A. *Attenhofer* in Festschrift Kuhn, pp. 353 ff.

[2]) Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka (No. 12). The Christian legend of Saint Placidus or Eustachius, who is said to have been converted through a stag, on whose forehead the sign of the cross was shining, is traced back to this Jātaka by some scholars. Cf. M. *Gaster*, JRAS., 1894, 335 ff.; J. S. *Speyer* in Theolog. Tijdskrift 40, 1906, 427ff.; E. *Kuhn* in Beil. Allg. Ztg. 9th Nov. 1906; R. *Garbe*, Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity, p. 30ff.; Indien und das Christentum, pp. 86 ff.; W. *Bousset* in NGGW 1916, 469 ff.; W. *Meyer*, ibidem, pp. 762ff.; *Clemen*, Theolog. Literaturzeitung 42, 1917, 257 ff.; H. *Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? Leipzig 1922, pp. 7ff. I am not convinced that there is any connection between them.

[3]) Just as, in memory of this act of self-sacrifice, Sakka draws a hare in the moon, using a mountain as his pencil, so the Kalmuks have preserved the legend of "Sakimuni" as the "hare in the moon," s. T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhism, London SPCK., 1890, p. 197. The "hare in the moon," however, is not familiar only in India, Tibet, Burma, China and Japan, but also in America. In India the idea is most likely earlier than Buddhism, at least as early as the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa XI, 1, 5, 3 and Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad II, 11. Cf. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 348 f.; A. *Pfungst*, Aus der indischen Kulturwelt, Stuttgart 1904, pp. 122 ff.; I. *Scheftelowitz*, ZB., VII, 1926, pp. 270 f.; H. *Kunike*, Amerikanische und asiatische Mondbilder (Mythologische Bibliothek VIII, 4, 1916, pp. 24ff.); E. *Seler* in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 39, 1907, p. 10. Just as in Tantrākhyāyika III, 3, so in a Hottentot story, the hare appears as a messenger of the moon. Cf. W. H. I. *Bleek*, Reineke Fuchs in Afrika, Weimar 1870, pp. 54 ff.; A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore, London 1875, pp. 9 f.

[4]) Jāt. No. 407, illustrated on the Stūpa of Bharhut (*Cunningham*, Pl. 33, Fig. 4). H. *Kern* (Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 93 f.) compares the old Cymric legend from the Mabinogi,

lusting after the flesh of monkeys, wants to kill, on account of which bad deed he is attacked with severe leprosy (No. 516); or the legend of the elephant which directs the lost wanderer to the path out of the forest and presents him with its teeth, whereupon the man, in his avarice, also cuts out the roots of the elephant's teeth, and causes it dreadful pain, but is soon swallowed up by the earth and descends into hell (No. 72).[1] Animal legends like the latter two, make it appear very probable that the above-mentioned tales of grateful animals and ungrateful human beings are all of Buddhist origin.

Probably the most famous, and, in the entire Buddhist world, the most popular of all these legends, is the last one in the Jātaka collection, the Vessantara-Jātaka (No. 547). This is in reality a regular epic, for the prose in it is nothing but a commentary, and it is easy to see how the commentator has done his best to spoil the story in the most spiritless and insipid manner. The hero of this epic, it is true, is not a warrior and conqueror, but a hero of generosity.

Prince Vessantara has taken a vow never to refuse to give anything which might be asked of him: "Should anyone ask me for my heart and eye, my flesh and blood, yea, my whole body, I shall give them up." As without consideration for the welfare of the land, he gives away a wonderful elephant, he is sent into banishment, whither he is followed by his faithful wife Maddī and his two little children. They have previously given everything away. In a four-horse carriage, their last possession, they drive away. Soon, however, they encounter a begging Brahman, to whom Vessantara gives the horses and carriage. On foot they wander on, carrying the children, and at last reach a hermitage in the forest, where they take up their abode. Then Sakka appears in the form of an ugly, wicked Brahman, who demands the children as slaves, and gets them.

---

in which King Bran makes himself into a bridge, over which his army reaches the bank of a river. In this case, however the agreement, though certainly striking, seems to me to be merely accidental.

[1]) The elephant is a general favourite in the animal legends. Cf. *Feer* in JA., 1895, s. 9, t. V, 31 ff., 189 ff. and *Foucher* on the Chaddanta Jātaka (No. 514) in Mélanges Lévi, pp 231 ff.

Finally he asks for the wife also; Vessantara does not withhold even her from him; then only does Sakka make himself known, and all ends happily.

The legend is related in 786 stanzas with all the prolixity of an epic. The description of Vessantara's departure into banishment recalls vividly that of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa. The many and long descriptions of nature, such as the description of the forest and of the hermitage, also remind us of the Rāma epic. The poet lingers with especial pleasure over the story of the giving up of the children, who are treated so cruelly by the wicked Brahman, over the plaints of the little ones and the description of the mother's grief, how she seeks her children in vain. No wonder that, at the recitation or representation of these scenes—for in Tibet and Burma the Vessantara legend forms the subject of dramatic representations—the audience are dissolved in tears.[1]

The hero of the Vessantara-Jātaka, as is general in the purely Buddhistic legends last discussed, is the Bodhisatta of the later dogma, to whom a certain number of "perfections"[2] are ascribed; he already possesses certain

---

[1]) We meet with the legend of Vessantara in pictorial representations also. Cf. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique, I, 283 ff. The Chinese traveller Song Yun relates that he saw a picture in Shâhbâz-Garhi reproducing the Vessantara legend, and that, whenever they saw this picture, the barbarians shed tears of pity for the pious man who had given away his children to the wicked Brahman. *Chavannes*, Cinq Cents Contes, t. I, p. x. P. *Dahlke* (ZB., I, 1914, p. 9) says: "This Vessantara legend is a favourite decoration in Buddhist temples. I have seen it represented from Ceylon to Cambodia. In the Wesak season it is ..produced on the stage of the people's theatres, and never does it fail to produce its effect." R. *Fick* (Festgabe Jacobi, pp. 145 ff.) has compared the various versions of the Vessantara Jātaka, with a view to tracing its original form. He shows that the Jātakamālā probably used an earlier version than that of the Pāli Jātaka. A Soghdian version of the Jātaka has been published by R. *Gauthiot* (JA., 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, pp. 163 ff.).

[2]) Pārami or Pāramitā, "highest perfection," is the technical expression for the ten (or six) perfections which a Bodhisatta possesses, namely: Generosity, virtue (*i.e.* obedience to the commandments), renunciation of the world, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, determination, friendliness towards all creatures, equanimity. Cf. R. Spence *Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, 1860, pp. 98, 101 ff.; *Kern*, Manual, p. 66. The expressions pārami, pāramitā do not appear in the earliest texts, or in the Jātaka-Gāthās; but in the

super-human gifts, such as the recollection of former existences, extraordinary physical powers or mental faculties, and so on. This conception of the Bodhisatta as a higher being, generally plays only a secondary part in the texts of the Theravāda sect of the Hīnayāna, whose canon is the Pāli Tipiṭaka, while with the sects of the Mahāyāna, it has been developed all the more fully. It is no accident, therefore, that the Jātakas belong to the Mahāyāna just as much as to the Hīnayāna, and the question could be raised whether their actual native soil was not Mahāyāna Buddhism rather than Hīnayāna. Indeed we find Jātakas in the texts of all Buddhist sects. Most probably they did not originally belong to any sect; but as they were one of the chief media of propaganda, and carried Buddhism into extensive circles, especially the popular Buddhism, in which there could not have been much difference between the sects, they penetrated, along with this Buddhism, deep into the mind of the people. Even at the present day, there is no book so popular among the Buddhist peoples as the Jātaka. The Singhalese still listen the whole night through, to the recitation of the Jātakas without any trace of fatigue, and with unaffected delight. In Burma, too, the Jātakas are and have been for centuries the delight of both learned and unlearned, of monks and laymen alike;[1] and it is the same in every place to which Buddhism has penetrated. A. *Schiefner*[2] has given us an idea of the immense wealth of

Jātaka commentary (*e.g.* Nos. 515, 528, 529) it is expressly stated that the Lord told the story with reference to one of the "perfections." In other instances (*e.g.* Nos. 407, 547) the hero is clearly presented as the Bodhisatta endowed with the "perfections." Cf. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS., 1913, pp. 482 f.

[1]) Cf. R. Spence *Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, London, 1860, p. 101; M. H. *Bode*, Pali Literature of Burma, London, 1909, p. 81.

[2]) Indische Erzählungen, Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg 1876 and 1877 (Mélanges asiatiques, VII and VIII); Mahākātjājana und König Tschaṇḍa-Pradyota, ein Zyklus buddhistischer Erzählungen (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. des Sc. de St Pétersbourg, 1875). Cf. also W. R. S. *Ralston*, Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources, London, 1882, and W. W. *Rockhill*, Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories, Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur, JAOS. 18, 1897, pp. 1 ff.

Buddhist narratives in Tibetan literature, and Ed. *Chavannes* [1] has enlightened us as to the abundance of Chinese Buddhist narratives. Directly and indirectly the Jātakas have also enriched the literatures of many other peoples, and have therefore been of immense importance in universal literature, even though to-day we no longer believe, with Th. *Benfey*, that the entire fairy tale literature of the world is of Buddhist origin. Nevertheless, however largely the Brahmans, Jains and other sects might have contributed to Indian narrative literature, Buddhism alone pressed forward far beyond the limits of India as a world-religion, thus diffusing Indian civilisation and literature far and wide in all countries of the East and West.[2] On the other hand, it was Buddhism, too, which brought the Indians more than ever before into contact with other peoples; and it is not probable that it was only the Indians who brought their stories to those peoples every time; they, in their turn, must have received narratives from them too, especially from peoples who stood so high, intellectually, as the Greeks, Persians and Semites. In all probability, the Greek artists, who came to India in great crowds after Alexander's campaign and helped to build and ornament so many Buddhist monuments of art, also brought many Greek narratives and motifs to India. This is the more probable, as it is precisely the Jātakas which were in many cases pictorially represented on the Buddhist monuments. For, as the literature, so, Indian and non-Indian art too, was

---

[1]) Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka Chinois et traduit en français, t. I-III, Paris, 1910-1911. We see here that the books which were translated into Chinese in he 5th century A.D. contained numerous Jātakas which also occur in the Jātaka book; but it by no means follows that the Jātakas in question were necessarily translated from this Pāli work or from a Sanskrit collection corresponding to it.

[2]) *Chavannes*, Cinq Cents Contes I, p. xvi, still considers that Buddhism may be called "le plus vaste réceptacle de contes qu'il y ait eu au monde." *Charpentier* (Festschrift Kuhn, pp. 288 ff.) supposes that a collection of Jātakas may have been the source of the Greek Physiologus. H. *Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende?, pp. 65 ff., raises objections to this theory.

enriched by the Jātakas. They belong to the oldest subjects that were pictorially represented in India, and to-day they are still favourite themes for sculpture and painting in all Buddhist countries. We find them in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. on the stone walls of Bharhut and Sānchi, in the 2nd century A.D. on those of Amarāvatī, and still later in the caves of Ajantā.[1] When the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien travelled in Ceylon in the year 412 A.D. he saw how, at the festival of the sacred tooth, in Abhayagiri, the king of Ceylon had the five hundred Jātakas represented by figures ranged on either side of the street along which the procession passed, brightly coloured and grandly executed, looking as if they were alive. And Hsüan-Tsang relates of Stūpas seen by him, which had been erected in various parts of India in memory of the deeds of the Bodhisatta as recounted in Jātakas.[2] Many hundreds of reliefs which contain Jātaka illustrations, decorate the temples of Boro-Budur in Java (9th century),[3] of Pagan in Burma (13th century),[4] and of Sukhodaya in Siam (14th century).[5]

The Jātakas are of inestimable value, not only as regards

---

[1]) Besides the works of *Cunningham* and *Maisey*, which have been mentioned above, p. 16, note 3, cf. also A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, 2nd. Ed., Berlin 1900, pp. 38 f., 59, and A *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra I, Paris, 1905, pp. 270 ff.

[2]) Cf. J. *Legge*, Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms being an account of the Chinese Monk Fâ-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon, transl. Oxford, 1886, p. 106; and L. *Feer* in OC XI, Paris, 1897, I, pp. 151 ff.

[3]) A list of the Jātakas represented in Bharhut, Ajantā and Boro-Budur is given by S. d'*Oldenburg*, JRAS., 1896, 623 ff. and JAOS., 18, 1897, pp. 183 ff. The reliefs of Boro-Budur, according to d'*Oldenburg* (*loc. cit.*, p. 196 ff. in which he bases his theory on that of C. *Leemans*, Bôrô-Boudour dans l'île de Java, Leide, 1874) present 34 Jātakas arranged in the order of the Sanskrit work Jātakamālā. See also *Foucher* in BEFEO., IX, 1909, pp. 1 ff.

[4]) The Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin possesses over a hundred reliefs of the Mangalacheti temple of Pagan. They have been discussed by A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Studien I (Veröffentlichungen aus dem K. Museum für Völkerkunde, V, Berlin 1897).

[5]) L. *Fournereau*, Le Siam ancien, 2ième partie. AMG., Paris, 1908. The order of the pictures is that of the Pāli Jātaka collection.

literature and art, but also from the point of view of the history of civilisation. Though they cannot serve as documents for the social conditions at the time of Buddha, but at the most, for the period of the 3rd century B.C., and for the greater part, especially in their prose, only for the fifth or sixth century A.D., yet so much has remained unchanged in India throughout the centuries, that the picture of civilisation in the Jātakas may nevertheless be regarded as very "ancient." In any case the narratives of the Jātaka book afford us a glimpse into the life of classes of the Indian people, of which other books of Indian literature only rarely give us any information.[1]

The great importance of the Jātaka book in every respect, justifies our having lingered so long over this work, so that we can deal much more briefly with the other books of the Tipiṭaka which are yet to be mentioned.

11. Niddesa,[2] "Explanation," is the title of a commentary, which has already been mentioned, on sections of the Suttanipāta. It consists of the Mahā-Niddesa, the "Great Explanation," containing the commentary on the Aṭṭhakavagga, and the Culla-Niddesa, the "Short Explanation," which explains the Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta (Suttanipāta I, 3) as well as the Pārāyana. The inclusion of this commentary in the canon can certainly be due merely to its great antiquity in comparison to other Pāli commentaries. Indeed, we learn from the Niddesa how the sacred texts were explained at the lessons, in ancient times.[3] Grammatical

[1]) For this reason the data concerning the history of social conditions given by R. *Fick* and Mrs. *Rhys Davids* in the works mentioned above, p. 121, note 2, are very valuable even though, in judging them, we shall have to take a different point of view as regards chronology.

[2]) Mahā-Niddesa, ed. by L. de *la Vallée Poussin* and E. J. *Thomas*, PTS. 1916 aud 1917; Culla-Niddesa, ed. by W. *Stede*, PTS. 1918. On the relation of this old commentary to Buddhaghosa's commentary, see M. H. B(ode) in JRAS. 1918, pp. 574 ff.

[3]) Cf. E. J. *Thomas*, Ind. Hist. *Qu.* II, 1926, pp. 495 ff.

and lexical explanations go hand in hand with instruction in the dogma. Important technical expressions are explained with reference to the doctrine, and passages from canonical texts are frequently quoted for this purpose. In order to explain a word, a long list of synonyms is given, and this is repeated every time the same word occurs. It is easy to understand how, in this way, these lists of words were impressed on the memory. Probably they formed the foundation for later dictionaries.

12. The Paṭisambhidāmagga,[1] "the Path to Analysis," consists of three large sections, each containing ten treatises on some important point of Buddhist doctrine. Thus, for instance, I, 1 deals with the 73 kinds of knowledge, among which, to give an example, there is the knowledge of the great pity of the Tathāgata; I, 3 deals with the regulating of the breath as an aid to mindfulness (sati), I, 7 with the Karman, II, 2 with the four noble truths, II, 4 on the love towards all creatures (mettā), III, 2 with the miraculous powers (iddhi) of the saints, and so on. All these subjects are treated in the form of questions and answers, after the fashion of the Abhidhamma texts. The work appears in the Suttapiṭaka, however, and not in the Abhidhammapiṭaka, because, at least in part, its form is that of the Suttas, as some sections begin with introductory stories ("Thus I have heard," etc.) and the address "O monks" (bhikkhave) is to be found here and there, as in the Suttas.[2]

13. Vast as the Jātaka book is, and abundant as are its contents, it does not by any means contain the entire wealth of Buddhist tales. Another narrative work which is just as copious as the Jātaka, though of lesser value from a literary

---

[1]) Ed. by Arnold C. *Taylor*, PTS. 1905 and 1907. Cf. C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS. 1906, pp. 238 ff.

[2]) On archaisms in the text, see *Kosambi* in Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, p. 38 note.

point of view, is [1] the collection of "Apadānas" in the Khuddakanikāya, known as the Apadāna. The word apadāna (Sanskrit avadāna) means "heroic deed, glorious deed," the sense being extended also to glorious deeds of self-sacrifice and piety; and the Apadānas, like the Avadānas which are their counterpart in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, are "tales of the heroic deeds," *i.e.*, the pious works of the saints (which often consist of very commonplace actions performed in adoration of a Buddha). The Apadānas, too, like the Jātakas, have a "Story of the present" and a "Story of the past." Whereas the Jātakas always describe a previous existence of the Buddha, the Apadānas, as a rule, deal with that of a saint, an Arhat. These stories are, therefore, legends of saints. The collection of Apadānas, written entirely in verse, begins with a Buddhāpadāna, containing a glorification of the Buddhas, of the "innumerable kings of the Dhamma, endowed with the 30 perfections," [2] and Buddha himself is made to pronounce this glorification. Next comes the Paccekabuddhāpadāna, a glorification of the Paccekabuddhas, who go their solitary way, "like the rhinoceros." The entire "Sutta of the Rhinoceros" (Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta, from Suttanipāta I, 3) is inserted here. The main portion of the work, however, is the Thera-Apadāna, "the Glorious Deeds of the Elders," in 55 sections (vagga) consisting of 10 Apadānas each.[3] The last part is the Therī-Apadāna, "the Glorious Deeds of the Lady Elders," in 4 sections, consisting of 10 Apadānas each.[4] The "glorious deeds" are always related

---

[1]) Ed. by Mary E. *Lilley*, PTS. 1925 and 1927. Cf. L *Feer* in JA. 1883, s. 8, t. I, 408, 433 ff.; E. *Müller* in OC X, Genève 1894, I, 135 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids*, ERE., Vol. I, p. 603.

[2]) As each of the 10 Pāramitās or "perfections" is divided into three grades, *i.e.*, ordinary, superior and pre-eminent, there are 30 Pāramitās in all. (R. Spence *Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 101.)

[3]) Vagga 34 has only 7 Apadānas, hence the total of 547 instead of 550.

[4]) Extracts from the Therī-Apadāna have been published by E. *Müller* in his edition

by the saint in question himself. The first heroes of the Thera-Apadāna are the most famous disciples of Buddha: Sāriputta, the great Moggallāna, the great Kassapa and Anuruddha; side by side with these and other well-known names such as Upāli, Ānanda, Rāhula and Raṭṭhapāla[1] among the Theras, and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, Khemā, Paṭācārā. Kisā-Gotamī, and others, among the Therīs, we meet with a far larger number of names, which are only types and not real personages, *e.g.*, the Theras "Dispenser of fans," "Dispenser of clothes," "Dispenser of mangoes," "Worshipper of foot-prints," "Water-worshipper" (*i.e.*, the Thera who worshipped Buddha with a gift of water), Theras who are named after some flower offering, like Kimsukapupphiya, and the like. Most of these legends are made on one and the same plan. First of all the Thera (or Therī) tells of the adoration which he (or she) had offered to one of the previous Buddhas, the predecessors of Gotama Buddha, then he (or she) declares the prophecy uttered by that previous Buddha that he (or she) would hear the doctrine of the future Gotama Buddha, and finally relates how this prophecy has come true, and how he (or she) attained to the dignity of an Arhat. Only few of the Apadānas deviate from this stereotyped plan, for instance the very remarkable Buddhāpadāna (No. 387) with the secondary title Pubbakammapiloti, "the Interweaving of the Previous Deeds," in which the Buddha tells of his previous bad deeds in consequence of which he had to suffer countless reincarnations in hells, and the remains of which deeds caused him many an unpleasant experience even in his last existence.

The Apadāna is certainly one of the very latest works of

---

of the commentary on the Therigāthā (PTS. 1892). The Apadāna of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī has been translated into Dutch by Maria E. L. van *Goor*, de buddhistische non, pp. 204 ff.

[1]) The legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Apadāna, who is familiar to us from the Majjhimanikāya, No. 82, has been compared with that in Buddhaghosa's commentary, by Mabel *Bode* in Mélanges Lévi, pp. 183 ff.

the Khuddakanikāya and of the canon generally, if we are really justified in including it in the canon. At all events, judged by its general character, it is much more closely allied to the Sanskrit Avadānas than to the remaining works of the Pāli Canon.[1] We must leave it to future research to find out, by means of a detailed comparison between the Apadānas and the Buddhist Sanskrit texts,[2] what place they occupy in the chronology of the history of Buddhist literature.

14. One of the shorter books of the Khuddakanikāya is the Buddhavaṃsa.[3] This contains poetical legends of the 24 Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded Gotama Buddha in the last twelve ages of the world (Kalpas). After an introductory chapter, one chapter is dedicated to each of the 24 former Buddhas.[4] In a somewhat dry manner, it is related in the case of each single Buddha, how he set the "wheel of religion" in motion and how—with but trifling differences—the principal events in the life of Gotama Buddha were enacted in the life of each one of the former Buddhas. It is Gotama Buddha himself who is telling the narrative, and

---

[1]) Not very many instances of actual agreement have been traced so far. Avadānaśataka VIII relates stories of ten holy women, but only three names coincide with those in the Therī-Apadāna. Cf. L. *Feer*, JA, 1884, ser. 8, t. III, p. 32.

[2]) E. *Müller* (Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 55 ff.) after comparing the Dīpaṅkara legend in Apadāna No. 486 with the other versions of the same legend, has come to the conclusion that some of the Apadānas are later than the Sanskrit Avadānas. S. *Lévi* (JA, 1908, ser. 10, t. XII, pp. 167 ff.) concludes from the comparison of Therī-Apadāna No. 17, of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, with Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā ("Sūtrālaṃkāra") No. 68, that the author of the Apadāna must have been familiar with the Sanskrit poem. I am not convinced. As we have a plain story in the Apadāna, and an elaborate one in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, it is just as likely that the last-named work used the raw material, either in the Apadāna or in a Sanskrit version corresponding to it, and created a work of art from it, as that the author of the Apadāna used the work of art, and made a dry extract of it.

[3]) Edited by R. *Morris*, London, PTS. 1882.

[4]) On the dogma of the multiplicity of Buddhas, see *Oldenberg*, Buddha, 370 ff. and *Kern*, Manual of Buddhism, 62 ff. Aśoka already mentions in one of his edicts that he had a stūpa of Buddha Konākamana (*i.e.*, Koṇāgamana, the 23rd Buddha of the Buddhavaṃsa) restored (*Bühler*, WZKM. 9, 1895, pp. 175 ff.).

speaking in the first person, he recounts who he himself was under each of the preceding Buddhas,[1] how he worshipped the Buddha, and how his own Buddhahood had been foretold by the Buddha of that time. The only part which is a little more imaginative and poetical, is the second chapter,[2] which deals with Dīpaṅkara, the first Buddha.

Gotama Buddha was at that time a rich Brahman named Sumedha, and he relates in verses (7-27) which are reminiscent of the Theragāthās, how he one day felt disgusted with the world, how he cast off the wretched body, as though it were dirt, and withdrew to a hermitage in the Himālaya. This was precisely the time when the Buddha Dīpaṅkara was carrying on his campaign of conquest throughout the world, and men and gods worshipped him. Sumedha, the hermit, comes too, and at a marshy spot loosens his plaited hair, spreads it out on the dirty ground, with his hempen garment and his cloak of skins, and lies face downwards,[3] inspired with the wish that the exalted Buddha Dīpaṅkara, with his host of disciples, may step over him without having their feet soiled by the mud. Prostrate on the ground, he resolves to become a Buddha one day, and bring salvation to the world. Dīpaṅkara approaches, and prophesies the future greatness of Sumedha. The inhabitants of the ten thousand worlds make a joyful noise, and signs and miracles happen, as is always the case when a future Buddha is foretold. But Sumedha determines to realise in himself all the ten perfections (Pāramitās), in order to fulfil the preliminary conditions of Buddhahood.

Thus this passage is actually a kind of preliminary history to the autobiography which Gotama Buddha later gives

---

[1]) Usually he was a Brahman or a warrior, but once also he was Sakka, the king of the gods, another time a lion, the king of beasts, twice a king of the Nāgas, once a Yakṣa, and several times an ascetic.

[2]) Translated by *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, pp. 5-31. Translated from the Chinese (Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra) by S. *Beal* in JRAS 1873, pp. 277 ff. E. *Müller* (Gurupūjākaumudī, pp. 54 ff.) has compared the various versions of the Dīpaṅkara legend.

[3]) This scene has often been depicted on Buddhist monuments, probably it already appeared on the stūpa of Bharhut (S. J. *Fergusson*, Tree and Serpent Worship, Plate L; *Cunningham*, Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 134, No. 38; *Beal*, *l.c.*, and *Ind. Ant.* 11, 1882, p. 146). Cf. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique I, 273 ff..; A. *Grünwedel*, Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutsari (ABayA 24, I, 1906), p. 90 f.

in Chapter 26, briefly summarising in 25 verses the chief events of his last earthly existence. A list of the Buddhas down to Metteyya, the future Buddha, and an account of the distribution of the Buddha relics form the conclusion of the book.

The commentator of the Buddhavaṃsa says that the work was proclaimed and recited by Gotama Buddha himself, and was handed down an uninterrupted line of Theras, to the time of the third Council, and again, since then, passed down an uninterrupted line of teachers and pupils. As the earlier texts are only familiar with 6 predecessors of Gotama, we shall not give credence to these statements of the commentator, but shall be compelled to class the Buddhavaṃsa among the latest productions of canonical Pāli literature. Moreover, it is replete with that Buddha-worship and Buddha-deification, which is foreign to the earliest texts of the Tipiṭaka, but is at its height in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, especially that of the Mahāyāna.

15. The last book of the Khuddakanikāya is the Cariyāpiṭaka.[1] This is a collection of 35 Jātakas in verse, pursuing the express purpose of showing which Pāramitās or "perfections"[2] the Bodhisatta possessed in various of his previous existences. Each of the first two perfections, those of generosity and virtue, claims a whole chapter, consisting of ten stories each, while Chapter III contains 15 stories as examples of five further Pāramitās.[3] It is Buddha himself who is supposed to tell the stories. He records the event in brief, scanty words, sometimes only hinting so barely that a knowledge of the story is evidently already assumed, in fact,

---

[1]) Ed. by R. *Morris*, PTS. 1882; ed. in Devanāgarī characters with Introduction by Bimala Charan *Law*, Lahore, 1924.

[2]) See above, p. 152 and note 2.

[3]) The concluding verses prove that in reality all the ten Pāramitās were to be illustrated in the Cariyāpiṭaka. Perhaps the three missing ones (wisdom, energy and patience) are supposed to be included with the others, in Chapter III.

to a certain extent, the intention is merely to recall it. Most of the stories are such as appear also in the Jātaka book; but in this work only what is essential to illuminate some Pāramitā is told. Every trace of poetry is wiped away, every touch of humour is avoided, as though intentionally. The stories are often garbled, in order to make them into examples of some " perfection." Compare, for instance, the fable of the crocodile which is tricked by the monkey.[1] In Jātaka No. 208 (as in the Pañcatantra) it is humorously related how the crocodile, whose wife had a craving for a monkey's heart, lies in wait for the monkey, entices it in order to kill it, and is outwitted by the monkey, which says that it has not its heart with it, but has hung it up on a tree by the bank. The version of the same fable in Jātaka No. 57 is somewhat less humorous; but every vestige of humour is eradicated in Cariyāpiṭaka III, 7, where the Buddha relates:

" When I was a monkey, which lived in a cave on the bank of a river, I was once prevented from going my usual way, because a crocodile threatened me. Just at the place where I was accustomed to take my stand in order to jump to the other bank, sat the murderous enemy, the crocodile, frightful to behold. It said to me: 'Come!' I said to it: 'I come,' and standing on its head, I reached the other bank. I told it no lie, but acted in accordance with my words. In the love of truth nobody is my equal. Such was my highest perfection of truth."

The fable has here shrunk to a meaningless skeleton, and the most important thing about it is the moral, which in this version (as n Jātaka No. 57, where it is also found) is entirely unfitting. In the same way, the Vessantara Jātaka, which, as we have seen, is an epic of 786 verses in the Jātaka book, is, in the Cariyāpiṭaka, I, 9, squeezed into 58 meagre verses, in which all the emphasis is laid on the miracles, such as the quaking of the earth, etc. Only five verses of the Vessantara epic are to be found word for word in the Cariyāpiṭaka also.

[1]) See above, p. 126.

As we do not know the Jātaka of the canon in its original form, it is difficult to say anything definite as to the relationship between the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Jātaka. One thing, however, which we do know, is that the doctrine of the Pāramitās does not appear in the earlier portions of the canon, but belongs to a later phase of the cult of Buddha. It is therefore likely that such works as the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Jātakamālā of Buddhist Sanskrit literature belong to the same later stage of development of Buddhism, and are really selections made for the purpose, from the abundant store of Jātaka literature, though perhaps not precisely from the Jātaka of the canon.[1] The Cariyāpiṭaka, however, has not come down to us in its original form, any more than the Jātaka itself. As a matter of fact, in the introduction to the Jātaka book, the Nidāna-Kathā,[2] we find the résumé of a Cariyāpiṭaka, which differs considerably from our text, and most likely represented an earlier recension of the work.[3] It is quite possible that various Jātakas were selected in the various monasteries as examples of the Pāramitās, and that the monks adhered only to a common stock of stories, and to the number 34.[4] At all events the Cariyāpiṭaka, as we have it to-day, is the work of an excellent monk who was anything but a poet, while, among the authors of the Jātakas as we have

---

[1]) There is no justification for the view that there was originally only a small collection of 34 Jātakas, which only later gradually grew into the large collection of 550 stories, in which case the Cariyāpiṭaka would be a résumé of this old Jātaka (Cf. *Pischel*, Leben und Lehre des Buddha, p. 61). Cf. *Oldenberg*, NGGW, 1912, 183 ff.

[2]) Jātaka, ed. *Fausböll*, I, pp. 45-47. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, pp. 54 ff.

[3]) *Charpentier* (WZKM 24, 1910, 351 ff.) has shown that the text of the Cariyāpiṭaka as we have it at present, was remodelled under the influence of the Jātaka commentary, and (we may add) deteriorated by it. I do not think it is possible to reconstruct an original Cariyāpiṭaka, as was attempted by *Charpentier* (*l.c.*, *Cf.* WZKM 27, 1913, p. 94).

[4]) The two recensions of the Cariyāpiṭaka have only 21 Jātakas in common with each other, and there are only 12 of these which they share with the Jātakamālā too. The fact that 34 was the original and traditional number, is proved not only by the Jātakamālā, but also by the name or epithet of Buddha Catustriṃśajjātakajña, " knower of the

them in the Jātaka book, there were, besides many a good monk and bad poet, a few distinguished poets also.

Thus we see again and again that the Khuddakanikāya combines books of very different periods, and most probably of different schools also, as well as all sorts of books whose canonical dignity was called into question.

The Abhidhammapiṭaka. Buddhist Scholasticism.

As the word Abhidhamma means "higher religion," or the "higher subtleties of religion," [1] it used sometimes to be translated by "metaphysics." In reality, however, Abhidhamma has nothing to do with metaphysics, and as to philosophy, it has no more and no less connection with it than the Dhamma as taught in the Suttapiṭaka. Indeed, the only difference between the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and those of the Suttapiṭaka is that the former are more circumstantial, drier, more learned, in a word, more scholastic. Both treat of the same subject. We shall look in vain for originality and profundity in the Abhidhamma books. Definitions and classifications are their strong point. The definitions, however, valuable as they are for the dictionary and the knowledge of Buddhist terminology, are disappointing in that they only turn on an endless series of synonyms. The classifications, too, however estimable for the attempt at creating a psychological basis of ethics which they contain, are rarely penetrating analyses of psychical processes; much

---

34 Jātakas," in Hemachandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 233, in the commentary of which the old lexicographer Vyāḍi is quoted, who enumerates a list of Jātakas, the majority of which occur in the Jātakamālā. Cf. *Kern*, Manual, p. 66. The hypothesis suggested by some scholars (thus *Rhys Davids*, *l.c.*, p. liii f., but see *Charpentier*, *l.c.*, pp. 406 f.) that it was originally intended to elucidate each Pāramitā by 10 Jātakas, has no foundation whatsoever.

[1]) Buddhaghosa explains the abhi ("higher") in the word "Abhidhamma" as referring, not to the contents, but merely to the more detailed mode of treatment. Cf. A. C. *Taylor*, in JRAS. 1894, pp. 560 f. and *Rhys Davids* in SBE, Vol. 36, p. 237 note.

more frequently they are mere enumerations, unduly protracted, or arbitrarily created or banal categories. As a rule, all this yields nothing but dogmatism, hardly ever is there a trace of any research which could be called scientific. The form of these works is mostly that of questions and answers, after the style of a catechism.

The texts of the Abhidhamma, the beginnings of which are already to be found in the Suttapiṭaka (*e.g.* Majjhima-nikāya 137 and 140, and in many of the Suttas of the Aṅguttaranikāya), are probably merely extensions of the Mātikās or "lists," (*viz.*, of the philosophical and ethical conceptions treated in the Suttapiṭaka) which are already mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka.[1]

Book I of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi,[2] "Compendium of Dhammas," deals with the classification and definition of the Dhammas, *i.e.*, the psychical conditions and phenomena. Now, as in ancient Buddhism, ethics and psychology are just as inseparable as are philosophy and religion,[3] the English translator of this work, Mrs. Rhys Davids, is quite right in calling it "A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics."[4] In the extremely valuable introduction to her translation,[5] this excellent authority on the philosophy of the Pāli texts, has been successful in her

---

[1]) The Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi begins with a Mātikā of this nature, and Mrs. *Rhys Davids* (Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, 2nd Ed., pp. ix, cv-cxiii) believes that this one should be regarded as the sole source of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. The Puggala-paññatti and the Dhātukathā, however, also begin with Mātikās. The passages in which Mātikā is mentioned (*e.g.*, dhammadharo vinayadharo mātikādharo paṇḍito, Cullavagga I, 11, 1; XII, 1, 9), indicate that the word does not mean any one definite text, but, as in he case of dhamma and vinaya, a class of texts.

[2]) Edited by E. *Müller*, PTS. 1885.

[3]) Cf. Mrs. C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Psychology, 2nd Ed., London, 1924, p. 138; Buddhist Manual, 2nd Ed., p. xxxviii ff.

[4]) Translation...of the ..Dhamma-Sangaṇi (Compendium of States or Phenomena), on OTF 1900, second edition, 1923.

[5]) Also in her work "Buddhist Psychology," 2nd Ed., London, 1924. Cf. also A. B. *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 187 ff.

attempt to present the philosophy of ancient Buddhism in its main characteristics, as contained in the doctrine of the Nikāyas, and classified and summarised in this catechism, whose bare structure of enumerations is so difficult of comprehension, and to assign to that philosophy its rightful place in the general history of philosophical thought. It is not the intention of the Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi itself to give any systematic presentation of ethics or psychology; it presupposes a knowledge of the Dhamma, and only claims to be a manual for study for the use of advanced monks. In spite of the fact that it is a purely learned work, and anything but popular, it has been held in great regard in Ceylon. Evidence of this can be found in the report about a king of Ceylon in the 10th century, who had a copy of the work engraved on gold plates studded with jewels, and took it in grand procession to a vihāra he had built, where he worshipped it with offerings of flowers.[1]

By way of appendix to the Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi, an old commentary to Book III of the work has also been included in the canon, and tradition has even ascribed this commentary to Sāriputta.[2]

Book II of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the Vibhaṅga,[3] "Classification," is merely a continuation of Book I. It presupposes the formulas and categories of the Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi, but new ones are added. Section I deals with the fundamental conceptions and fundamental truths of Buddhism, with which the Dhamma-Saṃgaṇi too begins, Section II deals with the knowledge of the sense impressions up to the highest knowledge of a Buddha and Section III with the things which

---

[1]) Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Manual, 2nd Ed., p. xxv.

[2]) Buddhaghosa calls this appendix (Text, pp. 231 ff.; cf. Mrs. *Rhys Davids* l.c., pp. 334 ff.) a commentary (aṭṭhakathākaṇḍaṃ or atthuddhāra). In the text itself, it has no especial title as though it were a part of the work.

[3]) Edited by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, PTS. 1904.

hinder knowledge. The last section, which deals with the various conditions in human and non-human existences, contains a considerable mythological element.

Book III of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, called Dhātu-kathā,[1] "Discourse on the Elements," is a short text of 14 chapters, in questions and answers on the elements of psychical phenomena and their mutual relations.

In form and contents, Book IV, called Puggalapaññatti,[2] "Description of Human Individuals," is the book which is most closely allied to the texts of the Suttapiṭaka. In form it differs but little from the Saṇgīti-Sutta of the Dīghanikāya, and Sections 3-5 are for the most part to be found in the Aṅguttaranikāya too. Some chapters here read exactly like Suttas in one of the Nikāyas, and stand out favourably from their environment. We occasionally come across pretty similes. For instance (V, 3), five kinds of monks, in their relationship to woman, are compared with five kinds of warriors, and the simile, as is so often the case in the Majjhimanikāya, is carried on to the minutest detail. But it is only rarely that we come upon passages of undeniable literary value. Generally speaking, even the parables are as barren and tedious as the remaining parts of the book, the object of which is to classify individuals according to their ethical qualities. A few examples will suffice to give an idea of the spirit and style of the work, and of the type of definitions and classifications to be found in those portions which genuinely partake of the nature of the Abhidhamma.

"What sort of person is angry? What then is anger? That which is anger, being angry, and the state of being angry, hatred, hating, hatefulness, malice, the act of being malicious, maliciousness, hostility,

---

[1]) Edited by E. R. *Gooneratne*, PTS. 1892.

[2]) Edited by R. *Morris*, PTS. 1883; translated into English ("Designation of Human Types") Bimala Charan *Law*, PTS. 1923; into German by Bhikkhu *Nyānatiloka* ("Das Buch der Charaktere"), Breslau, 1910.

enmity, rudeness, abruptness, resentment of heart—this is called anger. He who has not got rid of this anger is said to be an angry person."

"What sort of person is crafty? What is meant by craftiness? Here a person becomes crafty and cunning. That which is craft, craftiness, state of being crafty, hardness, toughness, counterfeit, sham (—this is called craftiness).[1] The person in whom this craftiness remains unremoved is said to be a crafty person.

What sort of person is one having low inclination? Here is a person who, himself morally wicked and evil by nature, serves, follows, and worships another person who is also wicked and of evil disposition :— this is said to be a person having low inclination."

What sort of person is one having good inclination? Here is a certain person who, morally good and of virtuous habits, serves, follows and reveres another person of the same nature :—he is said to be a person having good inclination." [2]

Book V of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the Kathāvatthu,[3] "Subjects of Discourse," is that book which more than all others in the Abhidhammapiṭaka, is of importance from the point of view of the history of Buddhism, and is the only work of the canon which is ascribed to a definite author.[4] As has already been mentioned above (p. 11 f.) it is said to have been compiled in connection with the Third Council, by Tissa Moggaliputta, the president of the Council. This tradition handed down by the chroniclers of Ceylon has been accepted as historical by prominent scholars, whilst others reject it as being entirely unauthentic.[5] Now

---

[1]) Missing in *Law*'s translation.

[2]) II, 1; 4; 25 f. Translation by B. Ch. *Law*.

[3]) Edited by A. C. *Taylor*, PTS 1894, 1897. Translated (Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse) by Shew Zan *Aung* and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, PTS 1915. For an analysis of the work, see T. W. *Rhys Davids*, in JRAS 1892.

[4]) In the days of Buddhaghosa, it was indeed believed that Buddha himself had proclaimed the outlines of the work, and that Tissa had only elaborated the details. On the other hand, in the introduction to the Atthasālinī, *i.e.*, the commentary on the Dhammasaṃgaṇi, Buddhaghosa mentions that there were schools which did not acknowledge the Kathāvatthu as canonical.

[5]) For the tradition : *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 1898, 633 f.; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in Cambridge History I, 194; Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Points of Controversy, pp. xxx f.; Buddhist

as the Kathāvatthu in its present form is a patch-work,[1] I think it quite possible that Tissa Moggaliputta might have compiled a Kathāvatthu in the 3rd century B. C., but that the work was augmented by additional portions every time a new heresy cropped up.[2] The work, as we have it at present, and as Buddhaghosa commentated it in the 5th century A. D., consists of 23 sections, each of which contains 8-12 questions and answers, in which the most diverse false views are presented, confuted and rejected. (The commentary tells us which schools taught these false doctrines.) We find such questions as, for instance, the following:

Is there such a thing as a person (an individual soul) which can be regarded as a real or absolute substance? Does everything exist? Are there two kinds of cessation (of suffering)? Do the pupils of Buddha share in his superhuman powers? Can a householder be an Arhat? Can an Arhat lose his Arhat-hood as a result of Karman? Is virtuous behaviour unconscious? Can a person who has arrived at the right view (*i.e.*, the true faith) intentionally commit a murder? Is it correct to say that the Buddha lived in the world of human beings? Were the excrements and urine of the sublime Buddha more fragrant than all other fragrant things? Can animals be reborn among the gods? etc.

All these themes are discussed in questions and answers with an imaginary opponent; the final answer is in the negative, the opposite opinion being declared false. For the refutation of false doctrines, which, in the majority of

---

Manual of Psychological Ethics (1923), pp. xxiv f.; *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, pp. 6 and 16. Against the tradition: I. P. *Minayeff*, Recherches sur le Bouddhisme, pp. 81 ff., 200 f.; *Barth* in RHR 42, 190C, pp. 72 f. = Œuvres II, 355; and *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 18 f. Max *Walleser*, who formerly (Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, I, Heidelberg 1904 (1925), pp. 20 ff., 95 f.) placed absolute reliance on the tradition, has now come to the conclusion (Die buddhist. Philosophie IV, Die Sekten des Buddhismus, 1927, p. 12) "that this text is very considerably later than the historical legend would have us believe."

[1]) Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Points of Controversy, p. xxxi, speaks of "the 'patchwork-quilt' appearance" of the work.

[2]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, ERE IV, p. 184.

cases, are differences of opinion among schools, and not so much the heresies of various sects, many passages are quoted from the Vinayapiṭaka and the Suttapiṭaka,[1] which shows that the Kathāvatthu is at any rate later than these Piṭakas. It also refers to passages in the first two books of the Abhidhamma, and to subjects which are treated in the Paṭṭhāna, but it quotes neither the Dhātukathā, nor the Puggalapaññatti, nor the Yamaka.

Even though the Kathāvatthu in its present form cannot be regarded as a work of the 3rd century B.C., it nevertheless throws interesting light on the development of Buddhist dogmatics during the later centuries. As far as the history of the Buddhist schools and sects is concerned, the information contained in the Kathāvatthu and the commentary on it, is only of value if taken in conjunction with the Chinese and Tibetan records of the schisms.[2]

We should be inclined to think that the Kathāvatthu formed the conclusion of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, but in the traditional enumeration of the texts, it comes fifth. The *sixth* is the Yamaka,[3] the "Book of double questions," so called because all the questions are presented and explained in two ways.[4] This work, which is very difficult to understand, is intended to dispel any doubts which might still arise after the first five books of the Abhidhamma.

The seventh and last book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka is the Paṭṭhāna-Pakaraṇa, the "Book of the Causal Relationships," or Mahā-Pakaraṇa, "the Great Book," the first

---

[1]) For a list of these passages, see *Taylor's* edition, pp. 633 ff.

[2]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, JRAS 1910, pp. 413 ff.; *Walleser*, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1927.

[3]) Edited by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, assisted by Cecilia *Dibben*, Mary C. *Foley*, Mabel *Hunt*, and May *Smith*, PTS 1911 and 1913.

[4]) Not even the title of the work is clear, s. Introductory Note, p. xv f. Mrs. *Rhys Davids* took great pains to obtain light on the meaning and method of the work, from learned monks in Burma. The answers to her questions are incorporated in a *Pāli* essay by the Thera *Ledi Sadaw* of Mandalay in the Appendix to the edition.

part of which is the Tika-Paṭṭhāna and the second part the Duka-Paṭṭhāna.[1] The entire work, deals with the investigation of the 24 kinds of relationships which are assumed between the (corporeal and psychical) phenomena : causal relationship, relationship of subject and object, relationship of the ruler and the ruled, contiguity, co-existence, etc. With the sole exception of Nirvāṇa, which is absolute, there is nothing which is not in some sense relative, *i.e.*, which is not related to something else in one of the 24 ways.[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids recommends the historian of Buddhistic ideas, and of logical and philosophical ideas in general, to study the first part of the Tika-Paṭṭhāna, in which these 24 kinds of relationships are enumerated, calling it "the one notable constructive contribution to knowledge in the Abhidhamma" ; though, in general, she speaks rather sceptically about the value of this work of pure scholasticism.[3]

And Mrs. Rhys Davids, who has devoted years of patient and scholarly labour to the investigation of the texts of the Abhidhamma, yet concludes a general survey of the work accomplished, with these words of resignation: "As we leave this house of cloistered lives, of a closed tradition, of a past dominating present and future, we have a sense of rooms swept and garnished clean and tidy, of sealed windows, of drawn blinds, of no outlook towards the dawn." [4]

If we give credence to the tradition which dates the Kathāvatthu away back in the 3rd century B.C., we are compelled to date the earlier texts of the Abhidhamma still further back, and to assume that the scholastic activity of the

---

[1]) Tika-Paṭṭhāna, Parts I-III, ed. by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, PTS 1921-1923; Duka-Paṭṭhāna I, ed. by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, PTS 1906. The contents of the continuation of the Duka-Paṭṭhāna are given in the Tika-Paṭṭhāna, Part III, pp. 336 ff.

[2]) *Cf. Ledi Sadaw*, on the Philosophy of Relations, in JPTS 1915-1916, pp. 21 ff.

[3]) *Cf.* Foreword to Part I, p. v, and Editorial Note to Part II of the Tika-Paṭṭhāna.

[4]) JRAS 1923, p. 250.

monks began very early, immediately after the texts of the Suttapiṭaka. However, the authenticity of the Abhidhammapiṭaka is not universally recognised. It is disputed by the Sautrāntikas of the Hīnayāna, and the Sarvāstivādins have an Abhidharmapiṭaka in Sanskrit, the books of which differ entirely from those of the Pāli Abhidhammapiṭaka, though, as in the case of the latter, they are seven in number.[1] As even the report of the First Buddhist Council in the Vinayapiṭaka (Cullavagga XI) only mentions Vinaya and Dhamma, but not Abhidhamma, there are still doubts both as to the authenticity and the age of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.[2]

Among those sects, however, which recognise the Abhidhammapiṭaka as canonical, it is held in great esteem. In the Milindapañha it is related as a great marvel that young Nāgasena was so clever that he could at once be instructed in the seven books of the Abhidhamma, without having first learned the Suttas. In an inscription of about 262 A.D., engraved on a rock in the neighbourhood of the temple of Mihintale in Ceylon, we read among the rules for the monks of the monastery: 12 cells are to be allotted to expounders of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, 7 to preachers of the Suttapiṭaka, and 5 to readers of the Vinayapiṭaka.[3]

The study of the Abhidhamma is continued, especially in Burma, even at the present day, and numerous works have been written on it in the course of centuries.

---

[1]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, p. 55; Bouddhisme, p. 166; *Kern*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 126. *Walleser* (Buddhistische Philosophie, I, 17 ff.) tries to identify certain texts of the Pāli Abhidhammapiṭaka with similar ones in the Sanskrit, but can only take his stand on mere conjectures.

[2]) *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, I, 276 note 1, 291 f., thinks it possible, though not proved, that the Abhidhammapiṭaka was compiled in Ceylon, and not earlier.

[3]) R. Spence *Hardy*, Eastern Monachism, London 1860, p. 156.

Non-Canonical Pāli Literatu e.[1]

Apart from later additions, the greater part of the Pāli texts of the canon arose in India, and it was not until later that they were transmitted to Ceylon. The great bulk of the non-canonical Pāli literature, is, however, the work of the monks of Ceylon. The most notable exception is the Milinda-pañha,[2] "the Questions of Milinda." This work must have originated in north-west India, the only region where the memory of the great and wise ruler Milinda could have been sufficiently vivid as to warrant his being made the hero of a poem. This Milinda is none other than the Greek king Menandros, the most prominent of the rulers of the Græco-Indian empire, which, in the second century B.C., had separated itself from the Græco-Bactrian empire. The period of his reign was probably the first century B.C.,[3] and he

---

[1]) *Cf. Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 17 ff.

[2]) Ed. by V. *Trenckner*, London 1880; Vol. I of an edition in Siamese characters has been issued by Their Majesties Queen Aunt and Queen Suddhasinninath of Siam in 1925; translated into English by T. W. *Rhys Davids* in SBE, Vols. 35 and 36; into German (only the genuine parts) by F. O. *Schrader*, Berlin s.a (1905), and (complete) by Bhikkhu *Nyāṇatiloka*, München 1919; Books I-III into French by L. *Finot*, Paris 1923 (Les Classiques de l'Orient VIII.). Extracts (similes and short parables) are translated by E. W. *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, p. 201 ff. Cf. *Barth* in RHR 28, 1893, 257ff. = Œuvres II, 170 ff.; R. *Garbe*, Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte, Berlin 1903, p. 95 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in ERE VIII, 1915, 631 ff. The title of the work is given in the MSS. as Milindapañhaṃ (neut.) or Milindapañhā (plur.), but the Buddhists of Ceylon generally say Milindapañho (masc.): *Trenckner* Ed., p. vi.

[3]) A. V. *Gutschmid*, Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer, Tübingen 1888, p. 104, gives the approximate dates of Menander's reign as 125-95 B.C. According to *Smith*, Early History, pp. 227 ff., 239, 258, Menander invaded India in about 155 B.C., "but *Gardner* places him about 110 B.C." H. *Raychaudhuri* (Political History of Ancient India, Calcutta 1923, pp 204 ff., 209), whose view is shared by L. D. *Barnett* (Calcutta Review, Feb. 1924, p. 250), places Menander in the first century B.C., and, (according to Benoytosh *Bhattacharya*, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Oxford, 1924, p. xxi) R. C. *Mazumdar* is said to have proved "that a date prior to 90 B C. cannot be assigned to Menander." (Bhattacharya gives no reference, so I do not know Mazumdar's arguments.) See also *Rapson*, Cambridge History, I, 547 ff.

ruled over a great empire, which comprised not only the whole of the region of the Indus as well as Gujrat, but the Ganges province too. It may have been an historical event, the meeting and conversation of the Greek king with a celebrated Buddhist teacher, which led to the origin of the Milindapañha, or it may have been that the author of the dialogue merely took a pattern from so many dialogues in the Upaniṣads and Itihāsas, in introducing the great king in conversation with a sage: at all events, even if he was not himself a Buddhist,[1] Milinda-Menandros must have been closely connected with the Buddhist community. We can also assume as a certainty that the author of the Milindapañha, whose name, it is true, we do not know, lived at a time when the memory of the Greek king was still green. But as the Greek rule in India came to an end soon after the death of Menandros, it is scarcely feasible that his memory should have endured longer than a century at the most. Hence the work is more likely to have been written in the first century A.D., rather than in the second. The fact that the problems discussed in the Milindapañha are, in the main, identical with those forming the favourite themes in the canon, would also seem to indicate a comparatively early date.[2] Buddhaghosa,

---

[1]) An argument in favour of his having been a Buddhist, would be furnished by Plutarch's remarkable statement that, after the death of Menander, several Indian cities quarrelled about the possession of his ashes, which were eventually divided, whereupon each city erected a memorial over its own share. According to the legend, exactly the same thing happened at the death of Buddha (*Garbe*, l.c., pp. 102, 112 f., *Schrader*, l.c., p. xvi). Of course, it is possible that Menander was merely a sympathiser with the Buddhists, and presented the Order with great donations It is significant, though, that coins of Menander show the Buddhist wheel (S *Lévi* in RHR 23; 1891, p. 43 f.).

[2]) The themes discussed show remarkable similarity with those which play a prominent part in the Kathā-Vatthu. *Cf. Rhys Davids* in SBE, Vol. 36, pp. xx-xxvi. The allusion to the Thera Tissa (p. 71, SBE, Vol. 35, p. 110), "a master in the art of writing," who is said to have died many years before and "of whom people know only by his writings," would seem to point to a considerable, though not unduly protracted, interval of time between the author of the Milindapañha and Tissa Moggaliputta (if it is he who is meant) who lived in the 3rd century B. C.

too, the famous commentator of the fifth century, refers to the Milindapañha as an unimpeachable authority, on a level with the canonical texts.[1] In style, however, the Milindapañha shows an advance on the speeches of the Suttapiṭaka; and it is but few of the dialogues of the canon, as for instance that of the Pāyāsi-Sutta in the Dīghanikāya, which are as vivid and sprightly as those of the Milindapañha. These last-named are well able to bear comparison with the Dialogues of Plato.[2]

It is true that this praise, as well as the date I have assumed, cannot be applied to the entire work as we have it in the Pāli text, but only to the work in its original form; for there can scarcely be any doubt that, of the seven books which go to form the text, only a small part of the first introductory book and Books II and III are ancient and authentic. Even in Book III, later additions already appear to have crept in. By far the major portion of the work was not added until a later time, and probably not all at once. As it is the purpose of the work to dispel doubts of all kinds, which it does in somewhat incoherent fashion, it is, by its very nature, an eminently suitable receptacle for interpolation and additions. The most striking evidence of the spuriousness of Books IV-VII is the fact that they are absent in the Chinese translation, which is supposed to have originated between 317 and

---

[1]) *E.g.*, Atthasālini, pp. 112, 114, 119, 120, 122, 142; Visuddhi-Magga, p. 87; all these references are to passages in Books I-III of the Mil. f. *Rhys Davids* in SBE vol. 35, p. xiv ff.

[2]) A. *Weber*, Die Griechen in Indien (SBA 1890, p. 927) has raised the question whether the Milindapañha has not, perhaps, a closer connection with the Dialogues of Plato representing "so to speak, an intentional Indian counterpart to them." This is, however, unlikely, if only because the Milindapañha dialogue has so many models in the dialogues of the Upaniṣads, in the ascetic poetry of the Mahābhārata and in the Tipiṭaka, that there is no reason for supposing a Greek prototype. Neither does the Milindapañha show any trace whatsoever of a knowledge of the Greek language or of the Greek world of thought (*cf. Garbe*, l.c., p. 114). *Finot*, too, (Introduction to his French translation, p. 14) thinks that the style of the Milindapañha shows traces of Greek influence.

420 A.D.[1] In contents, too, Books IV-VII differ from Book I in character. Moreover, the last chapter of Book III forms a fitting conclusion to the work, and Book IV begins with a new introduction.[2]

The old poem probably began with the magnificent description of the city of Sāgala, the residence of King Milinda.[3] Then it was related how the well-informed and mighty Greek king one day, after he had reviewed his army, expressed a wish for a contest in speeches. But the king was so dreaded an opponent in speech contests with wise men, that it was not easy to find a Brahman or an ascetic who would venture to dispute with him. However, his courtiers took him to the monk Āyupāla, who lived in a hermitage in the vicinity of Sāgala. Even he is embarrassed by

---

[1]) *Cf.* Ed. *Specht* et S. *Lévi*, Deux traductions Chinoises du Milindapañho, OC IX London 1892, I, 518 ff. The "two translations" are in reality only two recensions of *one and the same* translation. Under the title of "the Sūtra of Nāgasena" this translation was already mentioned by Seng-yeou in the Catalogue compiled by him in 505 A.D., among the books which he saw with his own eyes; whereas under the title of "the Sūtra of the similes of Nāgasena," it was only familiar to him from the "old catalogue" of the 5th century. *Cf.* P. *Pelliot* in JA 1914, sér. II, t. IV, p. 379 ff. In a Chinese Buddhist Avadāna work of 472 A.D., the introductory book of the Milindapañha, embellished with anecdotes, appears as an independent story, which has the appearance of a late echo of the old dialogue (*cf.* J. *Takakusu* in JRAS 1896, pp. 1-21 and Ed. *Chavannes*, Cinq cents contes du Tripiṭaka Chinois III, 120 ff., No. 418). L. A. *Waddell* (in JRAS 1897, p. 227 ff.) on the strength of very doubtful Tibetan data, has attempted to show that this Chinese Avadāna is nearer to the original work, and that originally not Milinda, but a king Nanda of Magadha, was the hero of the book. "Nanda," however, is undoubtedly only a sanskritised form of the Greek Menandros. *Cf. Pelliot*, l.c., p. 380 f. *Rhys Davids* (ERE VIII, 632) thinks it possible that the Indian work, which was translated into Chinese, consisted of seven books, and that the concluding books were omitted by the Chinese translator. I regard this as most unlikely.

[2]) *Cf. Garbe*, l.c., p. 136 ff. E. *Schrader* (Introduction to his translation, p. xxiii f.) assumes that there were seven different recensions or revisions of this work. In my opinion, gradual interpolations and additions should be assumed, rather than revisions. I do not see sufficient reasons for declaring the whole of Book III to be spurious, as do *Garbe* and *Schrader*. *Senart* (JA 1892, sér. 8, t. xix, p. 343) and *Barth* (Œuvres II, p. 171) already declared the end of Book III (Trenckner's ed., p. 89) to be the final portion of the original work. Similarly *Pelliot*, JA, s. II, t. IV, 1914, p. 418.

[3]) The Pāli work begins with a few introductory *verses*, and towards the end of the introduction, too, we find a few verses. *Schrader* (pp. xxvi, xxxii) regards these verses as the remnants of a Pāli poem which originated in Ceylon. I think they are only Gāthās of the kind which occur so frequently in the Suttas of the Tipiṭaka, and which were at all times popular in India for the embellishment of prose narratives.

the king's very first question, and Milinda exclaims: "Empty, alas, is all India. All India is but vain gossip! There is no ascetic or Brahman who is capable of disputing with me and solving my doubts!" Just at that time the very learned and wise Buddhist monk Nāgasena was passing through villages and towns begging. He was famed far and wide for his wisdom, and in debate nobody could rival him. He had just come to Sāgala and had settled down in a hermitage. The courtiers take the king to him, and the personality of the sage at once makes a powerful impression on the king.[1]

Neatly arising from this situation, the first dialogue immediately introduces us to one of the main problems of Buddhism. King Milinda asks the sage his name. The sage says he is called Nāgasena, but that is merely a name, there is no ego, no person attached to it. This leads to a most excellent dialogue between the sage and the king, and finally the king has to confess that there is no permanent ego.[2]

The Buddhist doctrine that there is no permanent ego, no substance of soul,[3] but only a constant change of physical and psychical phenomena, can scarcely be reconciled to the belief in a cycle of rebirths, such as Buddha like the rest of his countrymen assumed, and still less does it harmonise with the doctrine of Karman, according to which all that an individual suffers or enjoys is the result of his own previous actions, a doctrine which plays so important a part in the ethics of

---

[1]) The passages which I regard as decidedly spurious in Book I, are the following: paragraph 3 (a table of contents, which refers to the entire Pāli work), paragraphs 4-8 (a Jātaka, which tells of the former births of Milinda and Nāgasena, and ends with a prophecy of Buddha), 11-14 (already recognised by *Rhys Davids* as a clumsy interpolation) and 16-36 (conception, birth, youth, conversion and attainment of Arhatship of Nāgasena).

[2]) *Cf. Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 292 ff.; *Radhakrishnan*, Indian Philosophy, I, 391 f.

[3]) This is certainly the standpoint of the author of the Milindapañha. In the Canon we find sometimes a decided denial of the ego, at other times the doctrine that an ego does exist in a certain sense, and frequently the agnostic point of view that it is impossible to say either that there is a soul, or the contrary. *Cf.* M. *Walleser*, Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus I, 111 ff; Mrs. C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Psychology (1924), pp. 156 ff., 278 ff.; *Radhakrishnan*, l.c., 382 ff., 390 ff.; *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 75 ff., 191 ff.

Buddhism. The first of these two questions forms the theme of the following conversation,[1] which I quote here because it shows the ability of the author of this work in elucidating even the most difficult problems in an ingenious manner, and by means of excellent parables:

The king said: "Lord Nāgasena, when a man is reborn, is he the same or is he another?" The Thera said: "He is neither the same nor is he another." "Give me a parable." "What do you think, great king, are you now as an adult the same as you were as a tender little boy, a little child lying flat on your back?" "No, lord, that tender little boy, that little child lying flat on its back was another, and I as an adult am now another." "If that is so, great king, then you have no mother, no father, no teacher, you have never been instructed, never learned the commandments, never gained wisdom. How then, great king, is the mother of the embryo in its four stages each time another, is the mother of the little child another, and the mother of the adult yet another? Is it another who takes instruction, and another who has learned something? Is it another who commits a crime, and another who is punished by having his hands and feet cut off?" "No, lord, but what would you reply?" The Thera said: "I myself, great king, was the tender little boy, the little child lying flat on its back, and I myself am now the adult. Through one and the same body all these are combined into one unity." "Give me a parable." "Great king, if a man lighted a lamp, would it burn all the night?" "Yes, lord, it would." "How now, great king, is the flame in the first watch of the night the same as the flame in the second watch of the night?" "No, lord." "And is the flame in the second watch of the night the same as the flame in the last watch of the night?" "No, lord." "How, great king, then was there one lamp in the first watch of the night, another lamp in the second watch of the night, and yet another lamp in the last watch of the night?" "No, lord, the lamp burned the whole night by means of one and the same (combustible)." "Exactly so, great king, the continuity of the phenomena[2] comes about, it is another who arises, and another who passes away, but

---

[1]) Ed. *Trenckner*, p. 40; SBE, Vol. 35, p. 63 ff. *Cf. Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 301 *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 169 f.

[2]) *i.e.*, of the beings, which, however, are in reality only ever changing phenomena.

at the same time there is something which unites them, and therefore a man enters into his last union with consciousness [1] neither as the same nor as another."

There is a whole series of parables to explain why, though there is no permanent ego, a man is yet responsible for his actions. The following parable is one of them: [2]

"Suppose a man has stolen another man's mangoes, the owner of the mango tree seizes him, takes him before the king, and says: 'Your Majesty, this man has stolen my mangoes;' now, if the thief says: 'Your Majesty, I did not steal this man's mangoes, the fruits which he planted, and those which I took away, were not the same fruits, I deserve no punishment, would this man be punished, great king?' 'Yes, lord, he would be punished.' 'And why so?' 'Because, whatever the man may say, he would be punished on account of the last mango which undeniably would not be there, had it not been for the former one."

In Book II there is a superabundance of excellent parables of this kind. In the authentic part of Book III, too, there is many an apt simile. When, for instance, Nāgasena, in reply to one of the king's questions, says that the end of suffering is brought about not only through renunciation in this life, but that, in addition, efforts in former existences are also needful, he illustrates it by asking the king whether he would delay the digging of wells until he was thirsty, or instruct his men to plough, sow and reap, when he was hungry, or have ramparts dug, walls erected and fortresses built, when the enemy was already before the gates.

These specimens will suffice to show the great value of the first and genuine part of the Milindapañha even as a literary production. It is indeed a masterpiece of ancient Indian prose. In Book II and the greater part of Book III,

---

[1]) *i.e.*, into his last rebirth, for it is the "consciousness" (viññāṇa), by means of which a new individual is formed in the womb. See *Oldenberg*, Buddha, pp. 255 ff., 301 *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 78 f.

[2]) Ed. *Trenckner*, p. 46; SBE, Vol. 35, p. 72.

only such questions are raised, as relate to the most important points of Buddhistic ethics and psychology, fundamental questions which are of interest to any layman. Book IV, on the other hand, contains a system of apologetics which could not possibly be of interest to any but thorough-going scholars of the canonical texts. The dilemmas which are discussed in this work, frequently turn to very petty subjects of dogmatics, but especially to the person of Buddha, *e. g.*, what is the use of the veneration of relics, if the Buddha has passed away utterly? How can the Buddha be omniscient, when we are told that he pondered? Why did Buddha receive Devadatta into the Order, even though he knew that this monk would cause a schism? Etc. The reason for these dilemmas is the juxtaposition of contradictory texts. At the same time, every word of the canon, even the most casual remark in the profanest stories in the Jātaka-Book, is regarded as a sacred word of Buddha, which must of necessity be true and good. If, in any of his former births, related in the Jātakas, the Bodhisatta had any faults or vices, the author of Book IV of the Milindapañha does his best to exonerate him. For, in his eyes, the Bodhisatta is entirely identical with the perfect Buddha. The authentic books do not bear the slightest trace of such a conception (neither does the Tipiṭaka). The question as to whether the Buddha ever existed at all,[1] which had already been broached in Book III, is again raised in Book V, and Nāgasena answers it by saying that his existence may be inferred from his teachings. This idea is worked out in a lengthy, very ornate and detailed parable making up the greater part of the book, in which Buddha, who has created his religion, is compared with a master-builder, who builds up a large city. Book VI presents a dilemma, which had already been

[1]) Ed. *Trenckner*, pp. 70, 73; SBE, Vol. 35, pp. 109, 113.

brought up for discussion in Book IV, but had not found any very satisfactory solution ;[1] it is this: If, as the scriptures say, even laymen can attain to the state of an Arhat, why should a man take upon himself the strict monastic vows ? The answer given here, is that laymen can attain to the state of an Arhat and Nirvāṇa only because they have already fulfilled the strict vows in former births. These strict vows, the thirteen Dhutaṅgas,[2] are then described in detail, and their exceptional value explained. This is apparently the real purpose of Book VI. In all the books of the Milindapañha the questions raised are generally answered in parables. Book VII is entirely a book of parables; there are no less than 67 parables [3] illustrative of the qualities essential for the monk who desires to attain to the state of an Arhat. Many of these parables already appear in the Tipiṭaka.

In Books IV-VII we find, on the one hand, a liberal sprinkling of quotations from the canon, and on the other, frequent allusions to traditions divergent from those embodied in the canon, and most likely belonging to a later period, and especially allusions to legends which appear only in the commentaries, in the commentary on the Jātaka and in those on the Vimānavatthu and Dhammapada.[4] These legends are permeated with a low conception of the doctrine

[1]) Ed. *Trenckner*, p. 242 ff.; SBE, Vol. 36, p. 56 ff.

[2]) They are very advantageous for a holy life, but are not compulsory for all monks. They are discussed in Section If of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga. The term Dhutaṅga (or Dhūtaṅga) is not yet to be found in the Tipiṭaka, except in the Parivāra of later date (Vinayapiṭaka, ed. Oldenberg, Vol. V, p. 193, *cf.* p. 131). *Cf. Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 75 f.

[3]) The book begins with a table of contents (mātikā) which gives an additional 38 parables. The entire book was probably appended to the Milindapañha even later than the preceding books, and remained incomplete.

[4]) *Cf.* E. W. *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 28, p. 60 ff. Burlingame is wrong in concluding from these references that Books IV-VII of the Mil. "are as late as the beginning of the sixth century A.D." Not only is it not proved, but, in view of sundry deviations, it is unlikely, that the author of Books IV-VII of the Mil. derived his knowledge of the legends referred to, from these commentaries. *Cf.* also *Rhys Davids*, SBE, Vol. 35, pp. xl ff,.

of Karman, an exaggerated cult of the Buddha (Buddha-Bhakti) and a somewhat crude belief in miracles, which would seem to indicate a later period.

A work which is probably as early as the earliest portions of the Milindapañha, and which also possibly dates far enough back to have been written in India, is the Netti-Pakaraṇa, also called Netti-Gandha, or simply Netti, "The Book of Guidance" (*viz.*, to the True Religion).[1] This is the earliest work which offers a connected treatment of the whole of the teaching of Buddha; it is possibly earlier than the last two books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka,[2] and is ascribed to no less a person than Mahākaccāna, the disciple of Buddha, who, as far back as in the Majjhimanikāya, was proclaimed to be the best expounder of the word of Buddha.[3] The same Mahākaccāna is also said to have composed the Peṭakopadesa, "Instruction of the students of the Piṭakas,"[4] a continuation of the Netti, and most likely not much later than this last-named work. A commentary on the Netti was written by Dhammapāla (probably in the fifth century A.D.).

By far the major portion of non-canonical Pāli literature consists of commentaries. The monks in the monasteries of India and Ceylon, to whom we are indebted for the comparatively faithful transmission of the canonical texts, did not rest content with the study and teaching of these texts, but from the very outset endeavoured to explain them too. In the Suttas we find the earliest beginnings of exegetical activity, and

---

196, 284 ff., 297 f.; Vol. 36, pp 43 ff., 143 note, 304 note. The authentic parts of the Mil. contain only such quotations as could, for other reasons too, be regarded as belonging to the earliest part of the Canon. The enumeration of the seven books of the Abhidhamma (I, 26) appears in the spurious part of the introduction.

[1]) With Extracts from Dhammapāla's Commentary ed. by E. *Hardy*, PTS 1902.

[2]) *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, JRAS 1925, p. 111 f.

[3]) Majjh. 18 (I, 110 ff.), 133 (III, 194 ff.), 138 (III, 223 ff.).

[4]) Not yet published, but see Rudolf *Fuch's* Specimen des Peṭakopadesa, Berlin, Diss., 1908. *Cf.* Shwe Zan *Aung* in JPTS 1910-1912, p. 120.

there are a few commentaries in the canon itself.[1] Though we cannot believe the orthodox Buddhists of Ceylon, when they affirm that the Aṭṭhakathās, *i.e.*, the "explanations of the meaning" or "commentaries," have been handed down since the first Council with the texts of the Tipiṭaka, were translated into Singhalese by Mahinda, written down under Vaṭṭagāmani, and translated into Pāli by Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.),[2] yet we can have no doubt that the exegetical and literary activity of the monks began in India immediately after the compilation of the texts, and, that Pāli, the language of the canon, was used also for the early commentaries. These ancient teachers are often cited in the commentaries of the 5th century, as Porāṇā, "the ancient ones."[3] But when the Theravāda school in India itself was more and more superseded by other Buddhist sects and schools, it was the monasteries of Ceylon,[4] which became permanent centres for the study of the Theravāda texts. Whatever Pāli commentaries were available were translated into Singhalese. Only the verses, partly memorial verses and partly verses of narrative passages, were left unchanged in Pāli. The monks of

---

[1]) B. Ch. *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 53 ff. The Sutta-Vibhaṅga in itself is a kind of commentary on the Pāṭimokkha. The Udāna and the Suttanipāta contain prose passages in the nature of commentaries. The Niddesa is an early commentary on parts of the Suttanipāta. A commentary ascribed to Sāriputta found its way into the Abhidhammapiṭaka as an appendix to the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi.

[2]) *Cf.* L. Comrilla *Vijasinha* and R. C. *Childers* in JRAS 1871, p. 289 ff., *Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 8 f.; Th. *Foulkes* in Ind. Ant. 17, 1888, 123 f.; Dīpavaṃsa 20, 20f.; Mahāvaṃsa 33, 100 ff.; *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 17 (para. 18).

[3]) Sometimes as Porāṇa-Kathā or Porāṇa-Aṭṭhakathā. Theras who compiled extracts from the Canon (therā dhammasaṃgāhakā) were also counted among the Porāṇas. One and the same verse is ascribed in the Milindapañha (p. 369) to these Theras, and in the Visuddhi-Magga (p. 270) to the "Porāṇā." *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Visuddhi-Magga Ed., Vol. II, p. 764 f.; B. Ch. *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 64 ff.

[4]) Various monasteries had their own commentaries; besides the Mūla- or Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā of the "great monastery" (Mahāvihāra) of Anurādhapura, there was also one of the "northern monastery" (Uttaravihāra) in the same city of Ceylon, as well as an Andha-Aṭṭhakathā in Kāñcīpura in South India, and others. *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, 2nd Ed., p. xxviii.

Ceylon worked on independently in this direction, wrote Singhalese commentaries, tried their hand at Pāli also, especially Pāli verses, and attained to such a degree of perfection in this, that in the 5th century it was already possible for Buddhaghosa to write in an elegant Pāli style, and to set about translating or retranslating the Singhalese commentaries into the sacred Pāli language.

The exegetical and literary activity of the monks, however, extended to all the "three gems": Buddha, the religion (Dhamma) and the monastic community (Saṅgha). The Buddha legend was elaborated; they were not content with the ballads and occasional narratives of the Tipiṭaka, but wished to have a complete account of the Master's life. The religious texts were illustrated and explained in the same manner as was customary in India as far back as the time of the Brāhmaṇas, not only grammatically and lexically, but also by means of narratives and legends.[1] As the Brahmans in their Vedic schools, so also the monks in their monasteries, were true Indians, in that they felt a keen delight in the telling of stories. The numerous narratives contained in the canon were not sufficient for them. They lengthened and completed, they added what they gathered from oral transmission, they inserted what was familiar to them from other branches of literature, re-modelling it in the spirit of Buddhism, and they certainly also composed much that was new in imitation of old models. They also collected the legends on the origin, and made records concerning the history of the monastic order, with the discipline of which they dealt in the commentaries on the Vinayapiṭaka, so that the Aṭṭhakathās also contained the beginnings of a church history.

As regards the Buddha legend, we have seen that there was no actual Buddha biography contained in the canon, but

[1]) The Aṭṭhakathās contain Jātakas and other narratives, in the same way as the Arthavāda of the Brāhmaṇas (*cf.* above Vol. I, p. 208) contains Itihāsas and Ākhyānas.

only the beginnings of one. In the Vinayapiṭaka, in certain speeches of the Suttapiṭaka and in a few of the ancient ballads of the Suttanipāta, we found on the one hand records, more or less reliable, of the actual life of the Master, and on the other, the earliest beginnings of a Buddha legend and a Buddha epic. In the Buddhavaṃsa we found a kind of previous history, and in Chapter 26 of it, the epitome of a biography, of the Buddha. The Cariyāpiṭaka and the Jātaka, too, telling of the former existences of the Buddha, contain, at least in the view of the orthodox Buddhist, contributions to the history of the life of Buddha.[1] As far as Pāli literature is concerned, there is, however, no connected life story of the Buddha until we come to the Nidāna-Kathā,[2] the "Narrative of the Beginnings,"[3] which precedes the Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā, the Jātaka commentary, and forms a part of this great commentary work.

This Nidāna-Kathā consists of three sections: 1. The story of the "beginnings in the remote past" (dūrenidāna), from the existence of the later Buddha as Sumedha at the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara down to his re-birth in the heaven of the Tusita gods; 2. The story of the "beginnings in the not very remote past" (avidūrenidāna), beginning with the descent of Buddha from the heaven of the Tusita gods, and ending with the attainment of Bodhi, *i.e.*, enlightenment; and 3. The story of the "beginnings in the present" (santikenidāna), relating the events from the enlightenment of

---

[1]) *Cf. Rhys Davids*, Cambridge History, I, 196 f.; J. *Dutoit*, Das Leben des Buddha, Leipzig 1906; E.H. *Brewster*, The Life of Gotama the Buddha. (Compiled exclusively from the Pali Canon.) With an Introductory Note by C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, London 1926.

[2]) The text is to be found in Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 1-94, translated by T. W. *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, pp. 1-133; a free rendering of the contents of the Nidāna-Kathā in *Kern*, Der Buddhismus I., pp. 24-140, a translation of the dūrenidāna and avidūrenidāna in *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, pp. 5-83. Two shorter passages, translated by J. *Dutoit*, Leben des Buddha, pp. 5 ff., 18 ff.

[3]) *i.e.*, of the beginnings of Buddha's career. *Nidāna* means "cause," "origin," hence also "beginning."

Buddha down to the story of the magnificent donation of the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika.

The first section is directly connected with the Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka, and is, in the main, a mere commentary on an extract from these two texts. Only the narrative of Sumedha, out of Chapter II of the Buddhavaṃsa, is completely included. We have seen how, countless æons before, the future Buddha, as Sumedha, pays homage to the Buddha of that time, namely Dīpaṅkara, and resolves to attain to the ten "perfections," in order to become worthy of Buddhahood.[1] After he had formed this resolve, he strove again and again in countless re-births for the fulfilment of these highest "perfections"—they are described in the Cariyāpiṭaka, which the author of the Nidāna-Kathā here quotes,[2] until finally, in his existence as Vessantara, by his boundless self-denying generosity, he has attained to the summit of perfection and is then re-born in the heaven of the Tusita gods.

While in Section I the prose is continually interrupted by verses from the Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka, the two next sections contain only a few occasional verse quotations. Section II commences with the "Buddha uproar" in heaven. The Tusita gods importune the Bodhisatta to be born again on earth for the salvation of the world, and, after due consideration, he decides to do so. Then follow the familiar legends of the conception of the Bodhisatta, who, as a white elephant, appears to penetrate into the womb of the dreaming Queen Māyā, of his miraculous birth in the Lumbinī-grove,[3] of the welcoming of the newly-born child and the prophecy of the seer Asita about his future greatness, the miracles of his childhood and boyhood, the four encounters of the prince,

---

[1]) See above, p. 161.

[2]) Though, as already observed above, on p. 164, in a version deviating from ours.

[3]) In all this, the Nidāna-Kathā has only slightly embellished the miracles told in Dīghanikāya, 14 and Majjhimanikāya, 123. The "white elephant," it is true, does not

through which he becomes acquainted with age, disease, death and renunciation of the world, the night scene in the seraglio which matures his resolve to renounce the world, his flight from the palace, achieved with numerous miracles and the aid of the gods, and his adopting the life of a mendicant monk, of his great feats of asceticism, of the milky rice of Sujātā, prepared with the aid of numerous miracles, from which the Bodhisatta, exhausted by his long fast, derives new strength, the meditation under the Bodhi tree, and the attacks of Māra, and finally the attainment of Bodhi, the highest knowledge, which is accompanied by numerous miraculous phenomena.

In Section III, too, which deals mainly with the first conversions and is less suited to the introduction of miracles, these latter are by no means absent. A week is spent by Buddha lost in meditation under the Bodhi tree, and the gods doubt whether he has really attained enlightenment. In order to dispel their doubts, he performs a few miracles, rises in the air, then stands beside his "throne" looking towards the East, and remains standing thus for a week, without blinking his eyes. Here the Nidāna-Kathā inserts the remark that on this spot the Animisacetiya, *i.e.*, the "shrine of the non-blinking," was later erected. Several other passages, too, mention fanes which are to recall events in the life of the Buddha, and which probably actually existed. The conversion of the two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika who became lay-disciples is already related in the Vinayapiṭaka (Mahāvagga I, 4). The Nidāna-Kathā adds, however, that

---

as yet appear in the Pāli Canon, though it is to be found on the rocks of Kalsi and Dhauli, which contain edicts of King Aśoka, the one on the Kalsi rock bearing the inscription : gajatame, "the best elephant." A relief on the East gate of the stūpa at Sānchi represents the conception of Buddha, showing how he penetrates into the womb of Māyā in the shape of an elephant. *Cf.* E. *Hultzsch*, The Inscriptions of Aśoka, pp. xiii, 26 f., 27 note 2, 50, 51; A. *Foucher*, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 92; *Windisch*, Buddhas Geburt, pp. 5 ff., 155 ff.

these first lay-disciples received a few hairs from the Buddha, over which relics they erected a shrine. The visit of the Buddha to his native town of Kapilavatthu is recounted in great detail, and there is no lack of miracles. Much space is also occupied by the narrative of the great merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, who presented the Jetavana-grove to the monastic order. With this narrative the Nidāna-Kathā breaks off, without its really being evident why the conclusion has been made at precisely this point.

The occasional references to the Nidāna-Kathā, in the "stories of the present" (Paccuppanavatthu) prove that the Nidāna-Kathā does not precede the Jātaka commentary by mere accident, but forms an essential part of it. However, as the author of the former work expressly says in one passage,[1] that he deviates from the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, and refers to the "other Aṭṭha-Kathās," it follows that he did not merely translate the Singhalese commentary, but revised it freely with the aid of other commentaries. Unfortunately we have no clue for a definite determination of the date of the Jātaka commentary, and consequently, not of the Nidāna-Kathā either. One thing, however, is certain. The many points of agreement between the Buddha legend as it is related in the Sanskrit sources, and the Nidāna-Kathā, prove that the last-mentioned work is based on the same *Indian* tradition as the former, and therefore probably also reaches back to commentaries which were brought from India to Ceylon, and that at a time before the Mahāyāna literature was developed in India. At all events the Nidāna-Kathā represents an earlier phase in the development of the Buddha legend than the Lalita-vistara and similar Sanskrit works, even if the latter must be ascribed to an earlier time.

In the Gandhavaṃsa, a "History of the Books," probably

[1]) Jātaka, Ed. Fausböll, p. 62.

written in Burma in the 17th century, Buddhaghosa is said to be the author of the Jātaka commentary. If this were correct, he would belong to the 5th century A.D.; for, little as we know of this commentator, equally celebrated in Ceylon and Burma,[1] we may believe tradition as far as to assume that he lived in the reign of King Mahānāma of Ceylon. It is true that we find this report only in the continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa, which was not written until about the middle of the 13th century. It is, however, confirmed by the fact that a work by Buddhaghosa was already translated into Chinese in 489 A.D.[2] Out of all the legends that have been woven about this learned man, we might accept as an historical fact that, during the reign of King Mahānāma, he diligently studied the texts of the Tipiṭaka and the Singhalese Aṭṭha-Kathās or "commentaries" in the "great monastery" (Mahāvihāra) of Anurādhapura in Ceylon, where they were kept, and that later, as the first-fruits of his studies, he wrote a systematic work on the Buddha doctrine, the Visuddhi-Magga,[3] and afterwards revised, in the Pāli language, the commentaries on the chief texts of the Tipiṭaka.[4] It is

---

[1]) *Cf.* Bimala Charan *Law*, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, Calcutta and Simla, 1923 (Calcutta Or. Series, No. 9, E. 3); Max *Müller* in SBE 10 (I), pp. xii-xxiv; *Minayeff*, Recherches, 189 ff.; Thos. *Foulkes* in Ind Ant. 19, 1890, pp. 105-122 and T. W. *Rhys Davids* in ERE II, 885 ff. The "biography" written by the monk Mahāmaṅgala in Burma, perhaps in the 14th century (*cf. Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 31, para. 40) and published by James *Gray*, Buddhaghosuppatti or the Historical Romance of the Rise and Career of Buddhaghosa, London, 1892, is purely legendary.

[2]) This Chinese translation of the Samantapāsādikā is the first work which has been proved to have been translated into Chinese from *Pāli*. Before this only Chinese translations from Sanskrit were known (J. *Takakusu* in JRAS 1896, 415 ff.)

[3]) There is a tradition that he wrote a work (which has not come down to us) Ñāṇodaya ("the dawning of knowledge") and the Atthasālinī in India, before departing for Ceylon. If there is any truth in this tradition, this atthasālinī could only have been the rough plan of his commentary on the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi; for the Atthasālinī, which has come down to us, presupposes the Visuddhi-Magga, which was written in Ceylon. *Cf.* Mrs *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, 2nd ed., p. xxvii.

[4]) He tells us himself (in the introduction to the Samantapāsādikā) that he not only translated the commentaries of the Mahāvihāra from the Singhalese, but compared

credible, too, that, as the legend has it, he was descended from a Brahman family in the neighbourhood of Bōdh-Gayā, became deeply learned in Brahmanical lore in early youth, but, in consequence of a disputation, was converted to Buddhism by the monk Revata, and was stimulated by his teacher to go to Ceylon to study the Singhalese commentaries.[1] He certainly wrote many of the works ascribed to him which made his name so great, that he was regarded as the commentator *par excellence*, and that commentaries were later ascribed to him which were the work of other authors, or whose authors were unknown. He himself, in introductory verses, mentions as his works the Visuddhi-Magga, the Samantapāsādikā (commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka), the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (commentary on the Dīghanikāya), the Papañcasūdanī (commentary on the Majjhimanikāya), the Sāratthapakāsinī (commentary on the Samyuttanikāya) and the Manoratha-Pūraṇī (commentary on the Aṅguttaranikāya). In the Gandhavaṃsa there are also ascribed to him the commentaries Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (on the Pāṭimokkhas), Paramattha-Kathā (on the seven books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka) and those on the Khuddaka-Pāṭha, Suttanipāta, Jātaka and Apadāna.[2]

There is scarcely any doubt that Buddhaghosa is also the author of the commentaries on the Abhidhammapiṭaka, or at least of the Atthasālinī (commentary on the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi),

---

them with the commentaries of other monasteries, abbreviated and freely revised them. *Burlingame* (JAOS 38, 1918, 267 f.) pronounces the tradition according to which the Attha-Kathās were translated from Pāli into Singhalese, and translated back again from Singhalese into Pāli by Buddhaghosa and others, to be "unreliable and misleading," because Buddhaghosa and the compiler of the commentary on the Dhammapada availed themselves of common Pāli originals though independently of each other, and because both Dhammapāla and the compiler of the Jātaka commentary copied from Buddhaghosa's commentaries. Nevertheless, it is possible, indeed probable, that the 5th century translators, though translating from the Singhalese, used available Pāli texts as well (*e g.*, of legends and tales).

[1]) On Buddhaghosa's date and life, see Appendix IV.

[2]) Gandhavaṃsa, JPTS 1886, p. 59.

the Sammoha-vinodanī (commentary on the Vibhaṅga) and the commentary on the Paṭṭhāna-Pakaraṇa, and most likely of the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī and the Paramattha-Jotikā (commentaries on the Khuddaka-Pāṭha and the Suttanipāta).[1] On the other hand, the commentaries on the Jātaka and the Dhammapada are so very different in language and style from Buddhaghosa's commentaries, that he cannot possibly have written them.[2] As far as these two works are concerned, the designation "commentary" is, as a matter of fact, just as unsuitable as the expression "author." For, in both works, the actual commentary, *i.e.*, the grammatical and lexical explanation of the verses, occupies only a very small space, whilst narratives, or, to be more exact, sermons in the form of narratives,[3] constitute the major part. It will be more correct to speak

---

[1]) The Khuddaka-Pāṭha commentary has been proved to be the work of Buddhaghosa, by *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 28, p. 51f. An edition in Siamese characters of all the commentaries of Buddhaghosa (23 vols.) and of his Visuddhi-Magga (3 vols.) issued by H. H. the Supreme Patriarch of Siam, *Prince Vajiriyana*, in 1920-1922, has been generously presented to scholars by H. R. H. the Prince of Chandaburi. The following commentaries have up to now (1927) been published by the PTS: Samanta-Pāsādikā ed. by J. *Takakusu* assisted by M. *Nagai*, I, 1924, II, 1927; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī ed. by T. W. *Rhys Davids* and J. E. *Carpenter*, I, 1886; Papañcasūdanī ed. by J. H. *Woods* and D. *Kosambi*, I, Suttas 1-10, 1922; Manoratha-Pūraṇī, I, Eka-Nipāta, ed. by Max *Walleser*, 1924; Paramattha-Jotikā I, Khuddakapāṭha Commentary, ed. by Helmer *Smith* from a Collation by Mabel *Hunt*, 1915; Paramattha-Jotikā II, Suttanipāta Commentary, ed. by Helmer *Smith*, 1916-1918; Atthasālinī ed. by Ed. *Müller*, 1897; translated ("The Expositor") by Maung *Tin*, ed. and revised by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, 1920-21; Sammohavinodanī, ed. by A. P. *Buddhadatta* Thera, 1923; Commentary to Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa in the edition of the Tikapaṭṭhāna by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, 1921-1923; Puggalapaññatti-Atthakathā ed. by G. *Landsberg* and Mrs. *Rhys Davids* in JPTS 1913-1914, p. 170 ff.; Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā ed. by J. P. *Minayeff*, in JPTS 1889; Yamakappakaraṇatthakathā ed. by Mrs. *Rhys Davids* in JPTS 1910-1912, p. 51 ff. Editions of Buddhaghosa's commentaries have also been published in Ceylon and in Burma. See *Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 19 f., para. 22. There is no mention in any Pāli source, of Buddhaghosa's having written a Sanskrit epic Padyacūḍāmaṇi also (see below in the chapter on Buddhist Sanskrit literature).

[2]) *Cf. Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. lxiii ff.; *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol 28, pp. 49, 59 f.; *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. ix f.

[3]) Both in the Jātaka commentary and the Dhammapada commentary, the stories are made to issue from Buddha's own lips, as dhammadesanā, *i.e.*, "religious instructions" or "sermons."

of compilers or editors, who collected and edited these sermons or narratives.

In fact the commentary on the Dhammapada[1] forms a valuable supplement to the commentary on the Jātaka, and, like the latter, contains many an ancient, popular narrative theme, some of which are well known in universal literature, far beyond the borders of India. Thus we find here the story of a king of Benares who, like Harun al Rashid, wanders about the city at night, the tale of "Doctor Know-all," and so on. Here we also meet with the famous story of Kisā-Gotamī, the mother who strays about in despair with her dead child in her arms, and comes to the Buddha who tells her that he can restore her child to life if she will bring him a mustard seed; but this mustard seed must come from a house in which nobody has ever died. In vain the mother searches from house to house, until finally it dawns upon her that the Master was only endeavouring to teach her the great truth of the universality of death, and, comforted, she becomes a member of the community of Buddha. The legend proves itself genuinely Indian, owing to the fact that it belongs to the type of "consolatory stories" so familiar to us. For this reason, when we meet with a similar anecdote in the Alexander-legend, in a few versions of Pseudo-Kallisthenes as well as in Arabian, Jewish, Persian and Coptic narratives of

[1]) Edited by H. C. *Norman*, 5 vols. (Vol. V, Indexes by Lakshmaṇa Shastri *Tailang*), PTS 1906-1915. Translated (Buddhist Legends) by Eugene Watson *Burlingame*, with important introduction, in HOS, Vols. 28-30, Cambridge, Mass., 1921. Extracts have been edited by V. *Fausböll* in his edition of the Dhammapada (Hauniae 1855). Selections of tales have been translated by *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, pp. 221 ff., 264 ff., 380 ff., 430 ff, 451 ff., into French by L. de *La Vallée Poussin* and G. de *Blonay* in RHR 26, 1892, 180 ff.; 29, 1894, 195 ff, 329 ff.; from a Burmese version by T. *Rogers*, Buddhaghosa's Parables, London 1870. *Cf. Burlingame*, Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary, and the Titles of its three hundred and ten Stories, together with an Index thereto and an Analysis of Vaggas I-IV, in Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 45, 1910, pp. 467-550. On the subject-matter and motifs of the stories, s. *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 28, p. 29 ff.

Alexander, it is more probable that the Buddhist legend influenced the Greek legend; and Rohde's hypothesis of its having first originated on Greek soil, is less feasible.[1] On the other hand, when we read in the romance of Udena and Vāsuladattā,[2] how King Pajjota, in order to entice Udena into an ambuscade and to get him into his power, had a wooden elephant made, in which he concealed sixty warriors, we see in this an echo of the legend of the Trojan horse, which penetrated to Indian shores.

The plan of the work is as follows: To every verse or group of verses of the Dhammapada, it is recorded that the Master delivered "this sermon" (dhammadesanā), by which is meant the verse or the group of verses together with the narrative belonging to it, at such and such a place and with reference to this or that person or persons or event. Hereupon follows the story, which ends with the verse or verses, which are then explained word for word. All this, story, verses and explanation of words, is made to issue from Buddha's own lips. In the conclusion it is usually mentioned that after this sermon or these Gāthās a person appearing in the story or "many" or "a hundred thousand" persons (or monks) set their feet on the path of holiness, or attained to a higher stage of holiness. Not infrequently regular Jātakas, too, are inserted or added, telling of the deeds or experiences in a former existence of the hero of the story. The stories themselves are very varied. Side by side with very long stories or veritable novels, we find short, edifying legends, which are

---

[1]) The story is told in connection with Dhammapada 114, Ed. Norman II, 272 ff.; translation *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 29, 257 ff. *Cf.* E. *Rohde* in Verhandlungen der 30. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Rostock 1875, p. 68 f, J. H. *Thiessen*, Die Legende von Kisāgotamī, Breslau 1880, and above, Vol. I, 395 f., 411 ff., Vol. II, p. 142.

[2]) Udenavatthu on Dhammapada 21-23, ed. Norman I, 161-231, transl. *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 28, 62 f., 247 ff. *Cf.* A. *Weber*, Indische Streifen I, 370 note, and III, 16, and *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 4 ff.

invented in a dull and insipid manner merely for the elucidation of a verse; but on the other hand, there are also most interesting fairy tales and stories culled from popular literature. The chief doctrine which the stories seek to impress is that of Karman. The story of the death of Moggallāna is significant, and its interest is enhanced because, like many other narratives of the Dhammapada commentary, it indicates a very hostile attitude towards the "naked ascetics," *viz.*, the Jain monks.[1]

Opposition to the "naked ascetics" is also shown in the story of Visākhā,[2] which is interesting enough for several reasons; though its moral aims at nothing more than to show that the rich and pious lay-adherent is blessed with tremendous wealth, only because in a former existence she had done great honour to the Buddha of that time, and that, in her new existence also, she is working out a good Karman by spending her wealth in magnificent donations to the Buddhist monastic order. Some of the stories are merely versions of such as already occur in books of the Tipiṭaka. Thus, for example, the story of the Arhat Godhika,[3] who cuts his throat in order to enter Nirvāṇa, whereupon Māra vainly searches for a trace of him, is only a slightly different form of the legend related in the Saṃyuttanikāya.[4] As in the Jātaka book, in this collection, too, humour occasionally comes into its own; evidence of this is the fable of the obstinate donkey,[5] told in the

---

[1]) On Dhammapada 137. Translated by *Warren*, l.c. 221 ff., Ed. Norman, III, 65 ff.; transl. *Burlingame*, HOS 29, 304 ff.

[2]) On Dhammapada 53, *cf. Warren*, l.c., 451 ff., Ed. Norman, I, 385 ff.; transl. *Burlingame*, HOS 29, 59 ff.

[3]) On Dhammapada 57, *cf. Warren*, l.c., 380 ff., Ed. Norman, I, 431 ff.; transl. *Burlingame*, HOS 29, 90 ff.

[4]) IV, 3, 3, transl. by *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, p. 113 ff.

[5]) On Dhammapada 13 f., Ed. Norman I, p. 123 ff., transl. *Burlingame*, HOS 28, 224 f.

form of a Jātaka, the substance of which is here briefly stated:

A merchant goes with a donkey from Benares to Taxila in order to sell pottery. While the man is selling his wares, the donkey grazes outside the city. He there converses with a she-ass who pities him greatly because he has to carry heavy loads so many miles, and because he has nobody to stroke his legs and back when he returns home. Through this talk the donkey becomes refractory and refuses to return to Benares. Even the threat of the whip avails nothing. At last the master perceives the she-ass, and guesses that she is the cause of the donkey's obstinacy, and he determines to make him tractable by means of the "eternal feminine." He promises him a beautiful she-ass as his wife. Highly delighted the donkey now willingly trots home. But after a few days he reminds his master of his promise. The latter says: "I will not break my promise, I will bring you a wife, but I can only give you food for yourself alone; you yourself must know whether or not that will be sufficient for you when there are two of you; through your both living together children will also be born; you yourself must know whether or not this will be sufficient for you when there are so many of you." No sooner had the master concluded his speech than the donkey lost all desire for a wife.

Quite a number of stories in this commentary on the Dhammapada have their parallels in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, and over 50 stories are common to the commentaries on the Dhammapada and Jātaka respectively. In some cases there is word for word identity, in others we find varying versions of the Jātaka tales. The commentaries of Dhammapāla have borrowed about 25 stories from the commentary on the Dhammapada.[1] There is, of course, always the possibility that all these commentaries did not copy from one another, but made use of common sources. *Burlingame*, however, has succeeded in making it appear fairly likely that the Jātaka commentary is later than the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, the commentary on the Dhammapada is later

[1] *Burlingame*, HOS 28, 45 ff.

than that on the Jātaka, and that those of Dhammapāla are later still. Nevertheless it is probable that none of these commentaries was separated from the rest by any very considerable period of time.[1]

In the authentic commentaries of Buddhaghosa, too, similes and parables, and valuable traditions and tales, occur frequently, as for instance in the Atthasālinī,[2] the Papañcasūdanī,[3] Sumaṅgalvilāsinī,[4] and especially in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī. In the commentary on the Brahmajāla-Sutta, Buddhaghosa gives us a remarkable account of the daily life of the Buddha. Here, on the one hand, the Buddha already appears as a kind of demi-god, in the same way as in the Mahāyāna Sūtras; when he goes out begging for alms, soft winds clean the ground before him, clouds lay the dust with a light shower of rain, and then spread themselves above him like a canopy, rough places become even, and lotus flowers spring forth under his footsteps, rays of six different colours shine from his body, and so on; but on the other hand he leads the true life of a mendicant monk.[5] Stories of Jīvaka, the doctor, are interwoven with the commentary on the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta (I, pp. 132 ff.). And in the commentary on the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta (I, pp. 259 ff.) there is the legend of

---

[1]) *Burlingame*, l.c., p. 57 f., dates Buddhaghosa's commentaries as 410-432, the Jātaka commentary somewhat later, the Dhammapada commentary about 450 and Dhammapāla's commentaries towards the close of the 5th century. If Buddhaghosa had not lived until the second half of the 5th century (s. Appendix IV), the other commentaries would have to be placed in the 6th century.

[2]) Parables of the man who sleeps beneath a mango tree with his head covered up, of the blind and the lame man, and others in Atthasālinī, ed. Müller, pp. 271 f., 279 ff., translation ("The Expositor"), pp. 359, 367 ff., 555.

[3]) Tales, *e g.*, I, pp. 201, 228, 230f. Three tales from the commentary on the Upāli-Sutta (Majjhimanikāya 56) translated into French by L. *Feer* in RHR 13, 1886, p. 77ff. and JA 1887, sér. 8, t. IX, p. 309 ff.

[4]) *Cf.* the parables in the commentary to Dīghanikāya 22; s. *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, p. 353 ff.

[5]) Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī I, p. 45 ff.; *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, p. 91 ff.

the origin of the Sakyas and Koliyas, so interesting from the point of view of social history.

The princes of the race of Ikṣvāku (Pāli Okkāka), who had built up Kapilavatthu, are so proud that they cannot find any princes worthy of marrying their sisters. For fear of degrading their race, they therefore appointed their eldest sister as mother, and co-habited with the other sisters. Then the eldest sister is smitten with leprosy, is taken into the forest, and placed in a deep pit. At the same time, Rāma, a king of Benares, also becomes leprous, and goes into the forest after having left the kingdom to his eldest son. In the forest he cures himself by means of healing herbs, and then takes up his dwelling in a hollow tree. One day a tiger comes to the pit in which the princess lives. The latter screams in terror. King Rāma hears it and proceeds to the pit. He wants to pull her out, but in spite of her misery, the princess is so proud that she only allows him to rescue her after he has explained that he, too, is of princely blood. Thereupon he cures her and makes her his wife. However, he does not return to his country, but builds a city for himself in the forest. He begets many sons by the Sakya princess. When these sons had grown to manhood, their mother sent them to Kapilavatthu, so that they could there marry the daughters of their maternal uncles. They go there and kidnap the princesses. When the Sakyas hear that the kidnappers of their daughters are relatives, they have no objection. This is how the race of the Koliyas originated.[1])

Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Aṅguttaranikāya, the Manoratha-Pūraṇī, contains about a hundred stories.[2]) Among these we find, for example, thirteen extremely interesting legends from the lives of the Therīs, the first female disciples of the Buddha, which are exceedingly valuable by way of supplements to the Therīgāthās.[3]) The garland of legends which the Buddhist narrators have woven around

[1]) The same story is also related in the Paramattha-jotikā, the commentary on the Suttanipāta, [and from this text, published by *Fausböll*, it has been translated into German by A. *Weber* (Ind. Stud. V, 412-437; Ind. Streifen I, 233-244).

[2]) Some of these have been translated by *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, Chap. IX.

[3]) *Cf.* Mabel *Bode*, Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation, in JRAS 1893, pp. 517-566.

their female saints, throws many side-lights on the actual life and feelings of those women who renounced the world in order to follow the Buddha. The section begins with the life-story, already told in the Vinayapiṭaka, of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, the aunt and foster-mother of Buddha, who became the first nun. This story, which has all the appearance of an historical event is followed by the wonderful legend of Khemā, the queen who is vain of her beauty, and, for a long time, turns a deaf ear to Buddha; but one day, in her presence, Buddha conjures up the apparition of a divine woman of the most entrancing beauty, who grows older and older before her eyes, until she stands there as a decrepit old woman, and finally sinks down dead; then she is reminded of the destiny which awaits her also, and she begs the king to allow her to enter the community of nuns. Another, Uppalavaṇṇā, is so beautiful that the princes of the whole of India woo her, and her father is in a terrible dilemma, out of which his brave daughter helps him by becoming a nun. The legend of Kisā-Gotamī and the mustard-seed also appears in this work. The most touching story is that of Paṭācārā, the gist of which is briefly given here:

Paṭācārā is the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Sāvatthi. She falls in love with a workman who is employed in the house, and allows him to seduce her. After she has become pregnant, she desires to return to her parents. The man consents, but postpones the departure from day to day until, finally, she goes alone. He follows her and overtakes her just at the moment when, seized by the pains of travail in the middle of the street, she gives birth to a child. Then they return again. The same thing happens at the birth of the second child. While the woman is again delivered on the way, a great storm arises. Her husband makes her a shelter out of sticks, but while he is cutting the grass for making a thatch he is bitten by a snake, and dies. Sadly the mother goes on her way with her two children. She comes to a stream, which she cannot cross with both children. So she leaves the elder boy behind on the bank and carries the younger one across, lays him down and returns to the elder one. While she is in the middle of the stream, a hawk flies towards the younger child,

She raises her hands to scare the bird away. The elder boy sees this, and, thinking that his mother is beckoning him to come to her, he goes into the water, and is carried away by the current. Meanwhile the hawk has made off with the younger child.[1] Full of grief the woman continues her journey to Sāvatthi. Arriving there she hears that her parents' house has been wrecked by a whirlwind and that her parents have perished. They are just being burnt on the pyre. Then the unhappy woman breaks into mourning and lamentation, tears her garments from her body, and strays about for days naked and mad. At last one day she comes across Buddha who is just preaching. And the Master lets his feeling of friendliness flow out over her, and says: "Sister, come again to your senses. Sister, let your understanding return to you!" As soon as she hears the words of the Master, shame overcomes her. A man throws her a garment, and she covers herself. A certain verse of Buddha's effects her complete conversion, and she later becomes one of the most respected nuns in the community.[2]

In some of these narratives we find fairy tale motifs which belong to the common stock of universal literature, whether they travelled forth from India or were received from foreign lands by the Indians themselves. Thus Uppalavaṇṇā, in a former existence (for Buddhist narratives never rest content with tracing the lives of their saints merely in their latest existence) was the maiden Padumavatī, born of a lotus blossom, under whose footsteps lotus blossoms spring forth. As the favoured wife of the king of Benares she excites the jealousy of the secondary wives; while the king is away on an expedition of war, the other wives steal her newly-born children, in whose place they put a block of wood, besmeared with blood, by her side. The king, on his return home, is told that Padumavatī is a witch and has given birth to a block of wood. She is rejected, but soon the children, who had been put out in

---

[1]) On a similar episode in an old French poem of Guillaume d'Angleterre see S. *Singer* in ZVV 4, 1894, p. 73. *Cf.* W. *Bousset* and W. *Meyer* in NGGW 1916, 501 ff., 768 ff.; 1917, 80 ff., 703 ff.

[2]) Text ed. *Walleser*, I, p. 356 ff.; translation by *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, p. 94 ff.

wooden boxes, are fished up and the truth comes to light. Similar stories are found in the fairy tale literature of East and West.[1] In another part of the Manoratha-Pūraṇī we meet with the story of the merchant Ghosaka, being a version of the story already familiar to us from the Jaimini-Bhārata, about the youth who was born under a lucky star, and the fatal letter which was exchanged by the maiden.[2] Most of the stories are, however, merely edifying legends. One of them, for instance, tells of a merchant tempted by Māra, in the form of the Buddha, with a false doctrine; but the merchant recognises him as Māra, for Buddha could not have taught such a thing.[3]

In his commentaries Buddhaghosa makes frequent reference to his Visuddhi-Magga, and in the introductions to some of them,[4] he states expressly that he does not wish to repeat anything which has already been explained in that work. It would seem, therefore, that Buddhaghosa regarded the Visuddhi-Magga,[5] or "The Path to Complete Purification," as a preparation for his commentatorial labours. The

---

[1]) The same tale also in the Therī-Gāthā commentary. Cf. Ed. *Müller* in AR 3, 1900, 217 ff. and S. *Singer* in ZVV 4, 1894, 71 ff.

[2]) Translated by *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, p. 128 ff. The story is also to be found in the Dhammapada commentary (ed. Norman, I, 168 ff., *Burlingame* in HOS 28, 252 ff.). Cf. E. *Hardy* in JRAS 1898, 741 ff.; J. *Schick*, Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief (Corpus Hamleticum I, 1), Berlin, 1912, pp. 15 ff., 45 ff., 66 ff. (Singhalese versions). See above, Vol. I, p. 585 (and *Grierson* in JRAS 1910, 292 ff.). In Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, XX, 194 ff., we find only the last motif, namely the motif of the fate intended for the persecuted youth befalling the persecutor himself.

[3]) E. *Hardy* (in JRAS, 1902, 951 ff.) compares with it a Christian legend, in which Satan assumes the form of Christ, in order to teach a false doctrine to a monk, and *Garbe* (Indien und das Christentum, p. 111 f.) holds that the Christian legend is Buddhist in origin. However, the resemblance seems to me not very striking.

[4]) To Atthasālinī, Papañcasūdanī, and Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

[5]) Edited by C. A. F. *Rhys Davids*, 2 vols., PTS 1920-1921. A short table of contents by J. E. *Carpenter* in JPTS 1890, p. 14 ff., a detailed analysis and considerable extracts in English translation by H. C. *Warren* in JPTS 1891-1893, pp. 76-164, and "Buddhism in Translations," pp. 285 ff., 291 ff., 315 ff., 376 ff., 384 ff. Bhikkhu *Nyāṇatiloka* has translated "the Reflection on Death" from Chapter 8, into German in ZB VII, 1926,

author himself explains the title of the work, when he says: "Visuddhi here means the Nirvāṇa which is wholly and thoroughly purified, and freed from dirt of every description, and the path which leads to this purification is called Visuddhi-Magga." He says that it is his intention to expound this "Path to Complete Purification" in accordance with the teachings of the Mahāvihāra, *i.e.*, the traditions preserved in the "great monastery" of Anurādhapura. For the present, however, it is impossible for us to decide whether he had some definite work before him, which he merely revised,[1] or whether we should give him credit for being the first to offer a systematic presentation of the entire doctrine of Buddha, on the basis of the interpretations and explanations which had been handed down in the Mahāvihāra. Should the latter theory be correct, the clear and systematic arrangement and classification of the subject-matter according to the three points of view, morals (sīla), meditation (samādhi) and wisdom (paññā), would be his own work, whilst generally he was content to collect together with great diligence and industry, all that had accumulated during the course of the centuries, by way of explanation of the doctrine and legendary traditions. His style is clear and lucid, and, as in his commentaries, in the Visuddhi-Magga, too, he frequently enlivens the dry elucidations by

p. 75 ff. *Cf. Law*, Life and work of Buddhaghosa, p. 70 ff. "Buddhaghosa's monumental work, the Visuddhimagga ('The Path of Purity'), is an anthological Aṭṭhakathā and forms an indispensable text book in Burma" (Shwe Zan *Aung* in JPTS 1910-1912, p. 121).

[1]) If we are to believe the Japanese scholar M. *Nagai* (JPTS 1917-1919, p. 69 ff.) the Visuddhi-Magga is not the work of Buddhaghosa, but merely the revised version of a work written by a Thera Upatissa in the first century A.D., entitled Vimuttimagga, "The Path of Release," which was translated into Chinese between 505 and 520 A.D. by the Cambodian monk Saṅghapāla. Though very ingenious, the arguments of *Nagai* are not convincing. Until we are better acquainted with the Chinese translation of this work, I think it quite possible that it is merely a Chinese version of Buddhaghosa's work. According to *Nagai* himself, the contents of the Chinese Vimuttimagga bear a general resemblance to the Visuddhi-Magga, but are not free from Mahāyāna influence (l. c., p. 79). Like *visuddhi*, the word Vimutti also means "Nirvāṇa."

occasional parables and often by legends too. These last are not his own inventions, but he must have taken them from older sources. In style and contents, some of these legends are strongly reminiscent of the Tipiṭaka, and some do actually occur in canonical texts while most of the narratives, it is true, date from a later period, when Buddha worship was just as highly developed in the Hīnayāna as in the Mahāyāna. It is the spirit of the old Arhat ideal as it is illustrated, for instance, in the prose of the Udāna, by many legends ; the same spirit is also found in narratives such as the legend of the Thera Mahā-Tissa, who is reminded of the impurity of the human body by the sight of the teeth of a beautiful woman while laughing, and by this thought, attains to the highest stage of holiness, that of an Arhat;[1] or that of the monk who lived for sixty years in his hermitage without noticing that the walls were covered with paintings ; or of the monk who is so unworldly that for three months he goes daily begging for food and eating it in the house of his mother who is longing to see him but does not recognise him in his monk's robe, without once saying: " I am your son and you are my mother."[2] On the other hand, we find, especially in Part II, many legends which testify to a Buddha worship which recalls the Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti. For example, a frog hears the voice of Buddha who is preaching on the bank of the river, listens, and being trodden on by a shepherd, is literally translated to a better world ; for he is immediately reborn as a god in a golden palace in the heaven of the thirty-three gods.[3] In this work we also find numerous miracle tales intended to show how saints attain to miraculous and magic powers by meditation. A monk rescues a snake which is

[1]) Edition Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, I, p. 20 f.; *Warren*, Buddhism in Translations, p. 297 f.

[2]) Ed. Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, I, 91 ff.; *Warren*, l. c., p. 434 ff.

[3]) Ed. Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, I, 208 f.; *Warren*, l. c., p. 301 f.

fleeing from a bird; he does this by quickly creating a hill, in which the snake disappears. The monk Bakkula is swallowed by a fish, but remains safe and sound, as he is destined to become an Arhat. Sañjīva was in the state of utter absorption, was taken for dead and laid on the pyre, but the flames could not burn him. The nun Uttarā, absorbed in meditation, was not even injured by boiling oil. The snake Nandopananda had wound herself around the mount Meru and stretched her heads up to the second heaven, then the holy Moggallāna came, transformed himself into a still larger snake, wound himself around Nandopananda and crushed her and the mount Meru into the bargain. Chapter 13 [1] gives a long and circumstantial account of the ages of the world and the destruction and restoration of the worlds, reminiscent of the Purāṇas, fancies which would scarcely have come from Buddhaghosa's brain, but are most likely faithful reproductions of earlier traditions.

As far as the dogmatical and philosophical contents of the Visuddhi-Magga and the commentaries are concerned, it is surely an exaggeration to set Buddhaghosa up as a a philosopher who cut out new paths and made an original contribution to Buddhistic philosophy.[2] He was a man of astonishing erudition and of most extensive reading, who to this day enjoys a well-merited reputation among the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, but it is going too far to call him "a great teacher of mankind." [3] There is difference of opinion as to how far he is reliable in his commentaries as an expounder of the canonical texts. K. E. *Neumann* says on one occasion: "The moment the Buddhist patres ecclesiæ and doctores profundi try their hand at elucidating profound and obscure passages in the

[1]) Ed. Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, II, 411 ff.; *Warren*, l. c., p. 315 ff.

[2]) B. Ch. *Law*, l. c., 135 ff.

[3]) B. Ch. *Law*, l. c., 174.

canon, they simply talk moonshine."[1] Nevertheless, I believe that the same thing is true of Buddhaghosa as is true of other Indian commentators. We cannot follow them blindly, and yet, on the other hand, we must admit that they do sometimes help us over difficulties and if we neglected them, we should be depriving ourselves of one of the means of explanation.[2] I agree with Mrs. *Rhys Davids* when she says: "Buddhaghosa's philology is doubtless crude, and he is apt to leave cruces unexplained, concerning which an Occidental is most in the dark. Nevertheless, to me his work is not only highly suggestive, but also a mine of historic interest. To put it aside is to lose the historical perspective of the course of Buddhist philosophy."[3] Even if Buddhaghosa had no original contribution to make, we should yet be indebted to him for his faithful preservation of ancient traditions.

Not long after Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla wrote his commentary Paramattha-Dīpanī, "Elucidation of the True Meaning," on those texts of the Khuddakanikāya which Buddhaghosa had not explained: the Itivuttaka, Udāna, Cariyāpiṭaka, Thera-Gāthā, Vimāna-Vatthu and Peta-Vatthu.[4] Padaratittha on the southern coast of India nearest to Ceylon, is mentioned as his native town, but in any case he must have studied at Anurādhapura too; for, like Buddhaghosa, he refers to the Attha-Kathās of the "great monastery" of Anurādhapura. Moreover, both commentators have similar conceptions

---

[1]) Reden Gotamo Buddho's aus der mittleren Sammlung I, 1896, Preface.

[2]) *Cf.* what has been said above, Vol. I, p. 71, on Sāyaṇa.

[3]) A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, 2nd Ed., p. xxxi.

[4]) This is the order in which they are enumerated in the Sāsanavaṃsa (ed. by M. *Bode*, PTS 1897), p. 33, where the commentary on the Netti is also ascribed to him. The following parts of the Paramattha-Dīpanī have up to now been published by the PTS: The Commentaries on the Peta-Vatthu, ed. by E. *Hardy*, 1894; on the Vimāna-Vatthu, ed. by E. *Hardy*, 1901; on the Therīgāthā, ed. by E. *Müller*, 1893; on the Udāna, by F. L. *Woodward*, 1926.

throughout, and follow the same method of explanation. For this reason it is impossible that any considerable period of time could have elapsed between these two.[1] In the commentary on the Therī-Gāthās we find a few legends about the Therīs, which are also to be found in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī; portions of the Therī-Apadāna are included in this commentary, and it contains some traditions which are undoubtedly of great antiquity. The legend of Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā, for instance, is reminiscent of conditions such as we imagine must have been prevalent at the time of the Buddha and his first disciples when the adherents of various sects travelled about from place to place, in order to challenge scholars and ascetics to philosophical contests:

Bhaddā is the daughter of the royal treasurer. One day she sees a robber who is being led to his death, and she falls in love with him. By means of bribery, the father succeeds in obtaining the robber's release, and marrying him to his daughter. But the robber cares only for the girl's jewels. He takes her to a lonely spot in order to rob her. However, she perceives his intention, and, pretending to embrace him, she pushes him over a cliff. After this adventure, she does not want to return to her father's house, but becomes a Jain ascetic. She is not satisfied with the doctrines of the Jains, and therefore goes to a place where some famous scholars are living, in order to dispute with them. As she does not find one who is her equal in a contest of speech, she wanders from place to place, and at the entrance to every village and town she sticks a branch of rose-apple in a sand-heap, saying to the village children: "If anyone would like to enter into a debate with me, let him trample the branch down." If anyone did so, the children were to report to her. If the branch was still standing upright after a week, she would pull it out, and go on her way.

[1]) On Dhammapāla, *cf.* T. W. *Rhys Davids* in ERE, Vol. 4, p. 701 f.; Gandhavaṃsa in JPTS 1886, pp. 57, 60; *Burlingame* in HOS, Vol. 28, p. 56 f.; *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 101 ff. The Dhammapāla who wrote commentaries on the Visuddhi-Magga and on the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, and Saṃyuttanikāyas (Sāsanavaṃsa, p. 33) is probably a different man. At all events the Dhammapāla with whom we are concerned, is not the same as the Dharmapāla, who lived in the monastery of Nālanda, and was the teacher of Hsüan-Tsang; s. *Hardy* in ZDMG 51, 1897, 105 ff.

In this way she came, among other cities, to Sāvatthi, where the great Sāriputta enters into debate with her and converts her to Buddhism. The Buddha himself consecrates her as a nun.[1])

Though *some* of these narratives are very beautiful, and though the commentary is most valuable by reason of its numerous quotations from the Apadānas, it cannot be denied that many of the stories are very stupid ; not infrequently they are only made up out of the verses, and sometimes they are so dull and insipid that, on one who has read the beautiful verses of the Therī-Gāthā, they often have the effect of a cold shower.

The commentaries on the Peta-Vatthu and the Vimāna-Vatthu[2]) follow a similar arrangement to that of the Jātaka commentary and the commentary on the Dhammapada,[3]) elucidating and enlarging on verses by circumstantial prose narratives. There are several valuable legends among them. We find a few interesting Consolatory Stories in the commentary on the Peta-Vatthu.[4]) In some cases the stories in the commentary on the Vimāna-Vatthu are even of greater value than those in the Vimāna-Vatthu itself. As regards Dhammapāla as an exegetist, what has been said of Buddhaghosa might be applied to him also.[5])

The monks in the monasteries of Ceylon were not, however, merely occupied with the collection of legends and the explanation and elucidation of the canonical texts. From the earliest times onwards, they made it their business

---

[1]) Therī-Gāthā Commentary, p. 107 ff. The same story also in Manoratha-Pūraṇī, translated by *Burlingame*, Buddhist Parables, p. 151 ff. *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Sisters, p. 63 ff., where many other stories from the Therī-Gāthā Commentary are also given, and Maria E. Lulius van *Goor*, De buddhistische Non, p. 142 ff.

[2]) Ed. by E. *Hardy*, London PTS 1894 and 1901.

[3]) The Dhammapada Commentary is quoted in the Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary, p. 165, and must therefore be of earlier date.

[4]) Legends from the Peta-Vatthu Commentary have been translated by B. Ch. *Law*, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, 1923. For the Consolatory Stories (*Law*, l. c., 29 ff., 33, 64 ff.) *cf.* above, Vol. I, pp. 395 f., 412 ff.

[5]) *Cf.* Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Psalms of the Sisters, p xvi f.

also to record in the form of chronicles the chief events in the h[illegible] of the Buddhist monastic community. The account of the councils in the Culla-Vagga of the Vinayapiṭaka already betokens historical interest. The commentary on the Kathāvatthu [1] contains an account of the sects and schools, which is of paramount importance for the history of the schisms in the earliest Buddhist community. Moreover, the Singhalese Aṭṭhakathās, already mentioned several times, which were studied with much diligence by Buddhaghosa and were utilised by Dhammapāla too, contained sections on ecclesiastical history. These sections presumably formed the introductions to the Aṭṭhakathās, which deal with the Vinaya. Buddhaghosa followed them and drew upon them when he prefaced his Samanta-Pāsādikā, the commentary on the Vinaya-piṭaka, by an historical introduction.[2] The same Aṭṭhakathās are also the sources from which the historical and epic Pāli poems of Ceylon are derived; for the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon, the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa,[3] cannot be termed actual histories, but only "historical poems."

As it has never been the Indian way to make a clearly defined distinction between myth, legend and history historiography in India was never more than a branch of epic poetry. Thus the Buddhists regarded as history not only all the legends about the Buddhas of previous ages and the former

---

[1]) Buddhaghosa is not mentioned as the author, either at the beginning or in the colophons of the Commentary. At the beginning a long passage is cited word for word from the Dīpavaṃsa (ed. *Oldenberg*, p. 36).

[2]) Published by *Oldenberg* in his edition of the Vinayapiṭaka, Vol. III, 281 ff.

[3]) The Dīpavaṃsa, edited and translated by H. *Oldenberg*, London 1879. Mahāvaṃsa, edited and translated by G. *Turnour*, Ceylon 1837, Vol. I, containing the first 38 chapters; Turnour's translation is also prefixed to: The Mahāvaṃsa, Part II, containing Chapters XXXIX to C, translated by L.C. *Wijesiṃha*, Colombo 1889; critical edition by W. *Geiger*, PTS 1908, translated by the same scholar, PTS, Transl. Ser., 1912. *Cf.* H. *Jacobi* in GGA 1880, 851 ff.; W. *Geiger*, Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon, Leipzig 1905, and ZDMG 63, 1909, 540 ff. (as against R.O. *Franke*, in LZB 1906, Sp. 1272 ff.; WZKM 21, 1907, 203 ff., 317 ff.). *Cf.* also *Oldenberg*, Aus dem alten Indien, Berlin 1910, 69 ff.

births of Gotama Buddha in the Buddhavaṃsa,[1] Cariyā-piṭaka and the Jātaka-book, but the whole of the Buddha legend as well. Taking a pattern from these legendary compositions and following on from them, the monks of Ceylon told the story of the introduction of Buddhism on the island, in the historical sections of the Aṭṭhakathās. They concocted legends [2] which were to connect the Buddhist community of Ceylon not only with that of India, but with Buddha himself, edifying legends telling how the Exalted One visited the island which was, at that time, inhabited only by demons and snake deities, how he flew over to it, accompanied by gods, in order to let the light of his doctrine shine forth, and to prepare for the subsequent greatness of the church of Ceylon. Pious legends of this nature led to mythical accounts of the first kings of Ceylon and also to semi-historical records of Aśoka, Mahinda, the councils and the transmission of the sacred texts to the island. The nearer these records approach to the historical period, the more predominant do the real historical accounts become, though the legends are never altogether supplanted by history. Popular, secular narratives and anecdotes were also added to the ecclesiastical traditions.[3] Thus the historical sections of Aṭṭhakathās became, as it were, treasuries of ecclesiastical and secular traditions of all kinds, as well as of actual historical records.

---

[1]) The title signifies " history of the Buddhas ; " for the Pāli word Vaṃsa (Sanskrit vaṃśa) means "line of a pedigree, or genealogy," hence also the "chronicle" or the "history" of a race, dynasty, line of teachers and so on ; hence the meaning was extended to embrace any "history" going back to earliest beginnings, in such titles as Buddhavaṃsa, Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa, Dāṭhāvaṃsa, etc., similarly in the Sanskrit titles Harivaṃśa, Raghuvaṃśa, etc.

[2]) But only *some* legends are inventions of the Singhalese monks. To a great extent, the historical as well as the legendary traditions of the Aṭṭhakathās go back to *Indian* sources (s. above, p. 184). Sten *Konow* (in Festgabe Garbe, p. 33 ff.) has shown this with regard to certain narratives (Dīpavaṃsa XV, Mahāvaṃsa XVII) which *a priori* would have been considered to be Singhalese in origin.

[3]) The reason for it is the same as that for the admission of so many secular stories in the Jātakas and in the commentaries in general. See above, p. 125.

Though these Aṭṭhakathās themselves have gone astray, their contents, as here described, may be deduced from the Pāli chronicles and Pāli commentaries which have come down to us.

The first, though very imperfect, attempt to mould into an epic the traditions stored up in the Singhalese Aṭṭhakathās is the Dīpavaṃsa, the "History of the Island." The author, whose name has not come down, but who probably wrote his work between the beginning of the 4th and the first third of the 5th century A.D.,[1] still betrays much awkwardness in the handling of language and metre. The offences against the laws of grammar and versification are numerous. It is evident that it is still an unaccustomed thing for a Singhalese to write in Pāli. He keeps slavishly to his models. He moulds his verses according to recollections of the Tipiṭaka, especially the Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka and Jātaka.[2] His chief source of material was, however, the historical section of the Aṭṭhakathā [3] preserved in the "great monastery" of Anurādhapura, besides which he probably also used one or two other Aṭṭhakathās. This is most likely the reason why, not infrequently, the same subject is treated twice, or even thrice in different versions. Thus, for instance, immediately after a short, somewhat sketchy account of the three councils, follows a more complete, more finished account. These cannot possibly be cases of interpolation; the author found various versions available, and as he considered them

---

[1]) *Oldenberg*, Dīpavaṃsa, Introd., p. 8 f.

[2]) This has been proved convincingly by *Franke*, WZKM 21, 1907, 203 ff., though only as far as the form is concerned. The author could have taken only a very small portion of the subject-matter from the Tipiṭaka, as the latter gives no information about Ceylon. Cf. *Geiger*, ZDMG 63, 1909, 543.

[3]) This section of the Aṭṭhakathā, which was also a source of the Mahāvaṃsa, is quoted in the commentary on the latter, as Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa, *i.e.*, "the great History (of the Island of Ceylon) belonging to the Singhalese Commentary," and in the poem of the Mahāvaṃsa itself, as "the (Mahāvaṃsa) composed by the ancients." According to *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 71, it was an independent chronicle; according to *Oldenberg* (Dīpavaṃsa, Introd., p. 4) with whom I agree, it was an historical introduction to a theological commentary.

of equal value, he passed them on. A poet, of course, would not have done so; but in other respects, too, the composition is as unsatisfactory as the language and metre. The narrator jumps straight from one subject to another without ado. Often gaps are left in the presentation. Some episodes are set out ballad-wise, whilst others are barely hinted at. In some cases, indeed, we find merely memorial verses in which a series of catch-words enumerates the chief points of a narrative or description. Obviously there were such verses in the Aṭṭhakathās, in which the setting forth of familiar scenes was left to the discretion of the reciters. Frequently also speeches follow upon speeches after the style of the primitive epic without any interceding narrative verses.[1] In some instances, as is so often the case in the ancient ballads, it can be seen from the context who the speaker is. But occasionally we have to assume that the reciter supplied the link between the speeches by means of prose narratives. In this, again, the author presumably only followed his models which were intended for recitation by monks at large assemblies.[2]

While the Dīpavaṃsa was thus closely connected even in form with its sources, and is only a feeble attempt at the composition of an epic, the Mahāvaṃsa, probably the work of a poet Mahānāma, who lived in the last quarter of the 5th century A. D.,[3] is a perfect epic. The poet wanted to create an ornate poem, a Kāvya, and he expressly states this in his poem. The historical work which the ancients composed,[4] says he, is in some places too verbose, and in

---

[1]) *Cf.* above, Vol. I, p. 324.

[2]) In two passages, IV. 47 and XII. 30-33, we also find the mixture of prose and verse as we must assume was to be found in the Aṭṭhakathā.

[3]) This seems very probable, from the Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā, see *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah. 44 ff. *Cf.* V. A. *Smith* in Ind. Ant. 31, 1902, 192 ff.

[4]) It seems to me doubtful that this means the Dīpavaṃsa, as is assumed by *Geiger* (Mahāvaṃsa, Transl., p. xi). It certainly gives a false idea of the epic Mahāvaṃsa, if we designate it as a "commentary" on the Dīpavaṃsa, as is done by *Fleet* (JRAS 1909,

others too brief, and also contains many repetitions. He has, he says, avoided these faults and endeavoured to present the material in question in an easily comprehensible manner, so that the feelings of joy or of emotion may be aroused at the proper places. Indeed, in the Mahāvaṃsa the language and metre are handled with great dexterity. This is probably due not only to the talent of the poet, but also to the fact that the period between the origin of the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa coincides with the period of Buddhaghosa's literary activity, which made so lasting a mark on the Pāli literature of Ceylon. Neither is it possible to find fault with the presentation. There are no disturbing gaps, nor repetitions here. Where the Dīpavaṃsa is too brief, Mahānāma has extended and completed, again in other cases he has treated the theme more briefly. The Mahāvaṃsa is, as *Geiger* [1] says, "a work of art, created by a man who well deserves to be called a poet, and who mastered the frequently crude material, if not with genius, yet with taste and skill."

On the other hand, the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa show great similarity with regard to the material and its arrangement, and even have a number of verses in common. Both epics commence with the story of Gotama Buddha, tell of his three visits to the island of Ceylon, which was at that time inhabited only by demons, namely Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas and snakes, and relate how the Exalted One surveyed the whole world with his 'Buddha-eye" and caught sight of the beautiful island, how a terrible war broke out between the

p. 5) whose view is supported by *Geiger* (Mahāvaṃsa Transl. p. xi f.; Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 24). I consider Fleet's explanation of the passage in Mahāv. 38, 59 (ed. Turnour, p. 257 f., Cūlavaṃsa, ed. Geiger, I, p. 26) to which he refers, as erroneous. There is no question of the composition of a "Dīpikā" or a commentary, but it is merely related that King Dhātusena made a donation of 1,000 pieces of gold and commanded that, at the great Bodhi celebration in front of the memorial temple of the Mahāthera Mahinda, the monks assembled there should always expound the Dīpavaṃsa (in Singhalese) in return for which they should receive sweetmeats.

[1]) Dīp. und Mah., p. 19.

snake princes Great-belly and Small-belly, which threatened to destroy the island, how the Buddha in his boundless goodness felt pity, flew over to the island accompanied by gods, and let the light of his doctrine shine forth, whereupon hosts of snake demons and other demons were converted to the pure doctrine. Then the genealogical tree of Gotama's father Suddhodana is traced back to a mythical king of primeval times, and the history of Buddhism in India, especially the story of the councils, is related. The two epics dwell at some length on Aśoka, the great patron of Buddhism. With the account of the third council and the sending of Mahinda to Ceylon, the scene of the narrative changes, and is henceforth transferred entirely to Ceylon. From the union of an Indian princess with a lion, two children are produced, Sīhabāhu and Sīvalī. Vijaya, with whom the history of the kings of Ceylon begins, sprang from the marriage of this brother and sister. This wild prince is banished from his home, goes to sea with 700 companions, lands in Ceylon after manifold adventures on the seas, and becomes king of the island. The story of Vijaya and his immediate successors is told much more briefly in the Dīpavaṃsa than in the Mahāvaṃsa. Both works linger for some considerable time over King Devānaṃpiyatissa, who ruled in Ceylon in the days of Aśoka, in whose reign Mahinda came to Ceylon (flying through the air, as we should expect), established there the religion of Buddha and erected the first Buddhist sanctuaries. Saṅghamittā, the sister of Mahinda, brings a branch of the Bodhi tree, the transplanting of which in Ceylon is described with especial attention to detail. Then the history of the kings of Ceylon, among them in somewhat greater detail Vaṭṭagāmani, who had the Tipiṭaka and its commentaries written down, is traced as far as Mahāsena, with whose death (352 A.D. ?) [1] the narrative is cut short both in

[1]) This is the view of *Geiger*, The Mahāvaṃsa, Transl., p. xxxviii. 302 A.D. used to be assumed as the year of the death of Mahāsena. The chronology is by no means certain.

the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa; for the authentic work of Mahānāma ends with 37, 50. Everything which comes after that, is generally known in Ceylon as the Cūlavaṃsa,[1] "the little history," and consists of a series of addenda serving as a continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa and written by various authors. The first appendix is written by the Thera Dhammakitti, who lived during the reign of King Parākramabāhu (1240-1275).[2]

However, even though the subject-matter of the old Mahāvaṃsa moves within the same limits as that of the Dīpavaṃsa, Mahānāma has nevertheless inserted a considerable amount of new material within these limits. Above all, he has taken the story of King Gāmani the wicked (Duṭṭhagāmani), to whom only 13 verses are devoted in the Dīpavaṃsa, and developed it into an independent heroic poem (*Geiger* calls it the "Duṭṭhagāmani epic") in eleven cantos (22-32). In the first part he describes the warlike deeds of this mighty king, and not until the second part does he make him a hero of the faith, who atones for the streams of blood which he has caused to flow, by erecting sacred edifices, more especially the Mahāthūpa, "the great Stūpa," about the construction of which miracles are related. Mahānāma has also contrived to work into his composition a great number of fairy tale and romance motifs, some of which belong to universal literature. Whilst in the Dīpavaṃsa it is only mentioned that Vijaya and his companions were cast ashore in Ceylon, where they founded

---

[1]) Cūlavaṃsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa, ed. by W. *Geiger* I, PTS 1925. Cūlav. 37, 215 ff. deals with Buddhaghosa. Chapter 39 has been edited and translated by T. W. *Rhys Davids* (JRAS 1875, p. 191 ff., 201 ff. "The Reigns of Kāśyapa the Parricide and of Moggallānu the First"). In some MSS. the work consists of 90 chapters, and in others of 100 or 101. The title Cūlavaṃsa is nowhere to be found in the MSS. In 99, 76, the kings of Ceylon are divided into those of the "Great Dynasty" (mahāvaṃsa) and those of the "Lesser Dynasty" (cūlavaṃsa).

[2]) *Cf.* M. de Z. *Wickremasinghe* in JRAS 1896, 200 ff.; *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 19. The coincidence of both the Dīpavaṃsa and the ancient part of the Mahāvaṃsa breaking off precisely at the death of Mahāsena, can only be explained by the fact that the

cities and established a kingdom, we are told in the Mahāvaṃsa (VII, 9 ff.) the most marvellous adventures of Vijaya and the ogress-sorceress Kuvaṇṇā, which vividly recall the experiences of Ulysses with Circe. A very interesting legend is that of King Eḷāra (21, 15 ff.) :

This righteous prince had a bell fixed to his bed, and the rope of this bell hung in the open, so that everybody who had suffered some wrong could ring it.[1] First the rope is pulled by a cow, whose calf has been run over by the king's son. The king has his own son, his only son, crushed by the wheels of the same chariot. Then the king's aid is sought by a bird, whose young one has been killed by a snake, and the king has the snake killed. The bell rings for the third time; this time it is an old woman who is pulling the rope. She has laid some rice out to dry, and an unseasonable shower of rain has spoilt it. The king sees in this the punishment for a sin which he has recently committed. He does penance by fasting, whereupon Sakka orders the rain-god Pajjunna, only to send rain once a week at a certain hour of the night.[2]

It may probably be assumed that Mahānāma took all these materials which are missing in the Dīpavaṃsa, from the old Aṭṭhakathās, principally from the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa, which was his chief source, even though he knew and used the Dīpavaṃsa as well. The fact that both epics are based on the historical sections of the old Aṭṭhakathās, is a

"Mahāvaṃsa" of the Aṭṭhakathā, the common source of both epics, was discontinued after the destruction of the "Great Monastery" of Anurādhapura which took place under Mahāsena, though Mahāsena had the monastery rebuilt. *Cf.* Mahāvaṃsa 37; Dīp. 22, 66 ff.; *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 71.

[1]) "When the emperor Charlemagne.....lived at Zürich, he had a pillar erected with a bell attached to it, so that anyone who desired administration of justice could pull it whenever the emperor was seated at his midday meal." *Grimm* Deutsche Sagen II, No. 453. Here, as in the similar legend of the sage Theodosius (Gesta Romanorum 105) it is a snake which demands and obtains justice against a toad. *Cf.* also the poem "Die Leidglocke" by F. *Rückert* in "Brahmanische Erzählungen;" E. *Hultzsch* in JRAS 1913, 529 ff., who, amongst other things, has traced a Tamil version of this story, and cites other parallels given by Th. *Zachariae*. See also *Benfey*, Pantschatantra I, 168 f.

[2]) Many other tales from the Mahāvaṃsa, which are of importance from the point of view of folk-lore, have been traced by *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., pp. 23-28. Some of these have interesting parallels.

strong argument in favour of our crediting them with a certain degree of reliability as historical sources. It is true, neither the Dīpavaṃsa nor the Mahāvaṃsa can be said to be a real work of history. Suffice it to point out[1] that neither of the two works even so much as mentions the name of Alexander the Great, that they have nothing but miracles to record of the great Aśoka, and that, in their narrative, this mighty conqueror is far more of a spiritual than a temporal hero. Even Gāmani the Wicked, whose popular cognomen shows clearly enough that he was essentially the very opposite of a pious model of virtue, is glorified in the Mahāvaṃsa above all as a religious hero ! The purpose of both epics is primarily to serve for edification, and the Mahāvaṃsa is at the same time intended to be a Kāvya. Nevertheless, we should be doing these works an injustice if, as some critics have done, with expressions of indignation (which to me appear almost ridiculous), we label their authors as deliberate forgers and liars. Their authors certainly were nothing of that kind. They relate things which *they* looked upon as veracious history, though *we*, it is true, are compelled to regard much of it as myth, legend and fiction. Now, as they did not intentionally give false reports, we may believe much of what they tell us about historical times, and periods not too far removed from their own life-time. For instance, they were the first to give us information about Candragupta, the grandfather of Aśoka; and though this information does not tally exactly with the data of the Greeks, it is nevertheless in sufficient agreement with them to have made it possible by their aid to determine the year of Buddha's death, which means that we have been able to ascertain the most important date in the history of Indian literature. Sylvain *Lévi*,[2] too,

[1]) Cf. *Oldenberg*, Aus dem alten Indien, 77 ff.

[2]) JA sér. 9, t. XV, 1900, p. 429, and Journal des savants, 1905, p. 539. The theory of the reliability of the chronicles is also supported by Max *Müller*, SBE, Vol. 10 (I),

by comparing the Chinese annals with the Singhalese chronicles, has found that beginning at least from the 4th century A.D., the latter are, as historical sources, "solide, sinon impeccable."

There is also a greatly augmented recension of the Mahāvaṃsa, in 5,791 verses as against the 3,925 verses of our text; and, though quite insignificant as a work of art, it is extremely instructive from the point of view of the history of literature, as showing how in India (for the Singhalese writers took their pattern from Indian models) epics were augmented by the insertion of more and more new themes.[1] A work of greater importance is the Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā, written between 1000 and 1250 A.D., being the commentary on the Mahāvaṃsa. This is not merely an exegetic and dogmatic commentary, but it also contains numerous myths, fairy tales and legends by way of a supplement to the contents of the epic. These are culled partly from monkish and partly from popular traditions. For instance, the particularly interesting legends of Candragupta and Cāṇakya,[2] which the commentator, as he himself says, has taken in part from the Aṭṭhakathā of the "Northern Monastery," are of the popular variety. Otherwise he has drawn chiefly on the Aṭṭhakathā of the

pp. xiii-xxv; *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist India, p. 274 f.; H. C. *Norman*, JRAS 1908, 1 ff. In his researches on the history of the Canon, *Oldenberg* (see above, p. 1, note 1) has made many references to the data of Dīp. and Mah. *Fleet* (JRAS 1909, pp. 987 and 1015) considers that the Dīpavaṃsa is based on local records of the time of Aśoka, and that the last words of Duṭṭhagāmani are actually preserved in Mahāvaṃsa 32. A very low estimation of the historical reliability of the chronicles is held by V. A. *Smith* (Ind. Ant. 32, 1903, p. 365 f.) and R.O. *Franke*, JPTS 1908, p. 1. This scepticism has been refuted on excellent grounds by W. *Geiger*, (ZDMG 63, 1909, p. 550; The Mahāvaṃsa, Transl., pp. XII ff., XV ff., XX ff.). *Hultzsch* (JRAS 1913, p. 517 ff.) has succeeded in tracing synchronisms even between the later additions to the Mahāvaṃsa (for the period from the 10th to the 12th century) and the inscriptions.

[1]) The enlarged Mahāvaṃsa was discovered by E. *Hardy* (JPTS 1902-1903, p. 61 ff.) in a Cambodian manuscript, and has been discussed by *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 28 ff.

[2]) On this and other narratives see *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., pp. 37-44, where analogies are indicated, especially the one presented by the legend of Cyrus.

"Great Monastery," at the same time using Buddhaghosa's commentaries Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī and Samanta-Pāsādikā, and a great number of other works among which a Sahassavatthaṭṭhakathā, "Commentary of the Thousand Stories" which is quoted several times, is especially worthy of notice.[1]

Also all the later works of ecclesiastical history of Ceylon are founded on the Aṭṭhakathās. Buddhaghosa drew on them for the historical introduction, already mentioned, to his Samanta-Pāsādikā.[2] This introduction, and the Nidāna-Kathā and the Mahāvaṃsa, are, in their turn, the foundation of the historical works, if we may call them so—for they contain more legendary lore than history—namely the Bodhivaṃsa, Dāṭhāvaṃsa and Thūpavaṃsa, which in later centuries were translated into Pāli or remodelled after Singhalese models. The Mahābodhivaṃsa or Bodhivaṃsa,[3] "the History of the Bodhi Tree," is a prose work (only at the ends of the chapters and towards the end of the whole work do we find Gāthās) which was written probably in the first half of the 11th century by a monk Upatissa. The Dāṭhāvaṃsa, "the History of (Buddha's) Tooth,"[4] is an epic in five cantos, in partly Sanskritised Pāli (with long compound words), written by the monk Dhammakitti at the beginning of the 13th century. The Thūpavaṃsa,[5] "the History of the Topes," is also a work of the 13th century. The work is available in both the

---

[1]) *Cf. Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 52 ff.

[2]) See above, p. 208.

[3]) Edited by S. A. *Strong*, PTS 1891. *Cf. Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 84 ff., Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 25.

[4]) Edited and translated by *Coomara Svāmy*; edited by *Rhys Davids* and R. *Morris*, JPTS 1884, p. 109 ff.; edited and translated by Bimalacharan *Law*, together with a Note on the Position of the Dāṭhāvaṃsa in the History of Pāli Literature by W. *Stede*, Lahore 1925 (PSS No. 7). *Cf.* J. Gerson da *Cunha*, Memoir on the History of the Tooth-relic of Ceylon, JBRAS XI, 1875, p. 115 ff. and *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 88 ff. The Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa mentioned in the continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa 37, 93, is probably (see Geiger, p. 19) the same work.

[5]) Two editions have appeared in Colombo, *cf. Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 92 ff.

Singhalese and Pāli languages. Vācissara calls himself the author. All these works are made after one pattern; they commence with the history of the former Buddha Dīpaṅkara, then of Gotama Buddha, the three councils, and so on, until finally they relate the history of the sanctuaries of which they treat. Similar works were also written in Burma, such as the Chakesadhātuvaṃsa,[1] "the History of the Six Hair Relic Shrines." Even so modern a work as the Sāsanavaṃsa, "the History of the Doctrine,"[2] which was written in Burma in 1861, by the monk Paññasāmi, follows the old pattern faithfully. Yet it is interesting to see from this work how Pāli literature continues even down to our own times. The Sāsanavaṃsa as well as the equally modern Gandhavaṃsa, "the History of the Books,"[3] written in Burma by a certain Nandapañña, are of great value from the point of view of the history of Pāli literature. The Gandhavaṃsa gives, in five chapters, a description of the canon according to the three Piṭakas and nine Aṅgas, the titles and sometimes the names of the authors of the later Pāli works, a description of the birthplaces of the writers, information about the causes which led to the writing of the books, and finally an account of the writing down of the canon.

We need not devote much space to the rest of the later Pāli literature of Ceylon and Burma. It is for the most part a learned, theological literature, closely connected with the canonical texts, though there is no lack of single poetical

---

[1]) Edited by *Minayeff* in JPTS 1885. The Sīmāvivādavinicchaya-Kathā, ed. by J. P. *Minayeff*, JPTS 1887, 17 ff., also contains ecclesiastical history.

[2]) Edited by Mabel H. *Bode*, PTS 1897. This work was the chief source for M. H. *Bode*, The Pali Literature of Burma, London 1909. *Cf.* by the same author, "A Burmese Historian of Buddhism," London 1898, and *Geiger*, Dīp. und Mah., p. 98 note.

[3]) Edited by *Minayeff*, Recherches, pp. 235 ff., and again in JPTS 1886, pp. 54-80. An index to this by Mabel *Bode*, JPTS 1896, p. 53 ff. According to M.H. *Bode* (Pali Literature of Burma, p. x) it is a work of the 17th century. The work is called Culla-Gandhavaṃsa, "Little History of the Books." There might, therefore, be a Mahā-Gandhavaṃsa also. *Cf.* E. *Hardy*, ZDMG 51, 1897, p. 111.

works. From the time of Buddhaghosa down to the revival of Pāli literature in the 12th century, we have in Ceylon scarcely more than a handful of names of authors and titles, while in Burma there is no Pāli literature at all before the 11th century.

Buddhadatta is said to have been a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. It is claimed that he, too, was born in India and lived at various times both in Ceylon and at Kāñcīpura and other places in South India. It is, however, questionable whether the legends about the meeting of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa were not merely invented with a view to enhancing the reputation of a much later writer. This later Buddhadatta is the author of a commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa and of comprehensive works on the Abhidhamma and Vinaya: the Abhidhammāvatāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga and the Vinaya-Vinicchaya.[1]

The poem Anāgatavaṃsa,[2] "the History of the Future One," *i.e.*, the future Buddha, is, as regards its contents, a sequel to the Buddhavaṃsa, the story of the past Buddhas, and perhaps belongs to an earlier period. The earliest description of the paradise of the future Buddha Metteyya, where human beings will attain to the mature age of 80,000 years, and where the maidens will be marriageable at the age of 500, when India will be teeming with human beings, like a poultry-yard swarming with fowls, etc., is already to be found in the Dīghanikāya (No. 26). The Anāgatavaṃsa gives a more detailed treatment of this Metteyya and his contemporary, the Cakravartin world-ruler Saṅkha, in the form of a

[1]) Buddhadatta's Manuals or Summaries of Abhidhamma, Abhidhammāvatāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga, ed. by A. P. *Buddhadatta*, PTS 1915. *Cf. Geiger*, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 22, para. 25; B. Ch. *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 96 ff. There is, of course, the possibility that there was more than one Buddhadatta.

[2]) Ed. by J. *Minayeff* in JPTS 1886, p. 33 ff., and by E. *Leumann*, Maitreya-Samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten, Strassburg 1919, p. 177 ff. (with explanatory notes).

prophecy which is made to issue from the lips of Gotama Buddha.[1]

A short summary of the rules of the Vinayapiṭaka is contained in the Sikkhās, the Khudda-Sikkhā by Dhammasiri, and the Mūla-Sikkhā by Mahāsāmi,[2] which, according to Burmese historical works, are said to have been written in 440 A. D., but are in all probability much more recent.[3] These compendia, together with the so-called Dvemātikā (consisting of Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunī-Pāṭimokkha) and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, are in Burma regarded as sufficient for those who have no time to learn the entire Vinayapiṭaka.[4] The Sārasaṃgaha by Siddhattha,[5] a pupil of Buddhappiya, and the Dhammasaṃgaha (or Saddhammasaṃgaha) by Dhammakitti,[6] which probably belong to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century,[7] are compendia which deal with the doctrine. The chief home of the study of the

[1]) According to the Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886, pp. 61, 72), Kassapa is the author of the work, and Upatissa the author of an Aṭṭhakathā on it. Now both Kassapa and Upatissa are names of Theras and writers of various periods. *Cf. Geiger*, l.c., p. 25, para. 29. Visuddhi-Magga, p. 434, and Attha-Sālinī, p. 415, as well as Anāgatavaṃsa, v. 96, say of the future Metteyya, that the name of his mother is Brahmavatī and that of his father Subrahmā. It is not evident to me, however, that Buddhaghosa quotes from the Anāgatavaṃsa, as is assumed by Mr. *Rhys Davids* (Visuddhi-Magga Ed., pp. 761, 764). Hence we are not in a position to prove that the Anāgatavaṃsa is earlier than Buddhaghosa. As a matter of fact, there is also a recension of the Anāgatavaṃsa, which is written in the mixed prose and verse style, and yet another Anāgatavaṃsa which diverges from our work, and tells the story of the ten future Buddhas. (*Minayeff*, JPTS 1886, pp. 33 ff., 39 f.).

[2]) Ed. by Ed. *Müller* in JPTS 1883, p. 86 ff. At the end of the Khudda-Sikkhā itself, Dhammasiri from Ceylon is mentioned as the author. *Cf.* Gandhavaṃsa in JPTS 1886, p. 61.

[3]) *Rhys Davids* (JPTS 1883, p. xiii f.) considered them to be earlier than Buddhaghosa; Ed. *Müller* ascribes them to the 6th or 7th century; *Geiger* (Pali Literatur und Sprache, p. 24, para. 27) thinks that, judged by their language, they could scarcely have been written prior to the 11th century.

[4]) *Bode*, l.c., 5 f.

[5]) Des Sārasaṃgaha erstes Kapitel, Text und Übersetzung von K. E. *Neumann*, Leipzig 1891.

[6]) Ed. by N. *Saddhānanda* in JPTS 1890.

[7]) *Cf. Geiger*, l.c., p. 30.

Abhidhamma is Burma. There, too, the most important manual of Buddhist psychology and ethics, the Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha, was written by the monk Anuruddha (probably in the 12th century).[1] Even at the present day this manual is still held in the highest possible esteem in Ceylon as well as in Burma, and has been more frequently commentated and translated in Burma than any other text of the Abhidhamma. Anuruddha is also the author of the Nāmarūpapariccheda, a philosophical poem of 1,855 verses.[2]

From among the learned works giving a poetical presentation of one or more points of the Buddhist doctrinal system, we call attention to the following. The Pañcagati-Dīpana, the "Illumination of the Five Paths,"[3] is a poem of 114 verses. It describes the great and small hells and the other worlds, and enumerates the actions by which human beings are reborn in one of the five conditions of life, namely as creatures of hell, as animals, spirits, human beings or gods. The same subject is treated in the Lokadīpasāra, which was written in the 14th century by Medhaṃkara in Burma.[4] In the 14th century one Dhammakitti wrote the Pāramī-Mahāśataka, a Pāli poem on the ten Pāramitās.[5] The Saddhammopāyana, "Ways and Means of the Good Religion,[6] deals, in 629 verses, with the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhist religion in general, and the ethical doctrines in

[1]) The text was published by T. W. *Rhys Davids* in JPTS 1884. A translation appeared under the title: Compendium of philosophy, being a Translation of the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha with Introductory Essay and Notes by Shwe Zan *Aung*, revised and edited by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, PTS 1910. Transl. ser. *Cf. Bode*, l.c., p. 61 f. German translation by E. L. *Hoffmann* in ZB 7, 1926, 175 ff., 316 ff.

[2]) Ed. by A. P. *Buddhadatta* in JPTS 1913-1914, pp. 1-114.

[3]) Ed. by *Feer* in JPTS 1884, and translated by the same into French in AMG., t. V, 1883, 514 ff.

[4]) *Bode*, l.c., 35 f.

[5]) There were no less than 5 Theras by the name of Dhammakitti, who lived in the 13th and 14th centuries. *Cf.* M. de Z. *Wickremasinghe* in JRAS 1896, 200 ff.

[6]) Ed. by R. *Morris* in JPTS 1887, 35-98.

particular. The Pajja-Madhu, "the Verse Honey,"[1] is a short poem in praise of the Buddha, composed by Buddhappiya in the 13th century. In 104 elaborate stanzas in partly Sanskritised Pāli, the glory of the Buddha is described and his wisdom praised. Telakaṭāha-Gāthā, "the Verses of the Cauldron of Oil,"[2] is the title of another ornate poem on the good religion of the Buddha. The poet is supposed to have been a monk who, though innocent, was suspected by King Tissa of Kalyāṇi of carrying on an intrigue with his wife, and was condemned to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil. This was done, but the monk arose from the cauldron, and sang the 100 verses. Before he died, he recollected his former existence in which he was a cowherd and had thrown a fly into a pot of boiling milk. In the poem, the "hundred verses" are found only 98 stanzas in elegant Sanskritised Pāli, in which, however, no reference to the legend is contained. King Tissa of Kalyāṇi reigned in the 3rd century B.C., but, according to the evidence afforded by the language, the poem could hardly be earlier than the 12th century A.D.[3]

The Jinālaṃkāra by Buddharakkhita,[4] a poem of 250 stanzas, in which the Buddha legend is treated in the most bombastic Kāvya style, and which was written in the year 1156 A.D., is a regular specimen of ornate poetry. We find verses which can be read backwards as well as forwards, a stanza in

---

[1]) Ed. by E. R. *Gooneratne* in JPTS 1887, 1 ff. The poet is also the compiler of the Pāli grammar Rūpasiddhi.

[2]) Ed. by E. R. *Gooneratne* in JPTS 1884, 49 ff.

[3]) The legend is related briefly in the Mahāvaṃsa, 22, 13 ff., and in greater detail in the Rasavāhinī.

[4]) Edited with Introd., Notes and Translation by James *Gray*, London 1894. According to the Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886, pp. 69, 72, *cf.* 65, 75) a Jinālaṃkāra was written by Buddhadatta and commented on by Buddharakkhita. A work like the Jinālaṃkāra with which we are concerned, could not have possibly been written by a contemporary of Buddhaghosa (see above p. 220 on Buddhadatta). The date "1,700 years after the death of Buddha" figures in the concluding verses of the poem, where Buddharakkhita refers to himself as the author. *Cf. Geiger*, l.c., p. 28.

which no consonant except "n" occurs, and other similar tricks. Mahāyānist doctrines are frequently found in the poem and it is full of Purāṇa-like exaggerations.

The Jinacarita[1] by the poet Vanaratana Medhaṃkara,[2] who lived in the reign of Bhuvanaka Bāhu I (1277-1288 A.D.), is a very mediocre poem on the life of the Buddha, in simple and natural, but not particularly beautiful, language. It looks almost like a somewhat clumsy versification of the Nidāna-Kathā. The Mālālaṃkāra-Vatthu, a Buddha biography written at an even later time (1773), has only become known through the English translation[3] of a Burmese translation from the Pāli.

Narrative works, too, have been written in Pāli down to the most recent times. The most important of these works is the Rasavāhinī,[4] a collection of 103 narratives, of which the first 40 are set in India and the remaining 63 in Ceylon. The work was originally written in the Singhalese language, was later translated into Pāli by a monk Raṭṭhapāla, and still later (in the 13th century) corrected by the Thera Vedeha.[5] In spite of this "correction," it is still written in bad Pāli, and in an extremely careless style. The Rasavāhinī is really a collection of sermons in the guise of edifying legends told in

---

[1]) Edited and translated by W. H. D. *Rouse* (JPTS 1904-5, p. 1 ff.), and by Ch. *Duroiselle*, Rangoon 1906.

[2]) According to Saddhamma-Saṃgaha IX, 22 (JPTS 1890, p. 63) and Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886, pp. 62, 72).

[3]) By Bishop P. *Bigandet*, Life or Legend of Gaudama the Buddha of the Burmese, Rangoon 1858, 3rd ed., London 1880. *Cf. Rhys Davids*. SBE, Vol. 11, p. xxxii.

[4]) Selected stories have been edited and translated into German by F. *Spiegel*, Anecdota Palica, Leipzig 1845; Sten *Konow* in ZDMG 43, 1889, 297 ff.; the second decade by Magdalene and W. *Geiger* in SBayA 1918, into Danish by D. *Andersen*, openhagen 1891; into Italian by P. E. *Pavolini* in GSAI 8, 1894, p. 179 ff., 10, 1896, p. 175 ff.; into English (legends of Aśoka) by *Lakshmaṇa Śastrî* (with a "Prefatory Note" by H. C. *Norman*) in JASB 1910, p. 57 ff. *Cf. Gooneratne* in PTS 1884, p. 50 f.; *Pavolini* in GSAI 11, 1897, p. 35 ff.

[5]) He is also the author of the Samanta-Kūṭavaṇṇanā, a description of the Adam's Peak, published in Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, May 1893.

the favourite mixture of prose and verse. Each tale or sermon ends with an exhortation, *e.g.*, "O friends, never tire of doing good;" or, "Even a cruel tiger, feeding on the flesh of others, was wise, and he was admitted into heaven by reason of his compassion. Therefore be ever merciful towards men; for this will bring you blessings and happiness in the forms of existence." (II, 5). The Buddha-worship in some of the legends differs in no way from that of the Mahāyāna, nor from the Viṣṇu-Bhakti of the Bhāgavatas, *e.g.*, in the story of the snake that is tamed by the one word "Buddha." Side by side with many somewhat naïve legends, there are also in the collection a good number of stories of great merit, some of which are also interesting on account of their parallels in universal literature. Thus, here again, we find the universally known story of the grateful animals and the ungrateful human being, with which we already met in the Jātaka. Some of the stories are borrowed from earlier works, such as Buddhaghosa's commentaries, or the Mahāvaṃsa.

The Jātaka book was the inexhaustible source from which Buddhist poets, writers and compilers drew again and again. Thus the poet Sīlavaṃsa of Ava, in the 15th century, wrote a poem Buddhālaṃkāra, based on the Sumedha-Kathā in the Nidāna-Kathā. About the same time the poet Raṭṭhasāra of Ava produced a few poetical versions of Jātakas. Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, who was born in 1578 in Burma, wrote a poetical version of the Vessantara-Jātaka when he was a fifteen-year-old novice.[1] Even the Rājādhirāja-Vilāsinī, a prose work written at the request of the Burmese king Bodōpayā, who ascended the throne in 1782, takes the Jātaka book as its chief source, though the author, in order to show his erudition, diligently used the entire literature from the Suttas down to the latest commentaries, as well as all sorts of learned Pāli

[1] *Bode.* l.c., 43 f., 53.

and Sanskrit works on grammar, astronomy and other sciences.[1]

Buddhist Literature in Pure and Mixed Sanskrit

Now, though the Pāli literature of India, Ceylon and Burma, is an unusually rich and extensive literature, it must nevertheless be admitted that it does but represent the literature of one Buddhist sect, namely that of the Theravādins. Other schools and sects used other Middle Indian dialects,[2] and some of the most prominent schools produced works of literature written partly in Sanskrit and partly in a Middle Indian dialect assimilated to Sanskrit which, to use *Senart's* term, we may call "Mixed Sanskrit."[3] Many large works of this literature have come down to us, but in some cases only fragments remain. In the North and North-West of India there were great centres of learning, such as the universities of Nālanda and Takkasilā (Taxila) where for hundreds of years not only all branches of secular knowledge, especially medicine, but also the philosophical and theological literature of the Buddhists were cultivated with great zeal. Indian Pandits went thence to Tibet and China, learned Tibetan and Chinese, and translated Sanskrit works into these languages. Chinese pilgrims like Hsüan Tsang learned Sanskrit at Nālanda, and

---

[1]) *Bode*. l.c., 78 ff.

[2]) According to Vinītadeva (8th century A.D.) the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit, the Mahāsaṅghikas Prākrit, the Sammitīyas Apabhraṃśa and the Sthaviravādins (*i.e.*, Theravādins) Paiśācī. *Cf.* Ryukan *Kimura*. A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Calcutta, 1927, p. 7; R. *Pischel* in SBA 1904, p. 808.

[3]) It was formerly generally called "Gāthā dialect" (see above, Vol. I. p 47 f.), which is the more inapt, as it is widely used in inscriptions too. *Cf.* S. *Lefmann* in ZDMG 29, 1875, 212 ff.; E. *Senart*, JA 1882, s. 7, t. XIX, 238 ff., 1886, s. 8, t. VIII, p. 318 ff.; *Kern*, SBE 21, p. XIV ff.; *Bühler*, Ep. Ind. I, 1892, 239, 377; II, 34; *Hoernle* and *Bhandarkar*, Ind. Ant. 12, 1883, pp. 89 f., 205f., 139 ff.; 17, 1888, p. 36 ff.; J. *Wackernagel*, Altindische Grammatik, I, Göttingen, 1896, p. XXXIX ff.

translated Buddhist texts into Chinese.[1] Some of the Sanskrit works which were produced there, and the originals of which are lost, would not be known to us but for the Tibetan and Chinese texts. The finds of manuscripts in Central Asia, include fragments not only of Sanskrit texts, but also of translations of Indian works in Central Asiatic languages.[2]

By far the greater part of this literature written in pure and "mixed" Sanskrit, and which, for the sake of brevity we term "Buddhist Sanskrit literature," either belongs to the Mahāyāna or has at least come under its influence to a greater or lesser degree.[3] For this reason, it is essential to premise a few remarks as to the schism of Buddhism into its two great sections, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, if we desire to attain to a true understanding of this literature.

---

[1]) *cf.* Phanindranath *Bose*, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, Madras, 1923; The Indian Teachers in China, Madras, 1923; and Prabhatkumar *Mukherjee*, Indian Literature Abroad, in Ind. Hist. Qu., Vols. I-III, 1925-1927.

[2]) Thus fragments of Buddhist texts have been found in two languages hitherto unknown, which are now termed "Kuchean" and "Khotanese" after Kuchar and Khotan, the places in Eastern Turkestan where they were discovered, as the names "Tokharian," "North Aryan," "East Indian" and "Śakian," suggested by various scholars have not been generally accepted (*Cf.* Sten *Konow* in Festschrift Windisch, p. 96 f.; *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, I, p. IX ff.). Fragments in "Kuchean" have been published by S. *Lévi* in JA 1911, s. 10, t. XVII, 138 ff., 431 ff.; t. XIX, 1912, 101ff; JRAS 1913, 109 ff.; and in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, I, pp. 357ff., 365 ff.; Fragments in "Khotanese" by *Konow* and *Hoernle* in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, I, pp. 214 ff., 289 ff., 395 ff.; also by E. *Leumann*, Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literature, Strassburg, 1912; Maitreyasamiti, Strassburg, 1919, and Buddhistische Literatur, Nordarisch und Deutsch, I, Leipzig, 1920 (AKM XV, 2). A Soghdian version of the Vessantara-Jātaka has been edited and translated by R. *Gauthiot* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, pp. 163 ff., 430 ff; see also Le Sūtra des causes et des effets du bien et du mal, éd. et trad. d'après les textes sogdiens, chinois et tibétains par R. *Gauthiot* et P. *Pelliot*, Paris (Mission Pelliot) I, 1920; II, 1926. Buddhist texts in the Uigurian language have been published by H. *Stönner* in SBA 1904, p. 1282 ff. and F. W. K. *Müller*, Uigurica I and II, in ABA 1908 and 1910. E. *Sieg* and W. *Siegling*, to which scholars is due the credit of having proved "Tokharian" ("Kuchean") to be an Indo-European language, (SBA 1908, p. 915 ff.) have published fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit texts from the finds at Turfan: Tocharische Sprachreste, I, Die Texte, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921.

[3]) For our earliest knowledge of this literature, which is preserved chiefly in Nepal, we are indebted to Brian Houghton *Hodgson*, who lived in Nepal from 1821 to 1843, and rendered equally signal services as a statesman, geographer, zoologist, ethnographer and

To the earlier Buddhist schools, whose main doctrines coincide with those of the Theravāda as it has come down in the Pāli Canon, individual liberation, Nirvāṇa, was the most complete salvation; and the state of the Arhat, who even during his mortal life is accorded a foretaste of Nirvāṇa, was the goal of all striving, a goal attainable only to the few, by the aid of certain spiritual experiences which can only be acquired in the monastic life. This doctrine is not rejected by the adherents of the Mahāyāna; but, though it is acknowledged to have originated with Buddha,[1] it is described as the

investigator of Indian languages and antiquities. He was instrumental in procuring numerous Buddhist manuscripts for Indian and European libraries, and especially for Paris, where they were turned to excellent use by Eugène *Burnouf* (Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien, 2. èd., Paris, 1876). At about the same time (1824) as Hodgson made his discoveries which so essentially promoted the knowledge of Buddhist literature, the celebrated Hungarian Alexander Csoma de *Körös*, after wandering on foot from Hungary to Tibet, had just begun to open up the Buddhist literature of Tibet. Shortly afterwards, the Pāli literature of Ceylon, too, was opened by George *Turnour*. Information regarding the contents of numerous manuscripts of Buddhist Sanskrit literature is given by *Rājendralāla Mitra*, The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, Calcutta, 1882; C. *Bendall*, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in Cambridge, Cambridge, 1883; and *Haraprasāda Śāstrī*, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, Buddhist Mannscripts, Calcutta, 1917. The Tibetan translations in the Kanjure are described by A. Csoma de *Körös*, Asiatic Researches, Vol. 20, Calcutta, 1836, and L. *Feer*, in AMG, t. 5, Paris, 1883. *Cf.* also H. *Beckh*, Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften I, Handschriftenverzeichnis der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin, Bd. 24, Berlin, 1914. A considerable amount of information about the later literature of Buddhism from Tibetan sources, is afforded us by Tāranātha in his work "History of Buddhism in India" completed in 1608, translated from the Tibetan into German by A. *Schiefner*, St. Petersburg, 1869; translated from the German in Ind. Hist. Qu. 3, 1927. On the Chinese trsnslations see Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Oxford, 1883; E. Denison *Ross*, Alphabetical List of the Titles of Works in the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka, being an Index to Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue and to the 1905 Kioto Reprint of the Buddhist Canon, Calcutta, 1910; and Probodhchandra *Bagchi*, Le canon bouddhique en Chine, les traductions, I, Paris, 1927. Sino-Indica Publications de l'Université de Calcutta, 1. Among the most famous translators are Dharmarakṣa, 265-313 A.D., Kumārajīva, 344-431 A.D., Hsüan-Tsang, 630-645 in India, his translations 645-661, and I-tsing, 671-695 in India, his translations 700-712. On Kumārajīva s. S. *Lévi* in JA 1913, s. 11 t. II, p. 334 ff. translated by Phanindranath *Bose*, Calcutta, 1922, and J. *Nobel* in SBA 1917, 206 ff.

[1]) Hsüan-Tsang gives a classification of the sacred writings of the Mahāyāna, in which the Śrāvaka-Piṭaka, *i.e.*, the Canon of the Hīnayāna, is also included. *Cf.* S. *Lévi* and Ed. *Chavannes* in JA, sér. II, t. VIII, 1916, p. 5 ff.

Hīnayāna, *i.e.*, the lesser (hīna), the inadequate "vessel" (yāna), which does not suffice to steer all beings to the end of suffering. What they teach, is the Mahāyāna, the "great vessel," which is fit to conduct a larger number of beings, indeed the whole of the teeming mass of humanity, safely over the suffering of the world. This new doctrine which, according to the claims of its adherents, is based upon a profounder interpretation of the old texts, or upon the profounder teachings of Gotama Buddha, which he imparted only to the elect among his disciples, sets up the ideal of the Bodhisattva in the stead of that of the Arhat. Not only the monk, but every human being, can make it his aim to be reborn as a Bodhisattva, a "being destined for enlightenment," *i.e.*, a candidate for enlightenment, in order to bring salvation to all men. Now, if this aim is to be within the reach of the many, then there must be more convenient means of attaining it than are provided in the Hīnayāna. Thus, according to the teachings of the Mahāyāna, even in the householder in the midst of family life, the merchant, the artisan, the king, nay, even the labourer, the pariah, can attain salvation, on the one hand by practising pity and friendliness to all beings, by exceptional generosity and self-denial, and on the other hand by faithful and devoted worship of the Buddha, the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas.[1] Though, as we have seen, Buddha is frequently described as a superhuman being, even in the Pāli Canon, it is nevertheless the enlightenment which

[1]) We see here the influence of the doctrine of Bhakti, known to us from the Bhagavad-Gītā, and it is most probable that it was the Bhagavad-Gītā itself which influenced the development of the Mahāyāna. *Cf.* above, Vol. I, p. 431 ff; *Kern*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 122. Some scholars assume that outside influences, too, contributed towards the moulding of the Mahāyāna; but a hypothesis of this nature is not necessary, and cannot be proved. *Cf.* S. *Lévi*, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, II, p. 16 ff.: *Kennedy*, JRAS 1902, p. 377 ff.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, p. 445 ff.; A.B. *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 217. On the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in general, see *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 1915, 330 ff. and R. *Kimura*, A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna *etc.*, Calcutta, 1927.

first makes him a superman, with power to perform many a miracle, and finally he enters into Nirvāṇa, leaving behind him only his doctrine, and at all events his relics, as objects of worship. The Lokottaravādins, who were still adherents of the Hīnayāna, went further than this. They regarded the Buddhas not as ordinary men, but as supernatural (lokottara) beings, who descend to earth for a certain period, in order to partake of all human experiences. In the Mahāyāna, on the other hand, the Buddhas are from the outset nothing but divine beings, and their sojourn on earth and their entry into Nirvāṇa are purely and simply sportive and a delusion. Furthermore, whilst the Hīnayāna already makes mention of a number of Buddhas, predecessors of Śākyamuni in earlier æons of the world's history, the Mahāyāna speaks of thousands, nay, milliards of Buddhas. In addition, the Mahāyāna Buddhists worship as divine beings countless myriads of Bodhisattvas, beings destined for enlightenment, endowed with the "perfections" (pāramitās), who in their pity towards human beings, refused to enter into Nirvāṇa. Add to these also Hindu deities, especially from the cycle of Śiva, which became associated with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and with them filled the Buddhist pantheon. This newly originated mythology, the new Bodhisattva ideal, and the Buddha worship (Buddha-Bhakti) which now came more and more into prominence, all these combined form the popular side of the Mahāyāna. Even as this side was already prepared in the Hīnayāna, but found its further development under the influence of Hinduism, in the same way the philosophical side of the Mahāyāna is merely an elaboration of Hīnayāna doctrines under the influence of Brahmanical philosophy. Early Buddhism had explained the origin of suffering or the discords of existence by the Paṭiccasamuppāda,[1]

[1]) Sanskrit Pratītya-sam-utpāda, "the dependently-co-ordinated-origination" (Stcherbatsky). The usual translation "formula of causality" is not quite correct, for

i.e., the formula in which it is shown that all the elements of being originate only in mutual interdependence. The Hīnayāna derives from this formula the doctrine of Anattatā, of the "Non-Self," *i.e.*, the doctrine that there is no independent and permanent ego, but merely a succession of corporeal and psychical phenomena which change every moment. The Mahāyāna derives from the same formula the doctrine of Śūnyatā, *i.e.*, the doctrine that "all (is) void" (sarvaṃ śūnyam) meaning "devoid" of independent reality.[1]

Buddhist Sanskrit literature is, however, by no means exclusively Mahāyānist. There is also a number of important Hīnayāna texts, which are written in pure and mixed Sanskrit.

Remnants of the Sanskrit Canon.

In the first place the Sarvāstivāda school[2] of the Hīnāyana, which had its adherents more especially in Kashmir and Gandhāra, and spread thence to Central Asia, Tibet

---

the doctrine is not of a succession of cause and effect, but is that of a mutually interdependent conditionality. The established formula runs thus: "If there is this, then there appears that." *Cf.* Th. *Stcherbatsky*, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Leningrad, 1927, p. 39 ff.

[1]) *Stcherbatsky* (l. c., pp. 40 f., 42 f.) renders "Śūnyatā" by "relativity," because, according to this doctrine, nothing real can be stated of objects, but only relations. Max *Walleser* (Die buddhistische Philosophie, Vol. II. Heidelberg, 1911, p. 111) calls this doctrine "negativity," because it simultaneously denies existence and non-existence.

[2]) The literal meaning of Sarvāstivāda is "the all-is doctrine," the doctrine that everything exists permanently. *I-tsing* (A Record of the Buddhist Religion, transl. by J. *Takakusu*, Oxford, 1896, pp. XXIV, 8 ff., 20) calls it Āryamūlasarvāstivāda, and he mentions the schools of the Mūla-Sarvastivādas, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahiśāsakas and the Kāśyapīyas, as its sub-divisions. The relationship between the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda is, however, by no means clear. *Cf Takakusu*, ERE XI, p. 198 ff.; *Lévi* in T'oung Pao, sér. 2, t. VIII, 1907, p. 114 f., N. *Dutt*, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, p. 271 n. and table to p. 224. In the Buddhist dictionary Mahāvyutpatti, para. 275, a list of the schools begins with: Āryasarvāstivādāḥ, Mūlasarvāstivādāḥ.

and China, had a Sanskrit Canon of its own. Though no complete copy of this canon has come down to us, we know it firstly, from many fragments, large and small, which have been discovered among the manuscripts and block-prints brought from Eastern Turkestan by M.A. (Sir Aurel) Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, P. Pelliot, and others ; [1] secondly, from quotations in other Buddhist Sanskrit works, such as Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna and Lalita-Vistara, and lastly, from Chinese and Tibetan translations.[2] The principal texts of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Canon were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by the Chinese pilgrim *I-tsing* in the years 700-712.[3] There are, however, Chinese translation of single texts dating from the middle of the 2nd century onwards, and there were adherents of the Sarvāstivāda in India as early as the 2nd century B.C. [4] In wording and in the arrangement of the texts, the Sanskrit Canon evinces great similarity to the Pāli Canon, but on the other hand, there are many points of difference too. A feasible explanation of this is that both canons had a common source, probably

---

[1]) *Cf.* W. *Geiger*, Die archaeologischen und literarischen Funde in Chinesisch-Turkestan und ihre Bedeutung für die orientalistische Wissenschaft, Erlangen (Rede beim Antritt des Prorektorats) 1912; H. *Oldenburg* in NGGW 1912, 171 ff.; H. *Lüders*, Uber die literarischen Funde von Ostturkestan, in SBA 1914, p. 85 ff.; A. F. Rud. *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, I, Oxford, 1916.

[2]) *Cf. Oldenberg* in ZDMG 52, 1898, 654 ff., 662 ff.; M. *Anesaki* in OC XIII, Hamburg, 1902, p. 61; Le Muséon, N. S. VI, 1905, p. 23 ff.; VII, 1906, p. 33 ff.; JRAS 1901, p. 895 ff.

[3]) J. *Takakusu*, A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing translated, p. XXXVII. *Cf.* Ed. *Huber* in BEFEO VI, 1906, pp. 1 ff., 36; S. *Lévi* in T'oung Pao, sér. 2, t. V, 1904, p. 297 ff.; t. VIII, 1907, p. 110 ff. The Chinese "Tripiṭaka," though also divided into a Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma, does not, however, mean the same as the Pāli Tipiṭaka, for it contains many non-canonical texts besides the canonical ones, in fact even Brahmanical philosophical treatises (s. *Takakusu* in JRAS 1896, p. 415). In the Tibetan Kanjur, too, which is also designated as a "Tripiṭaka" and consists of a Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma, much is included which does not admit of comparison with the Tipiṭaka, and was certainly not a part of the Canon.

[4]) A Sarvāstivādin ācārya Buddhila is mentioned in inscriptions on the lion capitol in Mathurā dating from the 2nd century A.D., s. F.W. *Thomas*, Ep. Ind. 9, 1907-8, p. 135 ff.

the lost Māgadhī Canon, from which first the Pāli Canon branched off in one part of India, and then, later on, the Sanskrit Canon in another district.

Fragments of the Prātimokṣa-Sūtra of the Sarvāstivādins, as well as other texts of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sanskrit Canon, have been found in Central Asia (Eastern Turkestan), and a few in Nepal too. It is also possible to reconstruct the Prātimokṣa-Sūtra from Chinese and Tibetan translations. Both the Sanskrit Canon of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptas and Mahā-Saṅghikas, show manifold divergences in separate details from the Pāli Canon and from one another, not only as regards the rules of the Prātimokṣa, but also as regards the rules of the Vinaya in general. Nevertheless, the original stock of rules is one and the same.[1] It is in the stories prefaced to the rules in order to relate on what occasion the Buddha proclaimed the rules in question, that the texts show greater divergences. The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya contained many legends having reference to the conversion of Kashmir and North-western India to Buddhism.[2] Some of these legends are also to be

[1]) The Sanskrit text of the Prātimokṣa-Sūtra has been edited by L. *Finot* on the basis of the fragments of manuscripts found by *Pelliot* in Central Asia, and has been translated into French, with the Chinese version of Kumārajīva, by Ed. *Huber*, in JA ser. 11, t. II, 1913, pp. 465-558 ; a fragment from M. A. Stein's collection, by *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1913, p. 843 ; a fragment in the Kuchean language, by S. *Lévi* in JA s. 10, t. XIX, 1912, 101 ff.; JRAS 1913, p. 109 ff.; Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, p. 357 ff. E. *Waldschmidt*, Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Leipzig 1926, has edited the, fragments of manuscripts of the Prātimokṣa of the nuns, which were found at Turfan, and compared them with the corresponding texts of all the other schools. For the Tibetan version of the Prātimokṣa, see G. *Huth*, Die tibetische Version der Naiḥsargika-prāyaścittika-dharmāḥ, Strassburg 1891. See also *Oldenberg* in ZDMG 52, 1898, p. 644 ff.

[2]) Cf. J. *Przyluski* and S. *Lévi* in JA s. 11, t. IV, 1914, p. 493 ff. In addition, the reign of Kaniṣka is prophesied, the seven-day week is mentioned, among other things, from which *Lévi* (T'oung Pao, s. 2, Vol. VIII, 1907, p. 115 f.) concludes that the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya was not completed before the 3rd century A.D. However, as there were already Sarvāstivādins at a much earlier period (see above, p. 232), it is most likely that there was an earlier Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya too, and possibly the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya was merely a later version of that work.

found in the Divyāvadāna, which borrowed a large portion of its tales from the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda.[1] The Vinayapiṭaka also includes the Śikṣās and Saṅghakarmans corresponding to the Pāli Sikkhās and Kammavācās, and fragments of these have been brought to light in Central Asia.[2]

The Nikāyas of the Pāli Canon find their parallel in the Āgamas of the Sanskrit Canon; the Dīrghāgama corresponding to the Dīghanikāya, the Madhyamāgama to the Majjhimanikāya, the Saṃyuktāgama to the Saṃyuttanikāya, and the Ekottarāgama to the Aṅguttaranikāya. Fragments of various Sūtras of the Dīrghāgama (Saṃgīti-Sūtra, Āṭanātiya-Sūtra), of the Madhyamāgama (Upāli-Sūtra, Śuka-Sūtra), of the Saṃyuktāgama and the Ekottarāgama, have been found in Central Asia.[3] These fragments are not always in agreement with the corresponding Pāli texts. The comparison of the Chinese Āgamas with the corresponding Pāli Nikāyas, has also shown both agreement to a

---

[1]) Fragments corresponding to the Mahā-Vagga of the Vinayapiṭaka, found in the Stein collection, have been edited by *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1913, p. 550 ff. A fragment of a Buddhist ritual of ordination, corresponding to the Culla-Vagga X, 17, in Sanskrit, was discovered by C. *Bendall* in Nepal and edited in Album Kern, p. 373 ff. Various fragments of the Vinaya, ed. by *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, pp. 4-16. A fragment of the Bhikṣuṇikā-dharma-vacana, ed. by Miss C. M. *Ridding* and *La Vallée Poussin* in BSOS I, 1920, p. 123 ff. See also S. *Lévi* in T'oung Pao, s. 2, Vol. VIII, 1907, p. 110 ff.; N. *Dutt*, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools, p. 280 ff.

[2]) Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1913, 843 ff.; *Lüders* in SBA 1922, p. 243.

[3]) Fragments of the Āgamas of the Sanskrit Canon were discovered amongst the remains of MSS. found in Eastern Turkestan, and edited by R. *Pischel* in SBA 1904, pp. 808 f., 1138 ff.; S. *Lévi* in T'oung Pao, s. 2, Vol. V, 1904, p. 297 ff.; JA s. 10, t. XVI, 1910, pp. 433 ff., 450 ff.; JRAS 1911, p. 764 ff.; L. de *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1911, p. 772; 1912, p. 1063 ff.; 1913, p. 569 ff.; *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, pp. 16-52. A fragment of the Śroṇa-Sūtras of the Saṃyukta-Āgama (cf. Saṃyuttanikāya 22, 49 f. = Vol. III, p. 48 ff.) has been edited by *La Vallée Poussin* from MSS. of Cecil *Bendall's* collection, in JRAS 1907, 375 ff. Quotations from the Saṃyukta and Ekottara Āgamas have been traced by S. *Lévi* in the commentary on Asaṅga's Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra (ed. *Lévi*, on XVI, 21 f., 75). V. A. *Smith* and W. *Hoey* found Buddhist Sūtras in Sanskrit, written on bricks, in the ruins of Gopālpur, together with inscriptions which are dated between 350 and 400 A.D. (JASB, proceedings 1896, p. 99 ff.).

considerable extent, and notable divergences.[1] In the first place there is no agreement as regards the order of the Sūtras in the separate Āgamas In the Saṃyuktāgama the division into Vargas and Saṃyuktas is totally different, and there are Saṃyuktas in the Pāli which are missing in the Chinese version; on the other hand, there are some in the Chinese which do not occur in the Pāli.[2] The greatest differences are those which we find between the Ekottarāgama and the Aṅguttaranikāya. On the whole it may be said that the points of agreement and the divergences prove that the Sanskrit Āgamas and the Pāli Nikāyas were compiled from the same materials, but were arranged in different ways in the different schools. Now in the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are also texts which, though bearing the same titles as the corresponding Pāli texts, are nevertheless essentially different. Thus there is a Brahmajāla-Sūtra, which was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, and is held in high esteem in China and Japan but which teaches Buddhist ethics in the spirit of the Mahāyāna. On the other hand, there are in the Abhidharma-Kośa-Vyākhyā, several quotations from a Brahmajāla-Sūtra, which must have corresponded to the Pāli text.[3] The Chinese Tripiṭaka contains ten different translations of the Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra. Three of these translations belong to the Hīnayāna and seven to the Mahāyāna; and the only thing they have in common is the external form, inasmuch as they contain speeches which the

---

[1]) See especially M. *Anesaki*, The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 35, Part 3, 1908, and above, p. 232, note 3.

[2]) The Sagāthavarga in the three Chinese versions of the Saṃyuktāgama contains 318 Sūtras, out of which 244 coincide with those of the Pāli text. It is impossible to determine whether the quotations traced by *Anesaki* (Le Muséon, N. S. VII, 1906, 38 ff.) in the Chinese Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Śāstra, are derived from a Pāli or Prākrit text of the Saṃyutta and Suttanipāta. For the Saṃyukta Āgama, see also *Lévi* in T'oung Pao, s. 2, Vol. V, 1904, p. 297 ff.

[3]) Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1903, 359 ff., *Anesaki* in ERE, Vol. V, p. 452.

Buddha is supposed to have uttered prior to his death (parinirvāṇa).[1]

The Sanskrit Canon also contained a "Kṣudraka" corresponding to the Khuddakanikāya.[2] We do not know whether this included all those texts which in the Pāli Canon are counted as belonging to the fifth Nikāya; but we do know that the Sanskrit Canon also contained the Sanskrit texts Udāna, Dharmapada, Sthavira-Gāthā, Vimānavastu and Buddha-Vaṃśa, corresponding to the Pāli texts Udāna, Dhammapada, Thera-Gāthā, Vimāna-Vatthu and Buddha-Vaṃsa. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it is true, there is no single text to correspond to the Suttanipāta; but more than half of the texts included in the Suttanipāta occur in the Āgamas, for instance the texts corresponding to the Aṭṭhaka-Vagga and the Pārāyana. Fragments of the Sanskrit version of the two last-named have been found in Eastern Turkestan too.[3] A collection corresponding to the Itivuttakas was translated into Chinese by Hsüan Tsang in about 650 A.D.[4] Considerable

---

[1]) Cf. F. Max *Müller* in SBE, Vol. 10 (I), p. xxxi note; J. *Edkins* in JRAS 1881, p. 66 ff.; R. *Kimura*, in JDL 4, 1921, 188 f. note, and Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, p. 94 note. The Hīnayāna includes the translation of Po-fâ-tsu (290-306 A.D.) and that of Fa-hien (between 317 and 420 A.D.); translated into Italian, after the last-named, by Carlo *Puini* in GSAI 21, 1908, p. 59 ff.; 22, 1909, p. 1 ff. The earliest Vaipulya-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra was translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (between 205 and 316 A.D.). Specimens of it are given by S. *Beal* in Ind. Ant. 5, 1876, p. 222 ff. and SBE Vol. 19, p. 365 ff.

[2]) A Kṣudraka is mentioned by Hsüan Tsang as the fifth Āgama of the Śrāvaka-piṭaka, s. *Lévi* in JA s. 11, t. VIII, 1916, p. 20. Nevertheless, the "four Āgamas" are especially emphasized as the real Āgamas, as for instance, when the Divyāvadāna makes frequent mention (pp. 17, 331, 333) of the *āgamacatuṣṭayam*, cf. *Oldenberg* in ZDMG 52, 654 f.

[3]) Cf. M. *Anesaki* in JPTS 1906-7, p. 50 f.; *Hoernle* in JRAS 1916, p. 709 ff.; 1917, p. 134. In the Sanskrit version of the Aṭṭhaka-Vagga (it is mentioned as the arthavargīyāṇi Sūtrāṇi in the Divyāvadāna, p. 20) prose narratives precede the verses, but there are none such in the Pāli. There are also other divergences from the Pāli text. The Sanskrit text is shorter.

[4]) K. *Watanabe* in JPTS 1906-7, p. 44 ff. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there is a work Ṣaṭpāramitā-sannipāta-Sūtra (translated in 222 A.D.) which is a kind of Cariyāpiṭaka; s. R. *Kimura*, A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, p. 129, note 1.

quotations, forming a parallel to passages from the Khuddaka-pāṭha, the Vimāna-Vatthu, Buddha-Vaṃsa and Dhammapada, are to be found in the Mahāvastu.[1]

We glean from one of the Mahāvastu quotations, [2] that there was a Dharmapada in the Sanskrit Canon, divided into Vargas, after the style of the Pāli Dharmapada. This Sanskrit version was not identical with that of the Pāli Canon, but both versions had an original stock of verses in common, and were arranged on one and the same principle. The collection of verses which belonged to the original Canon, also served as a prototype and as a foundation for more comprehensive anthologies, which were compiled in later times, and were widely propagated in Central Asia, Tibet and China. Thus, for instance, there is a Chinese anthology with the same 26 sections (Vargas) as the Pāli Dhammapada though it has 13 additional sections.[3] Fragments of a Sanskrit anthology have been found in Central Asia, which were at first regarded as passages from recensions of the Dharmapada, but which in reality belong to the Udāna-Varga, which is known to us from a Tibetan translation. This anthology was compiled by Dharmatrāta, who, according to Tāranātha, is supposed to have lived in King Kaniṣka's day. In the Tibetan version, it contains not only 375 verses, corresponding to verses of the Dhammapada, but also the greater part of the verses of the Udāna, and numerous verses which have parallels in the Suttanipāta and other portions of the Pāli Canon.[4] Another

---

[1]) Mahāvastu, ed. *Senart*, I, 290 ff.; II, 191 ff.; I, 250 ff.; Quotations from "the Dharmapada" (sing.) or "the Dharmapadas" (plur.): II, 212; III, 91, 156, 434 ff.

[2]) III. 434 ff. Here a Sahasravarga is quoted from "the Dharmapadas;" it contains 24 verses, whilst the Sahassa-Vagga in the Pāli consists of only 16 verses. On the Dharmapada in Nepal, Tibet and China, s. *Oldenberg* in ZDMG 52, 1898, p. 662 ff.

[3]) Cf. Max *Müller* in SBE, Vol. 10 (1), p. 2 ff.; S. *Beal*, Texts from the Buddhist Canon commonly known as Dhammapada, London 1902; and the important study on the Dharmapada recensions by S. *Lévi* in JA. s. 10, t. XX, 1912, pp. 203-294.

[4]) Fragments of the Udānavarga, from finds in Central Asia, have been published by R. *Pischel*, Die Turfan-Rezensionen des Dhammapada, SBA 1908, p. 968 ff.; S. *Lévi* and

anthology was written in a Prākrit dialect, which is a later form of the North-west Indian dialect familiar to us from the Shāhbāzgarhī rock edicts of Aśoka, and compiled after the pattern, and with the help of the Dhammapada or some similar verse collection of the Sanskrit Canon, or the original Canon. Fragments of this anthology have come down to us in a few leaves of a manuscript written in the Kharoṣṭhī script, which M. Petroffsky and J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins had found at Khotan, and brought to Europe.[1]

It is a certainty that there were Jātakas too, in the Sanskrit Canon; but it must remain an open question whether this Canon ever included a Jātaka Book or a large collection of Jātakas of its own. It is doubtful, too, whether the collection of "seven Abhidharmas," which is translated in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, is also derived from the old Canon,

---

La Vallée Poussin in JA s. 10, t. XVI, 1910, p. 444 ff.; t. XVII, 1911, 431 ff.; t. XIX, 1912, p. 311 ff.; JRAS 1911, p. 758 ff; 1912. p. 355 ff. The Tibetan version of the Udānavarga has been translated into English by W. W. *Rockhill*, London 1883, and the Tibetan text was published by H. *Beckh*, Berlin 1911. Cf. A. *Schiefner* Über Vasubandhus Gāthāsaṃgraha, in Mélanges Asiatiques VIII (Bulletin XXV, 1878), pp. 559 f., 590 ff.; *La Vallée Poussin* in GGA 1912, 191 f.; *Lüders* in SBA 1914, p. 102; and *Seidenstücker*, Das Udāna, I, 1913, pp. 37, 71 ff. A voluminous anthology, about five times as large as the Pāli Dhammapada, is the *Dharmasamuccaya* by *Avalokitasiṃha*, who has also drawn from Mahāyāna sources; on a MS. of this work, found in Nepal, see Dharma Aditya *Dharmacarya* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 1, 1925, 422 ff., 677 ff.

[1]) The old Kharoṣṭhī manuscript, important from the points of view both of language and palaeography, has been edited by *Senart* in JA s. 9, t. XII, 1898, pp. 193 ff., 545 ff. This edition was the foundation for the new edition by Benimadhab *Barua* and Sailendranath *Mitra*, Calcutta 1921. The fragments found by *Petroffsky* were identified by S. d'*Oldenburg*, St. Petersburg 1907. On the "MS. Dutreuil de Rhins," cf. Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions, 14. mai 1895 et 15. avril 1898; *Senart*, OC XI Paris 1897, I, 1 ff.; G. *Bühler*, On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet, 2nd Ed., Strassburg 1898, p. 122 ff.; *Lüders* in NGGW 1899, p. 474 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in JRAS 1899, p. 426 ff.; R. O. *Franke* in ZDMG 60, 1906, p. 477 ff.; M. A. *Stein*, Ancient Khotan, Oxford 1907, I, 188; Jules *Bloch*, JA ser. 10, t. XIX, 1912, p. 331 ff.; *Konow* (Festschrift Windisch, p. 85 ff.) is of opinion that, though this anthology is composed in a dialect originating in the North-west of India, it was written in the neighbourhood of Khotan. Like *Bühler* (l.c.) he ascribes it to the 1st century A.D., whilst *Lüders* (SBA 1914, p. 101) thinks it was written in the 3rd century A.D. It is probably the earliest Indian manuscript which has been discovered so far.

for these Abhidharmas have nothing in common with the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon save the number seven and a few titles.[1]

The Canon of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins has thus only come down to us in an incomplete way, but as regards the other Buddhist sects, we do not know whether they had any set Canon at all. As far as we can see, each sect merely has one or several texts which pass as especially sacred, being regarded as a kind of "Bible," and which partly assimilated and partly displaced the old texts of a Tripiṭaka which they, too, acknowledged in principle.

The Mahāvastu.

One of the most important works which still belongs to the old school of the Hīnayāna is the Mahāvastu [2] or Mahāvastu-Avadāna.[3] The work calls itself a book "of the

[1]) J. *Takakusu*, JRAS 1905, p. 3 ff. and JPTS 1905, p. 67 ff. See above, p. 173.

[2]) The text has been edited by E. *Senart* in 3 vols., Paris 1882-1897, with detailed surveys of the contents in the Introductions and a valuable commentary. A survey of the contents has also been given by Rājendralāla *Mitra*, Sanskrit Buddhist Lit. of Nepal, pp. 115-161. See also A. *Barth* in RHR 11, 1885, 160 ff.; 42 1900, 51 f. (=Oeuvres I, 376 ff.; II, 334) and Journal des savants 1899, 459 ff., 517 ff., 623 ff., E. *Windisch*, Die Komposition des Mahāvastu, in ASGW XXVII, 1909, 467-511; *Oldenberg* in NGGW 1912, 123 ff.; L. de *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 328 ff.; Haraprasad *Śāstrī* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 1, 1925, 209 ff.

[3]) This is the title of the work in most of the colophons. In the text itself and also in some of the colophons, it is called Mahāvastu. Mahāvastu means "The great subjects," i.e., the main subjects of the Vinaya, that is to say the admission to the order, etc., and corresponds to the Mahā-Vagga of the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka and the Vinayavastu (beside Kṣudrakavastu, corresponding to the Culla-Vagga) of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, l.c., Mahāvastu-Avadāna means "The legends pertaining to the main subjects of the Vinaya." H. *Zimmer* (in ZII 3, 1925, 201 ff.) seeks to prove that avadāna means the same as nidāna, "origin," "original cause," and he explains mahāvastu as "the great fact of salvation." I consider this erroneous. The fact that the Chinese translators occasionally confused *nidāna* and *avadāna* (*cf.* S. *Lévi* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XX, p. 219) is no proof that these two expressions are identical. Moreover, in the Vinaya literature, vastu has the definite meaning of "subject of the Vinaya" and the "event" related in connection with this subject.

Vinayapiṭaka according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsāṅghikas." The Mahāsāṅghikas, *i.e.*, the adherents of the Mahāsāṅgha, "the great community," are according to unanimous tradition, the earliest schismatics. Among the sections into which they are subdivided, we find the Lokottaravādins, *i.e.*, those according to whose doctrine the Buddhas are "exalted above the world" (lokottara) and adapt themselves to worldly life only externally.[1] The biography of the Buddha, which is the chief content of the Mahāvastu, quite agrees with this doctrine, for it is profusely adorned with miracles. In this respect, to be sure, it differs little from those texts of the Pāli Canon which deal with the life of the Buddha. In both cases we hear of miracles accompanying the conception, birth and enlightenment, and the first conversions of the Buddha. The Mahāvastu agrees with the Nidāna-Kathā in that it treats the life of the Buddha in three sections.[2] The first of these begins with the life of the Bodhisattva at the time of Buddha Dīpaṅkara (I, 193 ff.) and tells of his existences at the times of the other former Buddhas. The second section (II, 1 ff.) introduces us to the heaven of the Tuṣita gods, where the Bodhisattva, there reborn, determines to attain rebirth in the womb of Queen Māyā, and tells of the miracles of the conception and birth of the prince, his departure from his home, his conflicts with Māra and the enlightenment which he finally attains under the Bodhi tree. Lastly, the third section (in Vol. III), agreeing in its main features with the Mahāvagga

---

[1]) "The perfectly enlightened ones have nothing in common with the world, but with the great Ṛṣis everything is exalted above the world," Mahāvastu I, 159, 2. "They wash their feet, though no dust clings to them, they sit in the shade, though the heat of the sun never oppresses them, they take nourishment, though hunger never troubles them, they use medicine, though they have no illness, etc;" *Windisch*, l.c., p. 470. According to Mahāv. I, 2, the Lokottaravādins belong to the "middle land" (madhyadeśa), *i.e.*, to the "sixteen countries" of Northern India. *Cf.* Mahāvastu I, 198.

[2]) See above, p. 186. However, the expressions *dūrenidāna*, *avidūrenidāna* and *santikenidāna* are not to be found in the Mahāvastu.

of the Vinayapiṭaka,[1] relates the history of the first conversions and the rise of the monastic community. This, too, is the reason why the Mahāvastu claims to belong to the Vinayapiṭaka, though apart from a few remarks on admission into the order, it contains next to nothing about the Vinaya, the rules of the Order. It corresponds to that part of the Vinayapiṭaka which tells the history of the rise of the Order.[2]

When we say that the main purpose of the Mahāvastu is to relate the life-story of the Buddha for the Lokottaravādins, this by no means exhausts the contents of the work, nor has any idea of its composition been given. Far from its being a specimen of artistic literature, the Mahāvastu should rather be described as a labyrinth, in which the thread of a connected narrative of the Buddha's life can only be discovered with some difficulty. This narrative is continually interrupted by other matters, especially numerous Jātakas and Avadānas, but also by dogmatic Sūtras. There is no apparent principle of systematic arrangement. Frequently there is not even an attempt made to establish any connection, however loose, between the various parts. Moreover, one and the same story, be it an episode of Buddha's life or a Jātaka, is very often told twice consecutively, first in prose and then again in verse, this latter form diverging sometimes more and sometimes less. Not only this, but in various places the same episodes recur

---

[1]) *Cf. Windisch*, l.c., 476 ff.

[2]) See above, p. 26 ff., and *Windisch*, l.c., pp. 473, 476 ff. Probably it is only this portion of the Vinayapiṭaka which has come down to us in the Mahāvastu. *Cf. Oldenberg* in NGGW 1912, 152. T. W. *Rhys Davids* (SBB III, 256 f.) advances the less likely theory that the Lokottaravādins revised only the introduction, because they took over the rules of the Vinaya themselves in their Pāli form, or in some form resembling the Pāli, just as they were, without any change. H. *Zimmer*, l.c., 209 ff., thinks that the presentation of Buddha's life with the preliminary conditions in previous existences, constitutes a "Vinaya" for those who wish to attain Buddha-hood (in the sense of the Mahāyāna, which, he says, is already foreshadowed in the Mahāvastu). There is no evidence anywhere for this use of the word vinaya.

several times with slight variations. Thus the legend of Buddha's birth is told no less than four times.[1] The language, too, is not unified. Though the entire work, the prose as well as the verse, is written in "mixed Sanskrit," this dialect is sometimes more and sometimes less akin to Sanskrit. In the verse it is more archaic.[2] As regards style, too, earlier and later portions of the work can be clearly distinguished.[3]

In spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that this work tells us scarcely anything new about the doctrine of the Buddha, nor even about special doctrines of the Lokottaravādins, this work is nevertheless of the utmost importance, because it has preserved many old traditions and old versions of texts which appear in the Pāli Canon too. Thus the departure of Prince Siddhārtha from his home (abhiniṣkramaṇa) is related in very archaic fashion, resembling the Majjhimanikāya (26 and 36).[4] Similarly we find there old versions of the "sermon of Benares," the Mahā-Govinda-Sutta (Dīghanikāya 19), the Dīgha-Nakha-Sutta (Majjhimanikāya 74), the Māra-Saṃyutta from the Saṃyuttanikāya, the Sahassa-Vagga from the Dhammapada, the Khuddaka-Pāṭha, the Pabbajjā, Padhāna and Khaggavisāṇa-Suttas from the Suttanipāta, and isolated portions of the Vimāna-Vatthu and of the Buddha-Vaṃsa.[5] The poems on the birth of the Buddha also main-

---

[1]) *Windisch*, Buddha's Geburt, pp. 106, 124 f.

[2]) *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 663. Haraprasad *Śāstrī* (Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 204 f.) rejects the term "vernacularized Sanskrit" or "Sanskritized vernacular" as applied to the language of the Mahāvastu. He regards it as a dialect which was actually spoken in Northern India in the 2nd century B.C.

[3]) *Cf. Oldenberg* in NGGW 1912, 123 ff.

[4]) II, 117. Immediately after it there is a second, later setting of the same Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra.

[5]) *Cf. Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 659 ff., 665 ff. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, 316 ff., 322 ff.; *J. Dutoit*, Die duṣkaracaryā des Bodhisattva, Strassburg 1905; J. *Charpentier* in WZKM 23, 1909, 33 ff. (Māra-Saṃyutta und Mahāvastu); *Rhys Davids*, SBB III, p. 256 ff. (on the Mahā-Govinda-Sutta).

tain the old ballad style. They are remnants of that old Buddhist ballad poetry which we have already met with so often.

The Mahāvastu is more especially valuable as a treasure-trove of Jātakas[1] and other narratives. A good half of the work consists of Jātakas, which are related partly in pure prose, partly in mixed prose and verse, sometimes first in prose and then again in verse. Here again we meet with the Bodhisattva now as a world-ruling king, now as a merchant's son, a Brāhmaṇa, or a Nāga prince, as a lion, an elephant, and so on. Many of the Jātakas are versions of those which we find in the Pāli Jātaka book, sometimes almost literally identical, sometimes with greater or lesser deviations. Thus the Śyāmaka-Jātaka (II, 209 ff.), the touching story of the Brāhman's son whom King Peliyakṣa kills with an arrow, is only a version of the Sāma-Jātaka with which we are familiar. The Kinnarī-Jātaka (II, 94 ff.) corresponds in character, though not in contents, to the Kinnara fairy tales of the Jātaka book. The Kusa-Jātaka appears once (II, 420 ff.) in a recension deviating considerably from the Pāli, a second time (III, 1 ff.) in a metrical version, which shows points of agreement with the Pāli Gāthās.[2] The story of Nalinī, who seduces Ekaśṛṅga (*i.e.* "Unicorn") has, in the Mahāvastu (III, 143 ff.) been watered down to a very pious legend, though it has still preserved old features which have vanished in the prose of the

---

[1]) *Cf.* S. d'*Oldenburg* in JRAS 1893, 335 ff., A. *Barth* in Journal des savants 1899, 625 ff.; J. *Charpentier*; Paccekabuddhageschichten, pp. 2 ff., 12 ff., 25 ff. and in Le monde oriental, III, 1909, p. 34 ff. *Charpentier* shows how the text of the Mahāvastu can often be corrected with the help of the Pāli text.

[2]) See avove, pp. 147 f., 133, 136 f. The story of Amarā, the smith's daughter (II, 83 ff.) corresponds to the Pāli Jātaka No. 387. The Markaṭa Jātaka (II, 246 ff.) is the fable of the monkey and the crocodile (Jāt. No. 208), see above, pp. 126, 163. The Śyāmaka-Jātaka translated from the Chinese Tripiṭaka by Ed. *Chavannes*, Cinq cents contes, t. I, p. 156 ff. On the Kusa-Jātaka in the Mahāvastu see *Charpentier* in WZKM 27, 1913, 94 f.

Pāli Jātaka of Isisiṅga.[1] As in the Pāli Tesakuṇa-Jātaka (No. 521) there is in the Mahāvastu also (I, 271 ff.) the childless King Brahmadatta, who instead of a son, gets three eggs, from which three very wise birds come forth, which instruct him in the duties of a king (rājadharma).[2]

However, there are many Jātakas and Avadānas in the Mahāvastu, which have no parallels in the Pāli. A very favourite theme in these is the glorification of the exceeding self-denial and generosity of the Bodhisattva. As King Arka, for instance, he presents to the Buddha of that time, 80,000 grottos (cave-temples) constructed of the seven kinds of precious stones (I, 54). On another occasion he gives away his wife and child merely in order to learn a wise saying (I, 91 f.). As a potter he is more pious than King Kṛkin, as he kills no living being, and sets up his pots at cross-roads, in order to fill them with rice and beans for hungry people; and when he hears that, during his absence, his parents have given to the Buddha the straw with which he had but lately re-thatched his hut, he rejoices for a whole month (I, 317 ff.). Some of the narratives remind us rather of the Brahmanical Purāṇas. Thus the description of hell at the beginning of the Mahāvastu shows various points of resemblance to that in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa.[3] The Rāja-Vaṃśa, the "history of the kings" (to whose race Śākyamuni belongs), begins in the true manner of the Purāṇas with an account of

---

[1]) *Lüders*, NGGW 1901, p. 20 ff., and above, p. 147.

[2]) In Mahābhārata I, 229 ff., we meet with four wise birds, the sons of a ṛṣi, who know the Veda, and sing hymns to the god Agni. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (see Vol. I, p. 560), four wise birds, sons of a ṛṣi, propound not only Yoga doctrines and all manner of other wisdom, but teachings of rājadharma too (Chapters 27-35).

[3]) See Vol. I, p. 562, and L. *Scherman*, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionslitteratur, p. 36. The visit of Maudgalyāyana (Pāli Moggallāna) to the eight hells, as well as his wanderings through the animal world, the world of the Pretas, the Asuras and the various classes of gods, may also be based on Pāli tradition, in which likewise Moggallāna is a saint who wanders through heaven and hell and all the worlds.

the creation (I, 338 ff.). The spirit of the Purāṇas is also breathed in the Jātaka (I, 283 ff.), in which a Ṛṣi Rakṣita, the Bodhisattva, attains to such miraculous powers, as a hermit, that he can touch the sun and the moon with his hands. The spirit of the Mahāyāna is very similar to that of the Purāṇas, and some narratives of the Mahāvastu exhibit that preference for phantasmagorias which is so characteristic of the Mahāyāna texts; we find splendid magical pictures, which show the miraculous power of the saints, and are, at the same time, to serve for the glorification of the Buddhas. The "sunshade stories" (chattravastu I, 253 ff.) are of this kind. After the Buddha has delivered the city of Śrāvastī from a dreadful plague caused by Yakṣas, gods and spirits hold sunshades over the Exalted One in order to honour him. The Buddha, however, with his usual kindness, uses his magic power to cause a Buddha to appear under each sunshade, so that each god thinks that the Buddha is sitting under his sunshade.

Now, although the Mahāvastu belongs to the Hīnayāna and contains much which could just as well, or actually does, appear in the Pāli texts of the Theravādins, it also contains much which savours of the Mahāyāna. The reason for many such traits is probably that the conception of Buddha prevalent among the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Lokottaravādins does actually represent a transition to the Mahāyāna. In other cases, however, we are most likely right in assuming that interpolation took place.[1] Thus we find in the first volume

[1]) Thus, for instance, the Avalokita-Sūtra (in two versions, II, 293 ff., 297 ff.), is cited as an independent Sūtra, in Śāntideva's Śikṣā-Samuccaya (ed. *Bendall*, pp. 89 f., 297 ff., with the title Avalokana-Sūtra), and in the Tibetan, too, it appears as an independent work. Hence it is probably interpolated in the Mahāvastu, the more so because, in the colophon at the end of the second version it is called parivāra ("accessory," see above, p. 33, the Parivāra of the Vinayapiṭaka). (See *Senart*, II, p. xxvi, note 3.) Though the text in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya agrees in the main with that of the Mahāvastu, there are nevertheless such striking divergences of particular passages, that it cannot possibly be an extract from the Mahāvastu.

(I, 63-193) a large section on the ten Bhūmis or steps, which a Bodhisattva must pass through, and a description of the virtues which he must possess in each of the ten steps.[1] Inserted into this section is a Buddhānusmṛti (I, 163 ff.), *i.e.*, a hymn to Buddha, which differs in no wise from the Stotras to Viṣṇu or Śiva in the Purāṇas. It is also in the spirit of the Mahāyāna when (II, 362 ff.) it is said that the purity of the Buddha is so great that the worship of the Exalted One is sufficient for the attainment of Nirvāṇa, and that one already acquires endless merit by merely walking round a stūpa and worshipping it by means of floral offerings, and so on. It reminds us of countless passages in Mahāyāna texts, when we read (III, 137 ff.) that, from the Buddha's smile, there radiate beams which illuminate the entire Buddha regions (Buddhakṣetra). The mention of a great number of Buddhas, and the saying that the Bodhisattvas are not begotten by father and mother, but originate immediately through their qualities,[2] also remind us of the Mahāyāna.

From the way in which the Mahāvastu is composed it follows that the date of the origin of the work is hard to determine. Many circumstances indicate great antiquity, notably the language itself, and the fact that the work belongs to the Lokottaravāda school. The fact that the work is written entirely in " mixed Sanskrit," whilst in the Mahāyāna texts this dialect alternates with pure Sanskrit, is a sign of higher antiquity: for, as Barth[3] says, Sanskrit is only an intruder as far as the Buddhist texts are concerned. Those numerous

---

[1]) The presentation of the Bhūmis in the Mahāvastu diverges from that in the texts of the Mahāyāna; hence this is probably a transition from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna. A Tibetan Mahāyāna author, whose object is to prove that the doctrine of the Bhūmis was not a Mahāyānistic innovation, alludes to the fact that they already occur in the Mahāvastu. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin* in ERE II, 743 ff.; VIII, 330 note; J. *Rahder*, Daśabhūmika-Sūtra, Leuven 1926, p. iii ff.

[2]) *Cf. Windisch*, Buddha's Geburt, p. 97 note, 100 f. and p. 193 f.

[3]) Journal des savants, 1899, p. 459.

pieces which the Mahāvastu has in common with the Pāli Canon, and which hark back to a common earlier source, are undoubtedly old. Thus the Gāthās of the Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-Sūtra (I, 357 ff.) are probably earlier than those of the corresponding Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta in the Pāli Suttanipāta. But when in the Mahāvastu these verses are sung by 500 dying Pratyeka-Buddhas, the refrain " May he wander lonely like a rhinoceros " sounds strange enough coming from their lips, and it is not likely that the prose setting is as old as the Gāthās. The Mahāyānistic features mentioned above, as well as some passages which seem to be influenced by sculptures of the Gandhāra art, indicate the period belonging to the early centuries after Christ.[1] We are brought down to the fourth century A.D. by the references to the Huns, to the Chinese language and script, and the designation of the astrologer as " Horā-pāṭhaka " (III, 178).[2] The nucleus of the work is old, however, and probably originated as far back as the 2nd century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later, by additions and interpolations. It is only the embellishment which is borrowed from the Mahāyāna, while only a weak admixture of actual Mahāyāna doctrines and none of the Mahāyāna mythology is to be found in the Mahāvastu.

---

[1]) For instance, in a flower miracle, the lotus blossoms fall in the shape of a circle around the halo of the Buddha. The halo was only introduced into India by Greek artists. *Cf.* A. *Foucher*, JA. 1903, s. 10, t. II, p. 208 f. and L'art grécobouddhique du Gandhāra, t. I, Paris 1905, p. 622. Also the numerous Buddhas under sunshades (see above, p. 245) are reminiscent of monuments of art.

[2]) According to *Senart* (1, p. 469 f.) we should regard Mahāvastu I, 120 as an allusion to the Mahāyāna school of the Yogācāras, which would indicate the 4th century. It is possible, however, that Yogācāra is used here merely with its general meaning of "practising Yoga." *Cf. La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 329 note 4; Haraprasad *Śāstrī* in Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 205.

The Lalita-Vistara.

While the Mahāvastu itself claims to be a work of the Hīnayāna, but has assimilated features of the Mahāyāna, the Lalita-Vistara[1] is regarded as one of the most sacred Mahāyāna texts, calls itself a Vaipulya-Sūtra ("discourse of great extent")—this being an ordinary term for Mahāyāna Sūtras—and exhibits all the peculiarities of a Mahāyāna Sūtra, although the work originally contained the life-story of the Buddha for the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna.[2] However, the mere title Lalita-Vistara, *i.e.*, "the detailed narration of the sport (of the Buddha)," corresponds to Mahāyānistic ideas. The life and work of the Buddha on earth is thus termed "the sport" (lalita) of a supernatural being.[3] Even in the introductory chapter, the Buddha appears as an exalted, divine being. It begins, indeed, after the manner of the Pāli Suttas, with the words: "Thus have I heard: once the Lord sojourned at Śrāvastī in the Jeta grove in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada." However, whereas in the Pāli texts, the

---

[1]) First edition by Rajendralāla *Mitra* in Bibl. Ind. 1877 (very faulty); a better edition by S. *Lefmann*, Halle a. S. 1902 and 1908. Even this edition, however, needs correcting. *Cf.* Friedrich *Weller*, Zum Lalita-Vistara, Diss. Leipzig 1915, p. 8 ff. The English translation by Rajendralāla *Mitra* (Bibl. Ind. 1881-1886) only goes as far as Chapter XV; Chapters I-V translated into German by S. *Lefmann*, Berlin 1875; a complete French translation by Ph. Ed. *Foucaux* in AMG, t. 6 et 19 (Paris 1884, 1892).

[2]) Thus according to the Chinese tradition. *Cf.* S. *Beal*, The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha from the Chinese-Sanskrit, London 1875, Introd.; *Foucaux*, Lalita Vistara traduit, t. II, Introd. *Beal's* "Romantic Legend" is an abridged translation from the Chinese of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra, which has not come down in Sanskrit, but was translated into Chinese between 280 and 312 A.D. by Nie Tao-Tchen (s. *Bagchi*, l. c., I, p. 128) and in 587 A.D. by Jinagupta. It is said to be the biography of Buddha for the sect of the Dharmaguptas.

[3]) As regards the title, see *Lefmann*, Translation, p 70 ff., Edition, Vol. II, p. VI f., *Foucaux*, t. II, p. 3 and *Winternitz*, WZKM 26, 1912, p. 244. The work also calls itself a Mahā-Nidāna, *i.e.*, "a great (Sūtra treating) of the beginnings (of the Buddha's career,") and "Lalita-Vistara-Purāṇa," a term which is fitting in so far as the style of the work is not unlike that of the Purāṇas.

actual Sutta begins immediately after these or similar stereotyped introductory words, in which the Master is introduced to us surrounded by a few disciples, or at the most by a following of "five hundred monks," the Lalita-Vistara, like all Vaipulya-Sūtras of the Mahāyāna, first sketches a splendid picture of the Buddha, with divine brilliance shining around it. He is surrounded by 12,000 monks and no less than 32,000 Bodhisattvas, "all only bound to one more rebirth, all born with the perfections of a Bodhisattva, all rejoicing in the knowledge of a Bodhisattva, all in the possession of insight into magic sayings," and so on. While he sits absorbed in deep meditation in the middle watch of the night, a ray of light bursts forth from the parting of his hair, penetrates into the worlds of heaven and plunges all the gods into excitement. The gods immediately begin a song in praise of the exalted Buddha, and soon Īśvara and other gods appear before the Lord, throw themselves at his feet and implore him, for the salvation and blessing of the world, to reveal the excellent Vaipulya-Sūtra, called Lalita-Vistara, while, in extravagant terms, they praise the advantages of this text, which had also been revealed by former Buddhas. By maintaining silence, Buddha gives his consent. It is only after this circumstantial introduction, which occupies a whole, long chapter, that the actual narrative begins, the biography of Buddha, which forms the contents of the work. As a matter of fact, it begins where, in the Nidāna-Kathā, the second section (avidūrenidāna) begins :

The Bodhisattva sojourns in the heaven of the Contented (Tuṣita) gods in a magnificent heavenly palace. (The Bodhisattva receives over a hundred laudatory titles and the heavenly palace in which he lives, receives over a dozen.) Amid the sound of 84,000 drums he is invited to descend to earth in order to commence his work of salvation. After long consultations, in which the advantages and defects of a large number of royal families are weighed in the balance, the Bodhisattva decides to be reborn in the house of King Śuddhodana, and in the womb

of Queen Māyā, as she possesses all the qualities of the mother of a Buddha. As perfect as her beauty (described down to the minutest detail) is her virtue and purity. She alone, of all the women of India, is able to bear the future Buddha, as the strength of ten thousand elephants is combined in her. With the aid of the gods the conception takes place, after the Bodhisattva has decided to penetrate into the womb in the shape of an elephant. The gods not only procure a heavenly dwelling as the confinement chamber for Māyā, but they also create a jewelled palace in her womb, so that the Bodhisattva shall not be defiled for ten months by the mother's womb. In this jewelled palace he has a beautifully soft seat. His body radiates in glorious beauty, and a light shines out for miles from the body of his mother. The sick come to Māyā Devī and are cured of their sufferings as soon as she lays her hand on their heads. "And whenever she looked to her right, she saw the Bodhisattva in her womb, as one sees one's own face in a clear mirror." While still in the womb the unborn Bodhisattva delights the gods with pious preaching, and the god Brahman obeys his every hint.[1]

In the same way as the conception, the birth of the Bodhisattva also takes place amid mighty miracles and signs. In the Lumbinī grove he is born of Māyā in the manner known to us from so many sculptures, not as an ordinary mortal, but as an omniscient, exalted being, as Mahāpuruṣa, "the Great Spirit." While lotus blossoms spring forth under each of his footsteps, the new-born one, proclaiming his greatness, takes seven steps in each of the six directions.[2]

Here the narrative is interrupted by a dialogue between Ānanda and the Buddha,[3] which declaims against those unbelievers who refuse to believe in the miraculous birth of the Buddha. The belief in the Buddha is taught as a necessary part of the religion; and we are reminded of the Kṛṣṇa of the Bhagavad-Gītā, when Buddha here says:

---

[1]) Chapts. 2-6. The beginning of Chapt. 6 is translated by *Windisch*, Buddha's Geburt, p. 162 ff.

[2]) In the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, the creator Prajāpati is called Puruṣa and Mahāpuruṣa, and later Brahman and Viṣṇu too. The seven steps of the new-born Buddha child are to be explained merely by the myth of the steps of Viṣṇu.

[3]) Chapt. 7, ed. *Lefmann*, pp. 87-91.

"I do good to all who will believe in me. Those who seek refuge in me are as my friends. And the Tathāgata has many friends. But those friends of the Tathāgata speak only truth, not falsehood...To believe, O Ānanda, may this be your aim. Thereto I admonish you."

It is surely no accident that this dialogue appears inserted just here. The reason is that, precisely with regard to legends of the conception and birth of the Buddha, the Lalita-Vistara differs very conspicuously from the accounts of the other schools by its exaggeration of the miraculous element. This is not so in the further account of the Buddha's life. In fact we find here very frequently an exceedingly close agreement with the oldest Pāli accounts, *e.g.*, those in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka,[1] and the Gāthās of the Lalita-Vistara sometimes appear to be more archaic than the corresponding Pāli texts. The two texts are in such cases not dependent on one another, but both reach back to a common older tradition. Here, too, however, the Lalita-Vistara has much that is entirely missing in the older accounts. Two episodes in particular are noteworthy. The one (Chapter VIII) relates how the Bodhisattva, as a boy, is taken to the temple by his foster-mother, and all the statues of the gods rise from their pedestals in order to fall at his feet. The other (Chapter X) tells of the Bodhisattva's first day at school:

With a following of ten thousand boys, with tremendous pomp and with all the gods participating, and with 8,000 divine maidens scattering flowers before him, the little Bodhisattva makes his entry into the writing school. The poor school-master cannot bear the glory of the Bodhisattva, and falls to the ground. A god raises him, and calms him by saying that the Bodhisattva, though omniscient and having no need to learn anything, yet, following the course of the world, has come to school. Then the

[1]) For the relationship of the Pāli tradition to the Lalita-Vistara, see *Burnouf*, Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 864 ff.; *Oldenberg* in OC V, Berlin 1882, Vol. 2, pp. 107-122. *Cf.* also *Windisch*, "Māra und Buddha" and "Buddha's Geburt," and *Kern*, SBE Vol. 21, p. xi ff.

Bodhisattva surprised the school-master by asking him which of the 64, kinds of script he was going to teach him. And he enumerates them all including the scripts of the Cīṇas (Chinese) and Hūṇas (Huns), scripts which the teacher does not even know by name. Finally the teacher begins to teach the ten thousand boys the alphabet. At every letter of the alphabet, however, the Bodhisattva gives utterance to a wise saying beginning with the letter in question.[1]

Chapters XII [2] and XIII also contain episodes, which are missing in the other biographies of the Buddha. On the other hand, the rest of the story (Chapters XIV-XXVI) differs but little from the legend as it is known from other sources:[3] namely, the four encounters by which the Bodhisattva becomes acquainted with age, disease, death and renunciation of the world, the flight from the palace, the meeting with King Bimbisāra, the apprenticeship of Gotama and his futile ascetic practices, the conflict with Māra, the final enlightenment and the proclaiming of the doctrine at the request of the god Brahman. The last chapter (XXVII), however, in the true manner of the Mahāyāna Sūtras, is devoted to the glorification of the Lalita-Vistara itself, and the enumeration of the merits and advantages which one gains by propagating and honouring it.

From all this it is very probable that the Lalita-Vistara is a recast of an older Hīnayāna text, the Buddha biography of the Sarvāstivāda school, enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahāyāna. This supposition also explains the

---

[1]) E. *Kuhn* (Gurupūjākaumudi, p. 116 ff.) has proved that these two legends of the little Buddha served as models for the apocryphal gospels, which relate similar stories of the little Jesus.

[2]) For this, *cf. Winternitz*, WZKM 26, 1912, p. 237 ff.

[3]) Here too, however, the Lalita-Vistara frequently distinguishes itself by its exaggerations. Whilst in our oldest record (Mahā-Vagga I, 1-4), for instance, Gotama spends the four weeks after his enlightenment, in meditation under various trees, in the Lalita-Vistara (ed. *Lefmann*, p. 377) he takes a "long walk" in the second week through thousands of worlds, and in the fourth week a "short walk," which extends only from the Eastern to the Western ocean.

character of the text, which is by no means the unified work of one author, but an anonymous compilation, in which very early and very recent passages stand side by side. In form, too, the work consists of unequal parts, a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, and numerous, often long, metrical passages in "mixed Sanskrit."[1] It is rarely that these verses form a part of the narrative; as a rule they are independent songs, which relate the subject-matter of the prose, in a shorter, simpler, and sometimes in a more or less deviating form. Some of these songs, such as the birth legend and the Asita episode in Chapter VII, the Bimbisāra story in Chapter XVI, the dialogue with Māra in Chapter XVIII, etc., are beautiful old ballads, which are derived from the same ancient sources as the above-mentioned (p. 96 f.) poems of the Suttanipāta. They belong to the old religious ballad poetry of the early centuries after the Buddha. Many prose passages, too, as for instance, the sermon of Benares (in Chapter XXVI) belong to the oldest stratum of Buddhist tradition. On the other hand, the later parts are found not only in the prose, but also in the Gāthās, many of which are composed in very artistic metres.[2]

When the Lalita-Vistara was finally edited, we do not know. It was formerly erroneously stated that the work had been translated into Chinese as early as in the first century A.D.[3] Actually, we do not even know whether the P'ou-yao-king, the biography of Buddha translated by

---

[1]) F. *Weller*, Zum Lalita Vistara, I, Über die Prosa des Lalita Vistara, Leipzig Diss. 1915, has made it seem probable that even the prose in the Lalita-Vistara was not originally written in Sanskrit, but in a dialect akin to the prose of the Mahāvastu, and that it was not sanskritized until later.

[2]) Thus the Vasantatilakā and the Śārdūlavikrīḍita are fairly frequent. See the list of metres in *Lefmann's* edition, Vol. II, p. 227 ff., and Introduction, p. xix ff.

[3]) By B. *Nanjio*, who regarded the Fo-pen-hing-king (68 A.D.) which has been lost long ago, as a translation of the Lalita-Vistara : but there is no proof whatsoever for such an assumption. *Cf. Bagchi*, l.c., I, p. 6.

Dharmarakṣa in the year 308 A. D., the supposed "second translation of the Lalita-Vistara," is really a translation of the text in question at all.[1] The Tibetan translation[2] is an accurate translation of the Sanskrit text, but it only originated in the 9th century. It may be assumed with certainty that a version, differing slightly from the Lalita-Vistara, was known to the artists who, from about 850 to 900 A.D., decorated the famous temple of Boro-Budur in Java: for these magnificent sculptures represent scenes from the Buddha legend in such a manner as though the artists had actually worked with a text of the Lalita-Vistara at their hand.[3]

The artists who adorned the Græco-Buddhist monuments of Northern India with scenes from the life of the Buddha, must already have been familiar with the Buddha legend, as it is related in the Lalita-Vistara. It is true that they did not work from texts, but from living, oral tradition. Not infrequently, however, the agreement between the pictures and the texts is so striking, that we must assume that the literary tradition, too, was sometimes influenced by art. Art and literature influenced each other.[4] Whilst the ancient Buddhist art of the time of Aśoka (reliefs of Bharhut, Sānchi,

---

[1]) It contains only 8 chapters. See *Winternitz*, WZKM 26, 1912, 241 f., and *Bagchi*, l.c., I, p. 87 f.

[2]) Edited and translated into French by Ph. E. *Foucaux* (Rgya-tcher-rol-pa, Version tibétaine du Lalitavistara), Paris 1847-48.

[3]) C. M. *Pleyte*, Die Buddhalegende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Bôrô-Budur, Amsterdam 1901, and N. J. *Krom*, The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabuḍu according to the Lalitavistara-Text, The Hague 1926, have given extracts from the Lalita-Vistara in translation, by way of explanation of the sculptures. *Cf. Speyer*, Le Muséon, N. S. IV, 1903, p. 124 ff.; F. C. *Wilsen*, Die Buddha-Legende auf den Flachreliefs der ersten Galerie des Stūpa von Boro-Budur Java, verkleinerte Wiedergabe der Umrisszeichnungen, Leipzig 1923 (Veröffentl. des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte).

[4]) See A. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, t. I, Paris 1905, p. 324 f., 616 ff.; *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, p. 98, 104 f., 184; *Senart*, OC XIV, Alger 1905, I, 121 ff. and T. *Bloch*, ZDMG 62, p. 370 ff.

etc.) knows no representations of Buddha, but puts only symbols (*e.g.*, the wheel) in the place of the person of the founder of the religion, the representation of Buddha is one of the principal objects of the Gandhāra art. May this not be connected with the fact that the Buddha had, in the meantime, become an object of Bhakti, and that Buddha-worship had assumed the central position in the religion? Thus everything favours the supposition that the period of the development of the Gandhāra [1] art, that is, the first two centuries of the Christian era, is also the period of the earlier Mahāyāna texts which deal with the Buddha legend.

It is therefore only correct to say that the Lalita-Vistara offers us very old traditions concerning the Buddha legend, as well as some which are centuries later. It is an important source for ancient Buddhism only in those passages which agree with the Pāli texts and other Sanskrit texts such as the Mahāvastu. It is wrong, however, to regard the whole Lalita-Vistara as a good, ancient source for our knowledge of Buddhism, as has been done, notably by É. Senart in his "Essai sur la légende du Buddha." [2] Neither does the Lalita-Vistara give us information on the "popular Buddhism" of the early period, as Louis de La Vallée Poussin affirms.[3] It is, however, most informative as regards the

---

[1]) Scholars are practically unanimous in assuming that the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra began shortly before the birth of Christ, and attained its perfection in the second century A.D., especially during the reign of Kaniṣka. See G. *Bühler* in Anzeiger der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.—hist. Kl., 1896, p. 66 f.; A. *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, Berlin 1900, p. 81; A. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, I, Paris 1905, p. 40 ff.; II, 1918, pp. 401 ff., 486 ff.; V. A. *Smith*, Early History, pp. 255 ff., 252; History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford 1911, p. 99 ("It is quite safe to affirm that the works of good quality belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era"); L. A. *Waddell* in JRAS, 1914, p. 140 f.; Sir J. H. *Marshall* in JRAS 1909, 1056 ff.; Cambridge History, I, 1922, p. 648.

[2]) 2nd Ed., Paris 1882, pp. XXXI f., 456 f.

[3]) Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, pp. 37 and 42 f. According to *La Vallée Poussin*, the Pāli texts show us only an "aristocratic and philosophical Buddhism."

development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings, when only the chief events in the life of the great founder of the religion are adorned with miracles, down to that boundless deification of the Master, in which, from the beginning to the end of his career, he appears mainly as a god above all gods. On this account the work is of immense value from the point of view of the history of religion. From the point of view of the history of literature, too, the Lalita-Vistara is one of the most important works of Buddhist scripture. Though it is not yet an actual Buddha epic, it contains all the germs of such an epic; and it is from the ballads and episodes as preserved in the earliest portions of the Lalita-Vistara, though probably not from the Lalita-Vistara itself, that Aśvaghoṣa, the greatest poet of the Buddhists, created his magnificent epic Buddha-Carita, "life of the Buddha." [1]

The Poet Aśvaghoṣa[2] *and his School.*

Until the year 1892, when the French scholar Sylvain Lévi published the first chapter of the Buddha-Carita, little more than the name of Aśvaghoṣa was known in Europe. To-day we know him as one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature, as the most important predecessor of Kālidāsa, and as the creator of epic, dramatic and lyrical compositions; but of his life we know little. The traditions

---

[1]) I do not agree with S. *Lévi* when (JA 1892, s. 8, t. XIX, p. 202) he calls the Buddha-Carita "un abrégé substantiel du Lalita Vistara." At least the Lalita-Vistara in its present form cannot have been the model which Aśvaghoṣa used.

[2]) On Aśvaghoṣa in general, see S. *Lévi* in JA 1892, ser. 8. t.XIX, p. 201 ff.; 1908, s. 10, t. XII, p. 57 ff.; T. *Suzuki*, Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith, Transl., Chicago 1900, Introduction; M. *Anesaki* in ERE II, 1909, p. 159 f.; and F. W. *Thomas*, Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Bibl. Ind. 1912, p. 25 ff. A purely legendary biography of Aśvaghoṣa was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva between 401 and 409 A.D.; it is published in extracts, by W. *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 231 f.

embodied in the Chinese and Tibetan sources agree in asserting that Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of King Kaniṣka (2nd century A.D.).[1] Pārśva or his pupil Puṇyayaśas is mentioned as his teacher, and he is generally enumerated among the leaders or founders of the Mahāyāna.[2] In the Chinese lists of the Buddhist patriarchs in India, he always appears after Pārśva and Puṇyayaśas, and *before* Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. It may be taken as certain that he was of Brahman family, and had enjoyed a thorough Brahmanical education before he went over to Buddhism. As a Buddhist he probably associated himself first with the Sarvāstivāda school,[3] but laid great stress on the Buddha-Bhakti and thus prepared the Mahāyāna. Sāketa (*i.e.*, Ayodhyā, the present-day Oudh) is generally given as his birthplace or home; but Benares and Patna are also mentioned. His mother was called Suvarṇākṣī. The Tibetan biographer of Aśvaghoṣa says of him: "There was no question which he would not have solved, no imputation which he would not have rejected; he overcame his opponents as frequently as a strong wind breaks rotten trees." According to the same account, he was also an excellent musician, who himself composed pieces of music and travelled about with a band of male and female singers in the bazaars. He played and sang with his choir melancholy songs about the vanity of existence, and, attracted by the beautiful melodies, the crowd stood still and listened. In this way he won many over to the religion.[4] The

[1]) According to Chinese sources, Aśvaghoṣa was the spiritual counsellor and Caraka was the medical adviser of King Kaniṣka. *Cf. Lévi* in JA 1896, s. 9, t. VIII, p. 447 f. On the period of Kaniṣka, s. Appendix V, and Vol. I, p. 513.

[2]) Perhaps this is only based on the fact that the authorship of the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda was attributed to him.

[3]) See *Lévi*, JA 1908, s. 10, t. XII, pp. 90 ff., 184, and H. *Lüders*, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, Berlin 1911, p. 65. According to Vasubandhu he is supposed to have assisted Kātyāyanīputra with the commentary on the Abhidharma.

[4]) A. *Schiefner* in ABA 1859, p. 259 ff.

Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who travelled through India in 671-695 A.D., speaks of the learned monks, who oppose the heretics with great success, promote the religion of the Buddha, and therefore receive respect above gods and men, and says that "of such persons in every generation only one or two appear," such men as "Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa of an early age." [1] I-tsing also relates that at his time in India, among other songs which were chanted at Buddhist sanctuaries, there was a collection of sacred texts compiled by Aśvaghoṣa. He mentions him also as a composer of songs, of the Sūtrālaṃkāra and of the Buddha-Carita.[2]

Of the Buddha-Carita [3] I-tsing says that "this extensive work.....relates the Tathāgata's chief doctrines and works during his life, from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of Sāla-trees." And he adds: "It is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea.[4]

---

[1]) *Hsüan-Tsang* (Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, transl. by S. *Beal*, II, p. 302 f.) calls Aśvaghoṣa, Deva, Nāgārjuna and Kumāralabdha "the four suns that illumined the world."

[2]) *I-tsing*, Record transl. by *Takakusu*, pp. 152 f., 165, 181.

[3]) The text has been edited by E. B. *Cowell*, Oxford (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part VII) 1893, and translated by the same scholar in SBE, Vol. 49. Translated into German by C. *Cappeller*, Jena 1922 (Religiöse Stimmen der Völker) and R. *Schmidt*, Hagen 1924; into Italian by C. *Formichi*, Açvaghoṣa, poeta del Buddhismo, Bari 1912. Contributions to the critical restoration of the text and explanation of the Buddha-Carita by O. *Böhtlingk* in BSGW 1894, 160 ff.; F. *Kielhorn* in NGGW 1894, p. 364 ff.; J. S. *Speyer* in Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., 3de Reeks, Deel XI, Amsterdam 1895, and JRAS 1914, p 105 ff.; L. *Finot* in JA 1898, s. 9, t. XII, p 542 ff.; *Formichi*, l.c., pp. 289-400, 409. E. *Leumann*, in WZKM 7, 1893, 193 ff.; NGGW 1896, 83 ff.; *Lüders* in NGGW 1896, 1 ff; K. M. *Joglekar*, Ashvaghosha's Buddha-Charita, cantos I-V with a scholium by Dattatraya *Shastri Nigdukar*, and Introduction, Notes, and Translation, Bombay, 1912; A. *Gawroński*, Gleanings from Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, in Rocznik Oryentalistyczny I, Krakow 1914-15, 1 ff.; and Studies about the Sanskrit-Buddhist Literature, Krakow 1919, pp. 1 ff., 27 ff.; E. *Hultzsch* in ZDMG 72, 1918, 148 ff.; C. *Cappeller* in ZII 1, 1922, p. 1 ff.; E. H. *Johnston* in JRAS 1927, 209 ff.

[4]) This means the Malay Archipelago (Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands). *Takakusu*, l.c., p. xxxix.

He clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrines given in a concise form." [1] We gather from the words of I-tsing that he knew the Buddha-Carita in the form in which it appeared in the Chinese translation,[2] where the epic consists of 28 cantos, and the narrative is continued down to the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. As the Tibetan translation [3] also consists of 28 cantos, we must assume that the Sanskrit text, which consist of 17 cantos, and ends with the conversions in Benares, only represents a torso. In any case the work is a torso, for even of these seventeen cantos, only the first thirteen are old and authentic. The work was completed by a certain Amṛtānanda, who copied it at the beginning of the 19th century, and added the conclusion, because (as he himself admits) he could find no complete manuscripts.[4]

However, even with the mere torso which has come down to us, we can but fully endorse what the Chinese pilgrim has said in praise of the Buddha-Carita. Here we

---

[1]) *I-tsing*, l.c., p. 165 f.

[2]) This is the Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D. by Dharmarakṣa, and translated into English by Samuel *Beal* in SBE, Vol. 19. T. W. *Rhys Davids* (JRAS 1901, p. 405 f.) has asserted that this Chinese work is not a translation of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-Carita at all. Else *Wohlgemath*, however (Über die chinesische Version von Aśvaghoṣas Buddhacarita, Diss. Leipzig 1916), has shown that the Chinese version is undoubtedly based on Aśvaghoṣa's poem, though some things have been added and others omitted, and that the recension on which it is based differed from the one which we know.

[3]) The Tibetan translation of the 7th or 8th century is far more accurate than the Chinese one, but on the other hand it does not (at least in the first canto) reproduce the original text of Aśvaghoṣa. *Cf.* E. *Leumann* in WZKM 7, 1893, p. 193 ff. and Friedrich *Weller*, Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa, Tibetisch und Deutsch, Leipzig, 1926 (Gesang I-VIII übersetzt; in Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig, II, 3); Part II, 1928.

[4]) Also a manuscript of the Buddha-Carita discovered by *Haraprasāda Śāstrī* only goes as far as the middle of Canto XIV (JASB, N. S., Vol. V, 1909, p. 47 ff.).

have indeed for the first time an actual epic of Buddha, created by a real poet, a poet who, filled with intense love and reverence for the exalted figure of the Buddha, and deeply imbued with the truth of the Buddha doctrine, is able to present the life and doctrine of the Master in noble and artistic, but not artificial language. His Sanskrit is faultless, even though it does not always comply strictly with the rules of Pāṇini.[1] The Buddha-Carita calls itself a Mahākāvya, or "great poem," *i.e.*, an ornate epic poem in the technical sense, and it is composed in the so-called Kāvya style, the beginnings of which we have already found in the Rāmāyaṇa.[2] Vālmīki and his immediate successors were the predecessors of Aśvaghoṣa, in the same way as the latter himself is a predecessor of Kālidāsa. All these three great poets have one thing in common: they are still very moderate in their use of the Alaṃkāras or "embellishments." Aśvaghoṣa is not only moderate in language and style, but he also uses restraint in the presentation of miracles in the Buddha legend. He always keeps himself far removed from such exaggerations as we find, for instance, in the Lalita-Vistara. In contrast to the chaotic disorder in texts like the Mahāvastu and the Lalita-Vistara, we find in the Buddha-Carita a well-planned, artistic arrangement of the material. Although the poet is quite familiar with the older sacred texts, he nevertheless assumes a certain amount of freedom in his attitude towards them. Not that he has made any alterations in the traditions; but he has the art of clothing the old familiar legends in a new poetical garment,[3] and of imparting original expression to the well-known doctrines of the Buddhist Sūtras. Aśvaghoṣa is always more of a poet than a monk, at least in the Buddha-Carita.

---

[1]) *Cf. Sukumar Sen* in Ind. Hist. Qu. II, 1916, p. 657 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* above, Vol. I, pp. 476, 489 f., 497, 506.

[3]) As *Windisch* (Māra und Buddha, p. 205) says, Aśvaghoṣa seems "almost intentionally to have avoided any resemblance to the wording of older texts."

How different from the Lalita-Vistara is, for instance, the highly poetical description of the excursions of the young prince in Cantos III and IV!

First of all there is a beautiful description of how, on hearing that the prince is going out, the women of the city, full of curiosity, hasten from their rooms to the house-tops and the windows. Hampered by their falling girdles, they scamper up in the greatest haste, pushing and jostling one another, and scaring away the birds on the roofs by the clattering of the girdles and rings. The lotus faces of the fair ones, leaning out of the windows, look as though the walls of the houses were decorated with real lotus blossoms.[1] Beautifully the poet then describes the encounter with the old man, whom the gods cause to appear. In consternation the prince asks :

' Who is the man who here approaches, O charioteer,
With white hair, and eyes sunk deep in their sockets,
Bent down on his staff, his limbs trembling ?—
Is it a process of Nature, or the sport of destiny ? "

Whereupon the charioteer replies :

" It is age which has broken him,—Age,
The thief of beauty and destroyer of strength,
The source of care and the end of joys,
The foe of the senses, the vanishing of memories.
He, too, has sucked at the mother's breast
As a little child, learned walking in the course of time,
Gradually he grew big and strong, a youth,
Gradually age has overtaken him."

After the prince, on his three excursions, has become acquainted with age, disease and death, he takes no more pleasure in anything. It is in vain that the family priest, at the King's request, invites the women and girls of the palace to apply all the arts of love in order to inveigle the prince and to drive away his sad thoughts. The prince remains unmoved

[1] In the Raghuvaṃśa (VII, 5-12) Kālidāsa imitated this description of Aśvaghoṣa (Buddha-Carita III, 13-24), as has already been pointed out by *Cowell* (Buddha-Carita, Edition, Preface).

by all the sweet temptations. He only marvels at the gay doings of these women, and exclaims (IV, 60 f.) :

" How senseless seems to me the man who has seen
his neighbour ill and old and dead,
And yet remains happy and is not shaken by fear.
Thus, when a tree which, quite bereft of blossoms
and of fruits,
Is felled or falls,—the neighbour tree cares not."

The presentation of love scenes is one of the indispensable elements of an ornate court poem. The poet fulfils this requirement by describing the blandishments of the beautiful women, by which they seek to tempt the prince (IV, 24-53); and in the highly-coloured description of the night scene in the harem, which is the cause of the prince's flight from the palace,[1] the poet reveals his knowledge of the science of love. But a court poet must also be versed in the doctrines of Nītiśāstra, state-craft. Such doctrines are recited to the prince by the family priest (IV, 62-82), in order to distract him from his thoughts. Lastly, an ornate poem is not complete without a description of battle scenes. Our poet fulfils this requirement also, in Canto XIII, in which he gives an animated description of the battle of Buddha with Māra and his hosts.

The Saundarānanda-Kāvya,[2] a second poem by Aśva-

[1] V. 48-62. This scene is related in its original version with regard to the youth Yasa in the Vinayapiṭaka (see above, p. 27). It has already been stated (see above, Vol. I, p 490, note 3) that the similar scene in Rāmāyaṇa, V, 9, 11, was composed in imitation of Aśvaghoṣa.

[2]) The poem was discovered by *Haraprasāda Śāstrī*, and was also edited by him, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1910. A new critical edition, with notes, by E. H. *Johnston*, has just been published in the Punjab University Oriental Publications, Oxford University Press, London, 1928. *Cf. Haraprasāda Śāstrī* in JASB 5, 1909, p. 165 f.; F. W. *Thomas* in JRAS 1911, p. 1125 f.; A. *Baston* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, p. 79 ff; *La Vallée Poussin* in BSOS 1918, p. 133 ff.; A. *Gawroński*, Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, Krakow 1919, p. 56 ff.; Notes on the Saundarānanda, Critical and Explanatory, Second Series (Prace Komisji Orjental. Polskiej Akad. Um. Nr. 6.) W Krakowie 1922; E. *Hultzsch* in ZDMG 72, 1918, p. 111 ff.; 73, 229 ff.; 74, 293 ff.; C. W. *Gurner* in JRAS 1928, p. 131 f. From the concluding verses we may perhaps (with *Hultzsch*, ZDMG 72, 121 f.) assume that Aśvaghoṣa wrote the Saundarānanda first and the Buddha-Carita afterwards.

ghoṣa, also belongs to the same class of ornate court poetry. This work, too, is connected with the life story of the Buddha, but it amplifies those scenes and episodes in particular which receive scanty attention or none at all, in the Buddha-Carita. Thus, in Canto I, the story of the founding of Kapilavastu is related in minute detail. The actual theme of this poem, however, is the story of the love-lorn Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha, who is ordained as a monk against his will by the Buddha:

Just as Sundarī, the beautiful wife of Nanda, mourns and laments for her lost husband, so Nanda, too, longs to be back with his beloved. Vain are the attempts of the other monks to calm him. Even Buddha's words fail to change his mood. Then the Master takes him by the hand, and ascends with him to heaven. On the way they see in the Himālaya an ugly, one-eyed female ape, and Buddha asks him whether Sundarī is more beautiful than this, which Nanda of course enthusiastically affirms. Soon they see in heaven the Apsaras, the heavenly nymphs, and Nanda thinks that the difference between the last-named and his wife, is just as great as between her and the one-eyed ape. From that moment he has an ardent desire for the heavenly women, and, on his return to earth, devotes himself diligently to ascetic practices in order to reach heaven. Then Ānanda teaches him that even heavenly pleasures are empty and vain. At last Nanda is convinced, and goes to Buddha, in order to tell him that he no longer desires the heavenly women. Buddha rejoices greatly at this, and preaches to him (in several cantos) the principles of his doctrine. Now Nanda retires into the forest, practises the four great meditations, and becomes an Arhat. Thankfully he goes to Buddha and pays homage to him, but the Master exhorts him, now that he has attained his object, to preach the good doctrine to others, out of pity, and so as to lead them to liberation.[1]

[1]) In the Vinayapiṭaka (Mahāvagga 1, 54) and the Nidāna-Kathā (Jātaka ed. *Fausböll*, I, p. 91; *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 128) it is only related that Nanda was ordained as a monk by Buddha against his will. The legend of Nanda's ascent to heaven and his yearning for the Apsarases is told in Udāna III, 2, and in the Dhammapada Commentary I, 9 (Buddhist Legends, transl. by *Burlingame*, HOS, Vol. 28, p. 217 ff.). See also Spence *Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, p. 204; and *Kern*, Der Buddhismus, I, 155 f. Some scenes from the Nanda legend are also to be found on reliefs, s. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique, I, p. 464 ff.

In the concluding verses, the poet states emphatically that he has written his work, the aim of which is liberation, not for the sake of delectation, but with a view to perfect peace; he has given it the form of an ornate poem, only so as to be able to win over non-Buddhist hearers to Buddha's doctrine, and to make this doctrine palatable to them, just as one mixes a bitter medicine with honey to make it drinkable. Much space in the Saundarānanda is accordingly devoted to preaching, in which the poet makes use of much the same expressions which are familiar to us from the Tipiṭaka. The joys of solitude and meditation are extolled in this poem just as in other Hīnayāna works.[1] Nevertheless the Saundarānanda also alludes to doctrines which are peculiar to the Mahāyāna. Nanda is filled with the "great pity," which makes him search his heart, in deep commiseration, for means whereby he may release the beings from suffering (XIII, 8). Whilst the Tipiṭaka teaches often enough that everything is "transitory, without self, and full of suffering," Nanda attains to the realisation that everything is "transitory, empty (śūnya), without self, and full of suffering."[2] And at the end, it is not enough for Nanda himself to become a saint who attains to Nirvāṇa: he must also become an apostle.[3]

In the Buddha-Carita, too, Aśvaghoṣa's teaching is in the main that of the Hīnayāna, though traces of the Mahāyāna are not wanting. Book XVI contains the "Sermon of

---

[1]) The recommendation of *yogācāra* in XIV, 18, and XX, 68, does not refer to the yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna, but only to the advantages of the practice of Yoga (*Haraprasāda Śāstrī*, Preface, p. xii). Moreover, the tendency of the Hīnayāna, is seen clearly when Nanda pays homage to Buddha, and Buddha restrains him by saying that worship is due not to him, but to the Dharma (XVIII, 22).

[2]) XVII, 16-22. Cf. Vidhusekhara *Bhattacharya* in JRAS 1914, p. 747 f.

[3]) However, the Hīnayāna, too, valued highly the duty of instruction and conversion: this is shown, for instance, by the Sutta quoted above, on p. 62 f., from the Aṅguttara-nikāya.

Benares," which is only a poetical and expanded version of the text known from the Tipiṭaka, but it also speaks of the body as " empty, without a self " (śūnyam anātmakam, XVI, 28), calls the Buddha not only " the Self-born " (Svayambhū), " the Overlord of the Whole Dharma," but even the " Lord of the World " (XVI, 64 ; 69). And he even says that he has attained the Great Vehicle, the Mahāyāna, that has been set forth by all the Buddhas for establishing the welfare of all beings (XVI, 75 ; 85). Thus Aśvaghoṣa probably belongs to the period of the beginning of the Mahāyāna.

Both in the Buddhacarita and the Saundarānanda there are abundant allusions to Brahmanical legends and epic narratives, which serve to confirm the tradition that Aśvaghoṣa was of Brahman family.

The Vajrasūcī or " Diamond Needle," [1] which is sometimes ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, also reveals an intimate knowledge of Brahmanical literature. Unfortunately there are grave doubts as to whether he was actually the author of this little work, which is certainly interesting in any case. This work refutes the Brahmanical caste system very cuttingly. The author's method is extremely effective, for he takes up the Brahmanical standpoint, and seeks to prove from the Brahmanical texts themselves, by quotations from the Veda, the Mahābhārata and the law-book of Manu,[2] how frail the claims of the Brahman caste are. When B. H. Hodgson

[1]) Wujra Soochi or Refutation of the Arguments upon which the Brahmanical Institution of Caste is Founded, by the learned Boodhist Ashwa Ghoshu (published by Lancelot *Wilkinson* with the translation by B. H. *Hodgson*, which had already appeared in 1829 in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. III), also the Tunku by Soobajee Bapoo, being a Reply to the Wujra Soochi, 1839. A. *Weber*, " Über die Vajrasūcī " (ABA 1859, p. 205 ff., and Indische Streifen, I, 186 ff.). Cf. also B. H. *Hodgson*, Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Napāl and Tibet, London 1874, p. 126 ff.; E. *Burnouf*, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhism Indien, 2ième éd., Paris 1876, p. 192 f., and S. *Lévi*, JA 1908, s. 10, t. XII, p. 70 f.

[2]) In the same way in Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (" Sūtralaṃkāra " No. 77) the Brahmanical system is refuted by quotations from the law-book of Manu.

published a translation of this work, as far back as the year 1829, and L. Wilkinson edited the text in 1839, they were quite charmed with the democratic spirit with which the author defends the equality of all classes of men, "as they are equal as regards joy and sorrow, life, intellect, profession and trade, death and birth, fear and sexual love." For the sake of the quotations from Brahmanical texts, if on no other grounds, this work would be of great importance in the history of literature, if only we had any certain data about the author and the date of the work. There are some serious objections to ascribing the authorship to Aśvaghoṣa. The Vajrasūcī is not enumerated either by I-tsing or in the Tibetan Tanjur among the works of Aśvaghoṣa ; and in the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka a Vajrasūcī, which is said to contain "a refutation of the four Vedas," and which was translated into Chinese between 973 and 981 A.D., is ascribed to a man named Dharmakīrti.[1]

Among the lyrical poems which are ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa, the only one we know is the Gaṇḍīstotra-Gāthā, which A. von Staël-Holstein [2] has attempted to reconstruct in the Sanskrit original on the basis of the Chinese transliteration. It is a beautiful poem, worthy of Aśvaghoṣa both in form and contents.

The scanty fragments, which are all that is left of his Śāriputra-Prakaraṇa show us that as a dramatist too, Aśvaghoṣa was a worthy predecessor of Kālidāsa.[3] This drama treats of

---

[1]) Bunyiu *Nanjio*, Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, No. 1303. Chinese *Fa-shang* is the translation of Sanskrit *Dharmakīrti*. For the philosophical work Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda, which has been erroneously ascribed to the great Aśvaghoṣa, see below in the chapter on "The Masters and Poets of the Mahāyāna."

[2]) Bibliotheca Buddhica XV, St. Petersburg 1913. Cf. F. W. *Thomas* in JRAS 1914, p. 752 f.

[3]) H. *Lüders* (Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa, in SBA 1911, 388 ff.) discovered these fragments in palm leaf MSS. from Turfan. It is uncertain whether the fragments of two other Buddhist dramas discovered by *Lüders* (Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte I, Berlin 1911) were written by Aśvaghoṣa. For further information on this matter, see Vol. III in the chapter on the drama.

the conversion of Śāriputra and his friend Maudgalyāyana, which is already related in one of the most beautiful stories in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka.[1]

Chinese authors also ascribe to Aśvaghoṣa a work entitled "Sūtrālaṃkāra" which was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in about 405 A.D., but which was really written by Aśvaghoṣa's junior contemporary Kumāralāta, and which, in Sanskrit, bore the title Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā or Kalpanālaṃkṛtikā. We glean this from the fragments of the work, which H. Lüders discovered in the finds of manuscripts in Turfan.[2] Valuable though these fragments are, they are unfortunately so few in number, that even now we can only judge the work on the strength of the French translation of the Chinese version.[3] The Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā is a collection of pious legends after the manner of the Jātakas and Avadānas, and they are told in prose and verse in the style of ornate poetry. Some of the legends are old acquaintances, for instance that of Dīrghāyus ("Prince Live-Long") and that of King Śibi. An old parable, which appears already in the Tipiṭaka, namely, that it is as difficult to be reborn as a human being, as for a one-eyed tortoise to put its neck into the hole

[1]) See above, p. 28. The disciples are called Sāriputta and Moggallāna in Pāli.

[2]) H. *Lüders*, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta (Kön. Preuss. Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte II), Leipzig 1926. Both Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā and Kalpanālaṃkṛtikā appear as titles in the colophons. Both adjectives mean the same, and it is probable that Dṛṣṭānta-paṅktiḥ followed after them, so that the meaning of the title is: "A Series of Examples adorned by Poetic Invention." See *Lüders*, l.c., pp. 19, 26, and S. *Lévi* in JA, t. 201, 1927, p. 95 ff. The Chinese did not understand the somewhat extraordinary title, and (owing to the word alaṃkṛtikā) made a "Sūtrālaṃkāra" out of it. *Lüders* (l.c.) has advanced the hypothesis "that Aśvaghoṣa did actually write a work entitled Sūtrālaṃkāra, which was not translated into Chinese, but soon got lost, and was subsequently confused with the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā which was known by the similar sounding title Chuang-yen-lun = Alaṃkāraśāstra." I am not convinced that this is the solution of the riddle. S. *Lévi* (l.c., p. 126 f.) tries another solution and thinks it still possible that Aśvaghoṣa may be the author of the work.

[3]) Sûtrâlaṃkâra traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumârajîva par Éd. *Huber*, Paris 1908. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in Le Muséon, N. S. X, 1909, 86 ff.

of a yoke cast into the ocean, is several times met with in this work, and one of the tales (No. 38) has been invented for the special purpose of elucidating this parable.[1] Other legends breathe rather the spirit of the Mahāyāna, or at least reveal a Buddha-worship which is more on the side of the Mahāyāna. An instance is No. 57, which is at the same time one of the most beautiful legends in the collection.

A man comes to the monastery, and desires to be admitted into the order. The disciple Śāriputra examines him, and finds that the man cannot claim to have done even the slightest good deed in any of his existences throughout æons, and he therefore declares him unworthy of being admitted into the order. Weeping, the man leaves the monastery. Then he meets Lord Buddha himself, whose heart is full of pity, and who desires to convert that man "like a mother, who loves her son." He lays his hands on the head of the rejected one, and asks: "Why do you weep?" The man tells him that Śāriputra has rejected him. Then the Buddha comforts him "with a voice that sounded like distant thunder," and declares that Śāriputra is not omniscient. The Lord himself brings the man back into the monastery, and before the assembled monks he tells of the Karman, the good deed which has entitled the man to liberation. Once in a former birth this person was a poor man, wandering about on the wooded hills to gather wood, when a tiger rushed upon him. Full of terror, he cried: "Honour to the Buddha!" For the sake of these words, the man shall participate in liberation. Buddha himself ordains him as a monk, and he soon becomes an Arhat.[2]

According to Hsüan-Tsang,[3] Kumāralāta was the founder of the Sautrāntika school, and came from Taxila. In

---

[1]) Cf. *Winternitz* in WZKM 27, 1913, 43 ff.

[2]) Another example of genuine Mahāyānistic Buddha-Bhakti is No. 68, where Gautamī attains Nirvāṇa through the grace of the Buddha, whereupon she actually worships him. Mortals and gods also hasten to worship the Buddha (and also Buddha's mother).

[3]) Si-yu-ki, transl. by S. *Beal*, II, p. 302 f. Cf. *Lüders*, l.c., p. 21. According to K'ouei-Ki, a pupil of Hsüan-Tsang, Kumāralāta was called "master of parables." Cf. *Lévi*, l.c., p. 95 f. "Kumāralabdha" is only a wrong retranslation of the Chinese name given for Kumāralāta. See *Lüders*, l.c., p. 20.

the work itself, the masters of the Sarvāstivādins are honoured, and many of the stories in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā are taken from the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins.[1] King Kaniṣka plays a part in two narratives, and he appears as a king of a past age.[2] Hence the work must have been written some considerable time after the death of Kaniṣka, and the poet could not have lived earlier than the end of the second century, when Aśvaghoṣa was already a very old man.[3] As far as we are able to glean from the few fragments extant, the language of the work is perfectly correct Sanskrit, and there are seldom deviations from grammar. It is a curious thing that, in one passage,[4] there are two Āryā verses in Prākrit in the midst of the Sanskrit verses. At all events it is very regrettable that we no longer possess the greater portion of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā in the original. It is not only in itself a work of literary distinction, the merits of which (as Lévi rightly remarks) are still recognisable even after two processes of translation ; but also from the point of view of the history of ancient Indian literature and culture, its importance should not be undervalued, for it mentions the epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it confutes the philosophical doctrines of Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika and the religious views of the Brahmans and Jains, and it contains all kinds of references to script, art and painting.

Just as the Chinese ascribed one of Kumāralāta's works to Aśvaghoṣa, some poems by Mātṛceta have likewise been ascribed

---

[1]) Cf. S. *Lévi* in JA 1908, s. 10, t. XII, 91 ff., 184. *Huber* (in BEFEO, 4, 1904. pp. 709 ff.) has traced three stories in the Divyāvadāna. The Sautrāntikas originated with the Sarvāstivādins, and it is therefore no contradiction for Kumāralāta, as a Sautrāntika, to honour the Sarvāstivāda teachers. (Cf. *Lüders*. l.c., p. 22.)

[2]) No. 14 and No. 31. Cf. *Lévi* in JA 1896, s. 9, t. VIII, 444 ff.

[3]) If Harivarman, a pupil of Kumāralāta, was really a contemporary of Vasubandhu, then Kumāralāta should be placed not earlier than the end of the 3rd century, and could not be a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa. Cf. J. *Nobel* in SBA 1927, 229 ff.

[4]) In the 43rd story. Cf. *Lüders*, l.c., p. 45.

to Aśvaghoṣa in Tibet, and, according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, Mātṛceta is merely another name for Aśvaghoṣa.[1] It is probable that Mātṛceta was a somewhat senior contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa, and belonged to the same school of poets, and was therefore confused with him. King Kaniṣka at whose court it is generally assumed that Aśvaghoṣa lived, also invited the poet Mātṛceta to the court. Mātṛceta replied in a letter, called the Mahārāja Kanika-lekha,[2] which has come down in the Tibetan language; he asks the king to excuse him, as he is unable to come owing to his great age. The letter is a poem of 85 verses, containing chiefly admonitions to lead a moral life in the spirit of the Buddha. In verses running over with pity, the poet ends by imploring the king most earnestly to spare the creatures of the forest, and to give up the chase. When the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in the 7th century) was travelling in India, Mātṛceta was a very famous poet, and his hymns to Buddha were sung far and wide. The following legend, which I-tsing heard in India, testifies to his fame. Once when Buddha was walking through the forest, a nightingale began to sing sweet melodies, as though she were praising the glory of the Lord, whereupon the Buddha said to his disciples that this nightingale would once be reborn as Mātṛceta. His most famous hymns are the Catuḥ-Sataka Stotra, "the Hymn of Four Hundred

---

[1]) Ed. *Huber* (Sūtrālaṃkāra, pp. 63, 82) thought he had found a confirmation of the identity of Mātṛceta and Aśvaghoṣa, in the fact that Mātṛceta, too, cites the parable of the tortoise and the yoke in the ocean. However, even at the time, *Huber's* argument was not convincing (s. *Winternitz* in WZKM 27, 1913, 46 f.) and now that we know that Aśvaghoṣa is not the author of the "Sūtrālaṃkāra" at all, his argument falls to the ground entirely. See F. W. *Thomas* in OC XIII, Hamburg 1902, p. 40; ERE VIII, 1915, 495 ff.; *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, I, p. 59; *Lüders* in SBA 1914, p. 103.

[2]) Translated by F. W. *Thomas* in Ind. Ant. 32, 1903, 345 ff. I agree with *Thomas* in thinking that Maticitra, who is mentioned as the author of the letter, is identical with Mātṛceta, and that the King Kanika of the Kuṣa dynasty is identical with the Kuṣana King Kaniṣka, although both points are disputed by S. C. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* (JASB 1910, p. 477 f.).

Verses," and the Śatapañcāśatika Stotra, "the Hymn of One Hundred and Fifty Verses." Fragments of both of these have come down to us in Central Asian manuscripts.[1] They are poems in ślokas, in simple and unadorned, but beautiful, language, and they evidently impressed the faithful more by their pious thoughts than by their form. It is delightful, ays I-tsing, to hear his "Hymn of 150 Verses" or "Hymn of 400 Verses" recited in the assembly of monks. "These charming compositions," he says further, "are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattvas Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Throughout India everyone who becomes a monk is taught Mātṛceta's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Śīla). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools." I-tsing cannot find words sufficient to extol the merits of these poems, and he adds that there have been many commentators and imitators too. Thus the "Bodhisattva Jina" (an honourable title of the logician Dignāga) composed one verse to be placed before each of the one hundred and fifty verses of the Śatapañcāśatika Stotra, and in this way compiled a hymn of 300 verses, known as the "mixed Hymn of Praise." [2] I-tsing himself translated the "Hymn of 150 Verses" into Chinese, and there are Tibetan

[1]) W. *Siegling* has succeeded in reconstructing about two-thirds of the text of the Śatapañcāśatika-Stotra from the fragments of manuscripts from Turfan, and I am obliged to him for allowing me to peruse his manuscript which he was preparing for the press. Fragments from the collections made by *Pelliot* and Sir Aurel *Stein* have been published by S. *Lévi* (JA 1910, s. 10, t. XVI, 450 f.), *La Vallée Poussin* (JRAS 1911, 764 ff.) and *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, I, p. 58 ff. A few fragments of a "Tokharian" translation of the Buddha-Stotra are published by E. *Sieg* and W. *Siegling*, Tocharische Sprachreste I, pp. 216, 230 ff.

[2]) I-tsing, Record transl. by *Takakusu*, pp. 156, 157, 158, 166.

translations of both hymns.[1] A few specimens from the Śatapañcāśatika Stotra will serve to give the reader an idea of this pious poetry:

"How should I not, first of all, praise thee, and the great Compassion, by which thou, knowing its ills, hast been detained in mundane existence so long?"

"In laying the dust of passion thy speech acts as a raincloud; it acts like Vainateya (*i.e.* Garuḍa) in expelling the serpent of hatred.

Ever anew it acts as the midday in dispelling the darkness of ignorance; it acts as Śakra's (Indra's) thunderbolt in splitting in pieces the mountains of self-conceit."

"Towards an enemy intent on injury, thou art a friend intent on beneficence; towards one perpetually searching for faults, thou art bent upon searching for merits.

When there was an invitation to thee accompanied with poison and with fire: then there was visiting on thy part, with kindliness and with nectar.

Revilers are conquered by thee with forbearance, and injurers with blessing; and with veracity detractors, with friendliness the revengeful." [2]

The Maitreyavyākaraṇa, "the prophecy about Maitreya," or the Maitreyasamiti, "the Meeting with Maitreya," by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra, belongs to the same period, and perhaps also to the same school of poets, as the above-mentioned works. There is only one incomplete manuscript [3] of this

---

[1]) In the Tibetan version the Catuḥ-Śataka is called *Varṇanārhavarṇana*, "The Praise of Him Who Deserves Praise." The title is also found in Central Asian fragments in colophons (s. *Hoernle*, l.c., pp. 76, 81,83). F. W. *Thomas* has translated the first half of the poem from Tibetan (Ind. Ant., 24, 1905, 145 ff.). A list of the works which are ascribed to Mātṛceta in Tibetan, is given by *Thomas* in Kavīndravacana-Samuccaya, p. 27, and Ind. Ant., 32, 346 f.

[2]) Verses 59, 73 f., 122-124; for the text, see *Hoernle*, l.c., pp. 66 ff., 71; translation by *Hoernle* with slight alterations.

[3]) *Haraprasāda Śāstrī*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, Calcutta 1917, p. 13 f. The name of the author is not mentioned here, but only in the colophons of Tokharian and Uigurian fragments, *cf.* F. W. K. *Müller* and E. *Sieg* in SBA 1916, 396, 414 f.; E. *Sieg* and W. *Siegling*, Tocharische Sprachreste, I, p. 125.

work, but it was translated repeatedly into Chinese, into the languages of Central Asia, and also into Tibetan, and it must have enjoyed great popularity for a long time, at least beyond the confines of India.[1] In the form of a dialogue between Gotama Buddha and Śāriputra (in other versions Ānanda) the work contains the prophecy about the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya, his birth, his appearance and the paradisaic life under him. In Central Asian versions it is sometimes called a "drama" (nāṭaka), and it seems to have been adapted for dramatic performances in Central Asia (perhaps at religious festivals).[2]

The Jātakamālā [3] by the poet Śūra or Āryaśūra,[4] resembles the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā very closely as far as style is concerned. "Jātakamālā" or "Garland of Jātakas," is however, really a generic term. Various poets have written Jātakamālās, *i.e.*, they have produced free renderings of selected Jātakas in ornate poetical language, in a mixture of prose

---

[1]) E. *Leumann*, Maitreya-samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten, Strassburg, 1919, gives the text and German translation of the version in the language which he terms "North-Aryan" (called by others "Tokharian"). The Chinese versions by Dharmarakṣa (between 255 and 316 A.D.), by Kumārajīva (about 402 A.D.) and by I-tsing (701 A.D.) have been translated into German by K. *Watanabe* (see *Leumann*, l.c., p. 227 ff.). The Kanjur contains three lives of Maitreya translated from the Sanskrit and one from the Pāli. See H. *Beckh*, Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften, p. 188 f. and E. *Abegg*, Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran, Berlin und Leipzig, 1928, p. 132 ff. Fragments in "Tokharian" have been published by E. *Sieg* and W. *Siegling*, Tocharische Sprachreste, I, 107, 119, 125 ff., 155 ff., 164 ff., 254 f. (previously, too, in SBA 1908, 915 ff.), in Uigurian by F. W. K. *Müller* and E. *Sieg* in SBA 1905, p. 958; 1916, 395 ff.

[2]) See *Sieg* and *Siegling*, Tocharische Sprachreste, I, pp. 125, 255, and SBA 1916, 398. Expressions such as "interlude" and "all go out" in the Central Asian versions, do not, however, constitute a proof that the Sanskrit original was an actual drama. It is most desirable that *Haraprasāda Śāstrī* should give us further information about the contents of MS. No. 4806 in the Asiatic Society's collection.

[3]) Ed. by H. *Kern* in HOS, Vol. I, 1891; translated by J. S. *Speyer* in SBB, Vol. I, 1895. Cf. *Kern* in Festgruss an Böhtlingk, Stuttgart 1888, p. 50 f.; S. d' *Oldenburg* in JRAS 1893, 308 ff.; A. *Barth* in RHR 1893, t. 28, p. 260; K. *Watanabe* in JPTS 1909, p. 263 ff.; A. *Gawron'ski*, Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, Krakov 1919, p. 40 ff.

[4]) According to *Tāranātha* this, too, is only another name of Aśvaghoṣa.

and verse. Āryaśūra, too, does not trouble to invent new stories, he re-tells the old legends in ornate, elegant language. The style, both in the prose and the verse, is the Kāvya style, but lofty and refined, more artistic than artificial. In the same way as the Jātakas were intended for the use of the monks in their sermons, so the Jātakamālā, too, is intended for the purposes of the preachers. Yet the poet, who was perhaps himself a court preacher, certainly had in view only monks who preached in court circles in which Sanskrit poetry was understood and appreciated. The work contains 34 Jātakas, which, like the 35 Jātakas of the Cariyāpiṭaka, are intended to illustrate the Pāramitās, or "perfections" of a Bodhisattva. Almost all the narratives occur also in the Jātaka book,[1] and 12 in the Cariyāpiṭaka. Among the few stories which are not found in the Pāli collection of Jātakas, is the first one, which tells how the Bodhisattva sees a hungry tigress who is about to devour her young ones, and kills himself so as to provide food for her. This very characteristic story is given here in brief extracts :

"Even in former births the Lord had shown his spontaneous and highest affectionateness towards all creatures, and had identified himself with all beings. Therefore one must cherish the greatest love for Buddha the Lord. Thus for instance, the following great feat of the Lord in a former birth is related, a deed which is praised by my revered teacher, a worshipper of the three jewels, who satisfied his teacher with his wisdom and virtue, and was a past master in the investigation of the virtues. At that time the Bodhisattva, who afterwards became the Lord, who in fulfilment of his extraordinary promises, had mercy on the world by gifts, words of love, acts of help, and other faultless streams of pity gushing forth from wisdom and love, was reborn in a very learned, powerful Brahman family, devoted to the fulfilment of their duties, and distin-

[1]) Some verses coincide with the Pāli Gāthās. See the table in *Speyer's* translation, p. 337 ff., S. d'*Oldenburg* in JRAS 1893, 328 ff.; J. *Charpentier* in ZDMG 64, 1910, 67 ff.; *Oldenberg* in NGGW 1918, 464 ff. R. O. *Franke* (Indogerm. Forschungen V, 1895, Anzeiger, p. 31 ff.) has also traced Pālicism in the language of the Jātakamālā.

guished for the purity of their conduct." He grew up, and soon gained great mastery in all arts and sciences. Great wealth and honours fell to his lot. But he took no pleasure in the worldly life, and he soon retired into solitude. He lived in the forest as a pious hermit. One day, accompanied only by a pupil, he was wandering about on the hills. Then he saw in a rock cave a young tigress, exhausted by hunger, about to devour her young ones, which approached her confidingly for the milk in her udders.

"When the Bodhisattva saw her,
Then he trembled, brave though he was,
Full of pity for another's pain,
As the lord of the hills [1] in an earthquake.
Wonderful, how the pitiful
Remain brave, even when
Great sorrow comes upon themselves,
Yet at another's woe,
Though it be less, they are shaken."

Then he sends his pupil away to fetch meat, but this is only an excuse for remaining alone; for he has already resolved to throw himself over the precipice, in order to save the lives of the tiger-cubs, and to serve as food for the tigress. His reason for this resolve is that this vain earthly body has no other value than that of being sacrificed for others. Moreover, by this means, he will afford an encouraging example to those who desire to do good in the world; he will put to shame the selfish, point the way to heaven to well-doers, and himself attain perfect enlightenment immediately. He desires nothing else:—

"Not from ambition, nor desire for fame, not for
the joy of heaven, nor to win sovereignty,
Not for the sake of my own eternal bliss do I
do this,—no, only to benefit another.
As this is true, so may I always have the power of taking away
the sorrow of the world,
And bringing happiness to it, as the sun always brings
the light and drives away the darkness."

[1]) That is, Mount Meru.

With these words he casts himself down into the rock cave. The tigress is attracted by the sound, leaves her young ones, and throws herself upon the corpse of the Bodhisattva to devour it. When the pupil returns and sees this, he is deeply moved, and utters some verses full of worship for the Lord. Men, demi-gods and gods express their admiration for the Lord by throwing garlands of flowers, jewels, garments and sandalwood on the remaining bones.

The boundless pity of the Bodhisattva is also glorified in most of the other narratives.

I-tsing praises the Jātakamālā (or Jātakamālās) among the works which were particularly popular and much read in India at his time. Among the frescoes of the caves of Ajanta there are illustrations to the Jātakamālā with verses by Āryaśūra in inscriptions. Paleographically, these inscriptions belong to the 6th century A.D. As another work by Āryaśūra was already translated into Chinese in 434 A.D., the poet probably belongs to the 4th century A.D.[1]

A work of ornate poetry which deals once more with the life of Buddha, and which concludes with the same episode as Book XIII of the Buddha-Carita, is the Sanskrit epic Padyacūḍāmaṇi,[2] ascribed to a man named Buddhaghoṣa. The author of this Mahākāvya (in 10 Sargas) is certainly not the famous commentator, but some Buddhaghoṣa, who knew the epics of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, and made liberal use of them,[3] or perhaps an anonymous writer, who simply assumed the name of Buddhaghoṣa.

---

[1]) *I-tsing*, transl. by *Takakusu*, p. 162 f.; H. *Lüders*, NGGW 1902, p. 758 ff.; B. *Nanjio*, Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, No. 1349; Th. *Zachariae*, GGA 1888, p. 850; F. W. *Thomas* in Album Kern, p. 405 ff. Though the Chinese translation of the Jātakamālā mentions Āryaśūra as the author, it only contains 14 stories, see A. O. *Ivanovski* in RHR 1903, t. 47, p. 298 ff. In the Tibetan Tanjur five other works besides the Jātakamālā, are ascribed to Āryaśūra; s. *Thomas*, Kavīndravacana-Samuccaya, p. 27 f.

[2]) Ed. by M. *Ranga Acharya* and S. *Kuppuswami Sastri*, with a commentary by Pandits K. *Venkateśvara Sastri* and D. S. *Satakopa Acharya*, Madras, 1921.

[3]) See *Kuppuswami Sastri's* "References to descriptions of same or similar things in Raghuvaṃśa, Buddhacarita, and Padyacūḍāmaṇi," prefixed to the Edition. The name of the author is mentioned only in the colophons. See B. Ch. *Law*, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 85 ff.

The Avadāna Literature.

The Jātakamālā is also called "Bodhisattvāvadānamālā," for "Bodhisattvāvadāna" is synonymous with Jātaka; and, indeed, the Jātakas are nothing but Avadānas the hero of which is the Bodhisattva. Thus, works like the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā and Jātakamālā often coincide with the texts of the Avadāna literature, and numerous Jātakas are also contained in the Avadāna books.[1] Like the two above-mentioned works of Buddhist narrative literature, the Avadāna texts also stand, so to speak, with one foot in the Hīnayāna literature, and the other in that of the Mahāyāna.[2] The earlier works still belong entirely to the Hīnayāna; though they already exhibit that Buddha worship which is also met with in the later works of the Pāli Canon (Buddhavaṃsa, Apadānas) they as yet eschew the exaggerations and the mythology of the Mahāyāna, whilst the latest works of the Avadāna are already completely Mahāyānistic.

The word avadāna[3] means a "noteworthy deed," sometimes in a bad sense,[4] but generally in the good sense of "a heroic deed," "a feat," with the Buddhists a "religious

---

[1]) On the Avadāna literature in general, see E. *Burnouf*, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme, p. 207 ff.; L. *Feer* in the introduction to his translation, and J. S. *Speyer* in the foreword to his edition, of the Avadāna-Śataka, Vol. II.

[2]) We know through *I-tsing* (transl. *Takakusu*, pp. xxii f. and 14 f.) that the boundaries between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were often uncertain.

[3]) In Pāli apadāna, see above, p. 157 f. In Sanskrit, too, the secondary form apadāna is found. See *Burnouf*, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, p. 57; *Feer*, l. c., p. ix ff.; *Speyer*, l. c., p. 1 ff. The Chinese translators sometimes confuse *avadāna* with *nidāna*, but we must not, as H. *Zimmer* (ZII 3, 1925, 205 ff.) does, interpret *avadāna* as being synonymous with *nidāna* in the sense of "actions which causally determine as their consequences certain events which take place later in time." In the sense of "deed," "great deed," *avadāna* occurs not only in Jātakamālā I, beginning; III, 23; IV, 2, but also in the Rāmāyaṇa, in works of Kālidāsa and in other works written in classical Sanskrit.

[4]) For instance in Avadāna-Śataka V.

or moral feat " and then also the "story of a noteworthy deed, or feat." Such a "feat" may consist of the sacrifice of one's own life, but also merely of a gift of incense, flowers, ointments, gold and precious stones, or the erection of sanctuaries (Stūpas, Caityas, and so on). As these stories are, as a rule, intended to show that "black deeds bear black fruits, and white deeds white fruits," they are also Karman stories, which show how the actions of one existence are very closely connected with those of former or future existences. It is, of course, only from our standpoint that they are "legends": the Buddhists regard them as actual events, related by the Buddha himself, and are just as authentic as "words of the Buddha" (buddhavacana) as a Sūtra. Like the Jātakas the Avadānas, too, are a kind of sermons. It is therefore usually told, by way of introduction, where and on what occasion Buddha related the story from the past, and at the end, the lesson is deduced from the story by Buddha. A regular Avadāna, then, consists of a story of the present, a story of the past, and a moral. If the hero of the story of the past is the Bodhisattva, this kind of Avadāna can also be called a "Jātaka."[1] There is a special kind of Avadānas, namely those in which the Buddha, instead of telling a story of the past, gives a prophecy of the future. Like the usual story of the past, this story of the future serves to explain the present Karman.[2] There are also Avadānas in which both kinds of stories are combined, and finally also such in which a Karman already shows its good or bad fruits in the present existence.

All these kinds of Avadānas also occur sporadically in the Vinayapiṭaka and in the Sūtrapiṭaka, but are mostly to be found in large collections, which were compiled either purely

[1]) On Jātakas in the Avadāna literature, see S. d'*Oldenburg*, JRAS 1893, p. 304, and *Feer*, Les Avadānas Jâtakas, JA 1884, s. 8, t. IV, p. 332 ff.

[2]) Hence the name Vyākaraṇa, "explanation," for the prophetic Stories of the Future.

for the purpose of edification or with literary ambitions as well.

The Avadāna-Śataka, or "the hundred Avadānas,"[1] is a work of the former category, presumably the oldest of these books. As it was already translated into Chinese in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., and on the other hand as the dīnāra is mentioned, we can, with a considerable degree of certainty, ascribe it to the 2nd century A.D.[2] The character of the narratives, and the fact that the Stories of the Present contain passages from a Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra and other Sūtras of the Sanskrit Canon of the Sarvāstivādins, are sufficient evidence that this work belongs to the Hīnayāna.[3] Though Buddha-worship plays a prominent part in the legends, there is no trace of the Bodhisattva cult and of Mahāyānistic mythology.

The Avadāna-Śataka consists of ten decades,[4] each of which deals with a certain subject. The first four decades contain narratives which are intended to show by which actions one can become a Buddha or a Pratyeka-Buddha.[5] All the narratives of the first decade and for the greater part also of the third decade, are of the nature of prophecies (Vyākaraṇas). The story is told of a pious deed by which a person, a Brahman, a princess, the son of an usurer, a rich merchant, a gardener, a king, a ferryman, a little girl, and so on, worships the Buddha ; a miracle usually takes place, and the Buddha pro-

[1]) Edited by J. S. *Speyer* (Bibliotheca Buddhica III), St. Petersburg 1902-1909. Translated into French by L. *Feer* (AMG., t. 18), Paris 1891. *Feer* had already previously translated and discussed separate sections of the work in a series of treatises (JA 1878-1884).

[2]) *Speyer*, Vol. II, Preface, p. xv. Works in which the Roman denarius is mentioned as dīnāra, could not have originated before the 1st century A.D., and were probably written later, see above, Vol. I, p. 464, note 2.

[3]) *Speyer*, l. c., p. xvi ff., and ZDMG 53, 1899, p. 120ff.; *Oldenberg* ZDMG 52, p. 672, NGGW 1912, p. 168 ff.

[4]) This division into Vargas (Pāli Vagga) of ten pieces each, is very popular in the Pāli texts, and therefore seems to be ancient Buddhist.

[5]) *i.e.*, Pāli Paccekabuddha, see above, p. 146, note 1.

claims smilingly that this person will, in a future age of the world, be a Buddha or (in Book III) a Pratyeka-Buddha. On the other hand, the stories in the second and fourth decades are Jātakas. The pious, virtuous and wonderful deeds are explained by the fact that the hero of these narratives is none other than the Buddha himself in one of his former births. Book V is a kind of Pretavastu, corresponding to the Pāli Petavatthu. A saint, usually Maudgalyāyana, looks around in the world of ghosts, and observes the sufferings of one of the (male or female) ghosts (Pretas). He asks the cause of his or her sufferings. The ghost refers him to the Buddha, who then relates the story of the "black deed," the refusal to give alms, the abuse of a saint, and so on, committed by that being in a former existence. Book VI relates stories of men and animals who, by means of some pious deed, are reborn as gods in heaven. The four last decades contain narratives which are to show which deeds qualify a person to become an Arhat. The Arhats of Book VII are all of the race of the Śākyas, those in Book VIII are women, those in Book IX men of blameless conduct, and those in Book X men who formerly did bad deeds and suffered for them, and only then attained the stage of an Arhat by means of a pious deed.

The tales in this collection are not only classified and compiled on a definite plan, but they are also narrated after one stereotyped pattern. This conventionality goes so far that certain phrases and descriptions of situations occur again and again in exactly the same words.[1] Thus every narrative begins with the following words:

"Buddha the Lord, honoured, highly esteemed, held in honour and praised by kings, ministers, rich people, citizens, masters of guilds, leaders of caravans, gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and great

[1] Clichés of the same kind, also occur in Bengali poems, s. Dinesh Chandra *Sen*, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 585 f.

snakes, worshipped by Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and great snakes, Buddha the Lord, the famous, highly meritorious one, accompanied by a community of disciples, and receiving as alms all necessary clothing, food, bed and shelter, refreshments and medicaments, went to.....and sojourned in....."

Every narrative, too, concludes with the words: "Thus spake the Lord, and with enraptured hearts the monks applauded the words of the Lord." When the moral of the story is summed up, it is always in the words :—

"So, O monks, the fruit of quite black deeds is quite black, that of quite white deeds quite white, that of mixed deeds is mixed. Therefore, O monks, give up the black and the mixed deeds, and take pleasure only in the quite white deeds....."

In the same way, a pious man, a rich man, a powerful king, a happy marriage, the education of a young man, the appearance of a former Buddha, and so on are always described in exactly the same words. That is, indeed, not only the case with a few short sentences, but even with long passages extending over several printed pages. One of the longest stereotyped pieces is, for instance, the description of the smile with which the Buddha utters the prophecy that somebody will become a Buddha ; for, before the Buddha prophesies the future, he invariably smiles. And when he smiles, blue, yellow, red and white rays burst forth from his mouth. Some of these rays descend to the hells, the others ascend into the worlds of heaven. And after they have travelled round the thousands and thousands of worlds, they return again to the Buddha from behind, and disappear in some part of the Buddha's body, which varies according to the subject of the prophecy. All this is very circumstantially described ; and this circumstantiality and prolixity is characteristic of the method of narration of the Avadāna-Śataka in general. Nevertheless, besides many commonplace and tedious, though always edifying, stories, it also contains many valuable narratives and noteworthy variants from the

passages of Buddhist narrative literature familiar from other texts. Only a few examples can here be quoted in extracts, in order to give an idea of the character of the collection.

No. 28. A poor girl anoints the feet of the Buddha with ointment made of sandalwood oil. In consequence of this, the whole town is filled with the perfume of sandalwood. The girl is delighted with this miracle, falls at the Buddha's feet, and prays that she may become a Pratyeka-Buddha in a future birth. Buddha smiles, and prophesies that she will one day be a Pratyeka-Buddha named Gandhamādana ("Perfume-delighter").

No. 34 is a version of the legend of King Śibi, who gives away all his possessions. But it is not enough for him to satisfy human beings, he also wants to do good to the small creatures. Therefore he cuts his skin with a knife, and stands there to let the stinging flies satisfy themselves with his blood. Śakra sees this from his heaven, and, in order to put him to the test, appears before Śibi in the form of a vulture, as though he were about to attack him. The king only looks at him with friendliness, and says: "Take, my friend, whatever part of my body you require, I give it to you." Thereupon the god transforms himself into a Brahman and asks the king for both his eyes. Śibi says: "Take, great Brahman, what you will, I will not hinder you." Then Śakra assumes his true form, and prophesies that Śibi will attain perfect enlightenment.

No. 36 is the legend of Maitrakanyaka, a version of the Pāli Jātaka of Mittavindaka. But in this case the story takes quite a different turn from the Pāli version, owing to the fact that the Bodhisattva is the hero. Here, too, he goes to hell as a punishment for having offended his mother, and a glowing iron wheel revolves on his head. But while he suffers the dreadful torments, and it is foretold to him that he will have to bear the wheel for 66,000 years, until another shall come who has committed a similar sin, he feels pity for the creatures, and in order that nobody else shall have to suffer the same pains, he determines to bear the wheel on his own head for all eternity. In consequence of this merciful thought, the wheel vanishes from his head.[1]

No. 54. At the suggestion of his wives, King Bimbisāra has caused a Stūpa to be erected in his harem over some hairs and nail-parings which the Buddha had given him. The women worshipped this with incense, lamps, flowers, etc. But when Ajātaśatru murdered his father Bimbisāra,

[1] See above, p. 132, and *Scherman*, Visionslitteratur, p. 69 ff.

and ascended the throne himself, he issued the strict command that no woman shall dare, on pain of death, to worship the Stūpa. Śrīmatī, however, one of the women of the harem, takes no notice of this command, and places a garland of lamps around the Stūpa. The enraged king kills her, she dies thinking of the Buddha, and is at once reborn in the heaven of the gods.

No. 100. Whilst the heroes of all the other Avadānas are contemporaries of the Buddha, the hero of this last story is a contemporary of King Aśoka. The link with the time of Buddha is established by the initial mention of a report of the passing away of the Buddha.[1] King Aśoka lived a hundred years after the passing of the Buddha. Aśoka had a son named Kuṇāla, who was so handsome that the king believed there could not be his equal in the whole world. One day, however, he hears from some merchants from Gandhāra, that a still handsomer young man exists. In their country, they say, there lives a youth named Sundara ("Beautiful") who is not only of faultless beauty, but wherever he goes, a lotus pond and a garden arise. The astonished King Aśoka sends messengers for Sundara, and convinces himself of this miracle. The king then asks what Karman has given the youth his advantages, and Upagupta,[2] one of the elders, replies as follows: At the time when the Buddha had just attained complete Nirvāṇa, the present Sundara had been a poor farmer, who prepared a refreshing bath and food for Mahā-Kāśyapa and his retinue of 500 monks when they went to the burial of the Lord and were bowed down with grief at the passing of the Master, and were quite exhausted by their long wanderings. He is now enjoying the fruit of that good deed.

Many of the narratives of the Avadāna-Śataka recur in other collections of Avadānas, and a few also in the Pāli Apadānas.[3]

---

[1]) This account is a passage from a Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra, and agrees fairly closely with the Pāli Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta. Another passage on the Parinirvāṇa is the introduction to No. 40.

[2]) Upagupta here takes over the rôle of the Buddha in the other Avadānas.

[3]) Thus, for example, the legend of Rāṣṭrapāla (No. 90) which corresponds partly to the Raṭṭhapāla-Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya, and partly to the Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna. See Mabel *Bode* in Mélanges Lévi, p. 183 ff. Frequently it is only the titles which are identical, and the Apadāna shows great variations. See *Feer*, Avadāna Çataka, pp. 240 f., 313 f., 335, 340 ff., 354 f., 360 f., 372 f., 439 f.

The Karma-Śataka ("A hundred Karman stories"), is an old work which is very much like the Avadāna-Śataka, and has a number of narratives in common with it, but unfortunately it has only come down in a Tibetan translation.[1]

The Divyāvadāna ("The Heavenly Avadānas"),[2] is a later collection than the Avadāna-Śataka, but it also includes some very old texts. Though it begins with the Mahāyānistic benediction "Om, honour to all the exalted Buddhas and Bodhisattvas," and contains just a few obviously later additions in the spirit of the Mahāyāna,[3] as a whole it decidedly belongs to the Hīnayāna school. The Sanskrit Canon and single canonical texts such as Dīrghāgama, Udāna, Sthavira-Gāthā, and so on, are frequently quoted.[4] Some narratives begin and end exactly as in the Avadāna-Śataka, and a number of the stereotyped phrases and descriptions so characteristic of this book, also recur literally in the Divyāvadāna. They are probably derived from the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūla-

---

[1]) *Feer*, l. c., pp. xxix f., 442 ff. ; *AMG.*, t. V, 382 ff., 404 ff., and JA 1901, s. 9, t. XVII, pp. 53 ff., 257 ff., 410 ff. ; *Speyer*, l. c., p. xix f. Another Tibetan Avadāna book translated from the Sanskrit, but the Sanskrit original of which is no longer extant, is the narrative work Dsanglun, well-known in universal literature, and translated into German with the title "Der Weise und der Tor" by I. J. *Schmidt* (St. Petersburg 1843). (On a Chinese version of this work, s. *Takakusu* in JRAS 1901, p. 447 ff.).

[2]) Edited by E. B. *Cowell* and R. A. *Neil*, Cambridge 1886. Long passages from it were translated by *Burnouf* in his "Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien." Four tales have been translated into German by H. *Zimmer*, Karman, ein buddhistischer Legendenkranz, München 1925. Critical notes on the text of the Divyāvadāna by J. S. *Speyer* in WZKM 16, 1902, 103 ff., 340 ff. "Studies in the Divyāvadāna" by James R. *Ware* in JAOS 48, 1928, 159 ff. The title of the work is not certain; it is only found in the colophons of some of the manuscripts. *Rājendralāla Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., pp. 304 to 316, describes a manuscript entitled "Divyāvadānamālā," which diverges greatly from our edition. Also a Paris manuscript described in the Edition, p. 663 ff., only partly agrees with our Divyāvadāna.

[3]) Thus Chapter 34 calls itself a "mahāyānasūtram" (Ed., p. 483) and the ṣaḍakṣarā vidyā, i.e., om maṇi padme hūṃ, is mentioned in Chapt. 33 (Ed., p. 613 f.). See *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 381.

[4]) See above, p. 233 f. and *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 1898, pp. 653, 655 f., 658, 665. The four Āgamas are mentioned in Divyāvadāna, p. 333.

Sarvāstivāda school, from which, as S. Lévi [1] has shown, more than one-half of the stories is borrowed.

The composition of the work is, in fact, very confused and disconnected. There is no sign of any principle of arrangement. The language and style, too, are by no means unified. Most of the legends are written in good, simple Sanskrit prose, only interrupted here and there by Gāthās. In a few of the pieces, however, we also find the metres of ornate poetry and the genuine Kāvya style with its long compound words.[2] The compiler thus seems to have simply taken over the passages literally out of other texts. As a matter of fact, almost all the stories in the Divyāvadāna have been traced to other works. In addition to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, the compiler of the Divyāvadāna also made use of a "Book of King Aśoka,"[3] of the Saṃyuktāgama (which is known by the Chinese translation Tsa A-han King), and of Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.[4] It stands to reason that, when the Divyāvadāna was compiled in this fashion, the various parts of the work belong to different periods. There are some passages which must certainly have been written prior to the 3rd century A.D. However, the collection as a whole, could not have been in existence earlier than the 4th century A.D.; for, not

---

[1]) "Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna" in T'oung Pao, s. II, Vol. VIII, 1907, 105 ff.

[2]) *Oldenberg* in NGGW 1912, 156 ff., has shown that, in the Divyāvadāna, just as in the Mahāvastu, there are two distinct styles, an earlier canonical one, and a later style.

[3]) It is not certain what the Sanskrit title of this work was. It was translated into Chinese as A-yu-wang-ch'uan (approximately Aśokarājāvadāna) by the Parthian Fa-k'in between 281 and 306, and in a shorter version as A-yu-wang-king (approximately Aśokarāja-Sūtra) in the year 512 by a certain Saṅghabhara or Saṅghabhaṭa.

[4]) See J. *Przyluski*, La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadâna) dans les textes, Paris 1923 (AMG, Bibl. d'Études, t. 31); Éd. *Huber* in BEFEO 4, 1904, 709 ff.; 6, 1906, 1 ff. and *Speyer*, Avadānaśataka II, Preface, p. xvi f. A. *Gawron'ski*, Studies about the Sanskrit-Buddhist Literature, p. 49 ff., thinks that in the Aśoka cycle of the Divy. he is able to trace an acquaintanc with Aśvaghoṣa's epics too.

only are Aśoka's successors, the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty down to Puṣyamitra (about 178 B.C.) mentioned in this work, but the dināra occurs several times, and this brings us at least to the first century A.D. and probably nearer to 400 A.D.[1] and lastly, some time must have elapsed after Kumāralāta, who lived a considerable time after Kaniṣka,[2] for a compiler to make such extensive use of his Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.

However, it is valuable to know that precisely one of the most interesting legends in the Divyāvadāna, the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna,[3] was translated into Chinese in 265 A.D. The substance of this Avadāna, remarkable in several ways, is as follows :—

When the Master was sojourning in Śrāvastī, Ānanda was in the habit of going daily to the town to beg for food. One day when he was returning from the town, he was thirsty, and saw a Caṇḍāla girl, named Prakṛti, fetching water from the well. " Sister," he said to her, " give me some water to drink." Thereupon Prakṛti replied : " I am a Caṇḍāla girl, honourable Ānanda." " Sister," said Ānanda, " I did not enquire about your family and your caste, but if you have water left, give me some, I want to drink." [4] Then the girl gave him a drink, and fell deeply in love with the saint. She declares to her mother that she will surely die if she cannot get Ānanda as her husband. Then her mother, who is a great sorceress, prepares a potent love-charm,[5] and bewitches Ānanda by means of mantras. The spell is successful, and Ānanda comes to the house of the Caṇḍālas, where the delighted Prakṛti has already prepared the couch. But at the moment of the greatest danger, Ānanda bursts into tears, and

[1]) See above, Vol. I, p. 464, note 2.

[2]) See above, p. 269.

[3]) Edition, p. 611 ff. See also *Rāj. Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 223 ff.

[4]) The resemblance to St. John IV, 7 ff. (Jesus and the woman of Samaria) is certainly striking, but the whole of the rest of the story is so very different in the Gospel, that we can scarcely assume any connection between the two.

[5]) She does this in the same way as such magical rites were performed according to the Kauśika-Sūtra of the Atharvaveda (see above, Vol. I, p. 280) from time immemorial, and as they are familiar to witchcraft among all nations. See *Winternitz* in WZKM 26, 1912, 248 ff.

in his dire need prays to the Buddha. Buddha comes to his aid with *his* mantras; and Buddha's mantras render those of the sorceress powerless. Ānanda leaves the Caṇḍāla house, and returns to his monastery. The great sorceress explains to her unhappy daughter that the spells of Gautama are stronger than hers. But Prakṛti, the Caṇḍāla girl, was not cured of her love. She went into the town and now followed Ānanda daily when he went on his begging rounds. Again Ānanda, in his distress, appealed to the Master for help. Buddha sends for Prakṛti, and appears to agree to her desire of marrying Ānanda, but with great delicacy, he is able to induce her to take the vow of chastity, and become a nun. She not only has her hair cut off and assumes the garb of a nun, but she also enters into the complete understanding of the four noble truths, and entirely comprehends the religion of the Buddha.

Now when the Brahmans, warriors and citizens of Śrāvastī heard that Buddha had ordained a Caṇḍāla girl as a nun, they were very angry; they reported the matter to King Prasenajit, and the king immediately went to the Master in order to complain of this procedure. Many Brahmans, warriors and citizens of Śrāvastī were also assembled there. Then the Buddha told the story of Triśaṅku, the Caṇḍāla chief, who wished to marry his very learned son Śārdūlakarṇa to the daughter of the proud Brahman Puṣkarasārin. The Brahman rejects him with scorn. Now a most interesting dialogue is developed, in which Triśaṅku severely criticises the caste system and the Brahmanical ethical teachings. He points out to him that such differences as exist among the different kinds of animals and plants, cannot be shown among the castes. Moreover, according to the theory of the transmigration of souls and of Karman, there cannot be any castes, as everyone is reborn according to his actions, and so on. Finally Puṣkarasārin is convinced of the learning of Triśaṅku, whereupon he consents to the marriage. Now the Brahman's daughter was none other than Prakṛti, the Caṇḍāla girl, in a former birth. The Buddha himself was at that time Triśaṅku and Śārdūlakarṇa was Ānanda.[1])

[1]) Richard *Wagner* became acquainted with this legend by means of *Burnouf's* translation (Introduction, p. 205 ff.) and based the outline of his "Sieger" upon it. *Cf.* the sketch in Richard Wagner, Nachgelassene Schriften und Dichtungen, Leipzig, 1895, p. 161 f. How keen Wagner was to put Ānanda and Prakṛti on the stage, is shown by his letters to Matilde *Wesendonk* (21st edit., Berlin, 1904, p. 59 ff., 98, 197 and 242). As is well known, the "Sieger" finally became "Parsifal."

Chapters XXVI to XXIX should certainly be counted among the oldest portions of the Divyāvadāna : they contain a cycle of legends centring around the person of the great king Aśoka, and are based upon an ancient "Book of King Aśoka." This book probably originated in Mathurā between 150 and 50 B. C.,[1] but is no longer extant in its original form. We only know it from two different Chinese versions.[2] The Divyāvadāna did not only draw on the "Book of King Aśoka," which was already augmented at that time, but it also made use of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.[3] These legends scarcely contain anything of much historical value ;[4] but they are all the more valuable from the purely literary standpoint. Above all, we find here the exceedingly dramatic legend of Upagupta and Māra. It is an extremely bold idea to allow Māra, the evil one, the tempter, to be converted by a Buddhist monk. The idea is still bolder when the saint Upagupta, who longs to see, face to face, the Buddha who had entered Nirvāṇa a hundred years before, beseeches Māra, whom he had converted, to appear in the guise of the Buddha, and when Māra does indeed, like a skilful actor, represent Buddha in so life-like a manner, that the saint sinks down before him in prayer. The whole of this story is so dramatic that we might believe it to be simply a Buddhist drama retold here. This passage is taken almost word for word from Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, and in language, style and metre, it

---

[1]) *Przyluski*, l.c., pp. 13 ff., 92 f., 166.

[2]) See above, p. 285, note 3.

[3]) For a detailed treatment of the mutual relationship of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, Divyāvadāna, A-yu-wang-ch'uan and A-yu-wang-king, s. H. *Lüders*, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta, p. 71 ff.

[4]) Unless there is a historical nucleus underlying the persecutions of Jain monks, mentioned in Divy., p. 427, and the persecutions of Buddhist monks under Puṣyamitra, mentioned on p. 433 f. See *Rhys Davids*, JPTS 1896, p. 88 f.

is one of the best productions of ornate poetry.[1] One of the most beautiful legends in the Aśoka cycle is the touching story of Kuṇāla, the son of Aśoka, whose lovely eyes are poked out at the instigation of his wicked stepmother, without his feeling one moment's anger or hatred towards her who has done him so much injury.[2] The Divyāvadāna has many legends in common with the Pāli Canon. Thus Chapter XVII contains a passage from a Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra.[3] Chapter III relates of the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya, combined with the legend of King Praṇāda.[4] In this it partly coincides with Dīghanikāya 26. The story of Pūrṇa, who goes as an apostle to the savage and violent Sroṇaparāntakas, determined to accept it with equanimity and gentleness if they despise him, strike him, or even want to kill him, corresponds to a familiar Pāli Sutta.[5] The story of the young son of a merchant, who gradually acquires enormous riches all on account of his having sold a dead mouse, corresponds to Jātaka No. 4.[6] The Avadāna of Rūpavatī is

---

[1]) Divyāvadāna Ed., pp. 356-364, transl. by *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, p. 161 ff. *Cf.* Éd. *Huber*, Açvaghoṣa, Sûtrâlaṃkāra traduit en Français, p. 263 ff. and BEFEO 4, 1904, p. 709 ff. *Lüders*, l.c., 77 ff. A Pāli form of this legend, quite inartistic and undramatic, has been published by C. *Duroiselle* (BEFEO 4, 1904, p. 414 ff.) from the Burmese work Lokapaññatti. It is curious that the monastery in which Upagupta, who later became Aśoka's teacher, lives, is endowed by the brothers Naṭa ("actor") and Bhaṭa ("soldier"), and is therefore called Naṭabhaṭika. *Lévi* (T'oung Pao 1907, p. 120) is not wrong in calling the Aśokāvadāna a kind of Māhātmya of the Naṭabhaṭika monastery of Mathurā.

[2]) Divyāvadāna, p. 406 ff.; rendered in extracts by *Oldenberg*, Buddha, p. 348 ff., and E. *Hardy*, Aśoka, p. 65 ff.

[3]) Divy., pp. 200 ff., 706; s. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, pp. 35 ff., 43 ff.; *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, p. 658 f.

[4]) Divy., p. 55 ff.; s. E. *Leumann*, Maitreya-samiti, pp. 4, 173 ff. and E. *Abegg*, Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran, 1928, p. 153 ff.

[5]) Divy., p. 36 ff. L. de *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Paris, 1909, p. 275 ff., sees in Pūrṇa the type of the Mahāyānist Bodhisattva. However, both in the Divy. and the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya 35, 88 (IV, p. 60 ff.) and the Majjhimanikāya 145 (III, 267 ff.) the stress is laid on the mildness and equanimity which characterise the perfect saint, the Arhat; and therefore it shows rather the Hīnayāna ideal of an Arhat.

[6]) Divy., p. 498 ff. A counterpart to the story of Dick Whittington and his cat. Also in Kathā-Saritsāgara, I, 6.

reminiscent of the legends of the Jātakamālā: Rūpavatī cuts off her breasts in order to nourish with her flesh and blood, a woman who is near starvation and is about to devour her child. We see in her the Mahayāna ideal of a Bodhisattva when, in reply to an enquiry for the motive of her action, she answers:

"As true as it is that I sacrificed my breasts for the child's sake, not for sovereignty, not for enjoyments, not in order to attain heaven, not to become an Indra, not in order to rule a kingdom as a ruler, but for no other reason than to attain the highest perfect enlightenment, that I may tame the untamed, liberate the unliberated, comfort the uncomforted, and lead the unredeemed to the perfect Nirvāṇa,—as true as this is, may my female sex vanish, and may I become a man!" Scarcely had she uttered this, than she was transformed into a Prince Rūpavata, who later became king and reigned for sixty years. Reborn as a Brahmin, he sacrifices himself for a tigress.[1]

Chapter XXXVIII, which contains an ornate version of the Maitrakanyaka Avadāna after the Avadāna-Śataka (No. 36), is related in the same Kāvya style as the Jātakamālā.[2] It is in passages like this, that the Divyāvadāna resembles the Avadānamālās.

Poetical versions of Avadānas, partly selected systematically from the Avadāna-Śataka, partly taken from other sources, are the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā ("Wishing Tree Avadāna Garland," *i.e.*, a garland of Avadānas which grant all wishes), the Ratnāvadānamālā ("Jewel Avadāna Garland"), and the Aśokāvadānamālā ("Avadāna Garland of King Aśoka").[3] The Kalpadrumāvadānamālā begins with

---

[1]) *Cf.* Jātakamālā I, above p. 274 ff. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Rūpavatī is rendered by "Silver-white," see S. *Beal* in Ind. Ant. 9, 1880, 145 ff.

[2]) Divy., p. 586 ff. *Cf. Speyer*, Avadana-Śataka, Ed. II, p. xii, and above, p. 282.

[3]) *Cf. Feer*, l. c., p. xxiii ff. *Speyer*, l. c., pp. xii ff., xxi ff.; Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., pp. 6 ff., 197 ff., 292 ff.; C. *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 110 ff., and *Przyluski*, l. c., p. xiv f. A legend from the Ratnāvadānamālā is translated by Mahendra Lal *Dās* in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, 1894, Part 3.

a version of the last narrative of the Avadāna-Śataka. And as the Sthavira Upagupta[1] appears in conversation with King Aśoka, so all the legends in the Avadānamālās are inserted into the framework of a dialogue between Aśoka and Upagupta. The first part of the Aśokāvadānamālā contains legends of Aśoka himself; after these follow instructions in the form of stories which Upagupta relates to Aśoka. All the three collections differ from the Avadāna-Śataka, not only because they are written entirely in epic ślokas, but especially because they decidedly belong to the Mahāyāna, and recall the Purāṇas both in style and language. They possibly belong to the period in which the sectarian Purāṇas came into being.[2]

Another book, which has drawn liberally on the Avadāna-Śataka, is the Dvāviṃśatyavadāna ("The Avadānas in 22 sections"). Here too, Upagupta appears in conversation with Aśoka, but both of these soon give place to Śākyamuni and Maitreya. In this case, however, the legends are told in prose (with verses interspersed) and divided into sections according to the moral they teach ("meritorious actions," "hearing of the sermon," "generosity" and so on).[3]

The Bhadrakalpāvadāna ("Avadānas from the good age of the world") is a collection of 34 legends, which Upagupta relates to Aśoka. Like the Avadānamālās, it is entirely in

---

[1]) Upagupta is another name of Tissa Moggaliputta, the teacher of Aśoka (see above, p. 6, *cf.* A. *Waddell*, JASB proceedings 1899, p. 70 ff.).

[2]) About the 6th century A.D. and later. According to *Speyer*, l. c., p. xxxvi, who places them between 400 and 1000 A. D., they used the Jātakamālā. The *Mahājātakamālā* (or Bṛhajjātakamālā) excerpted by E. *Lang* (JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, p. 520 ff., *cf.* S. *Lévi* in Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig, 1912, 162 ff.) also appears to belong to the Avadānamālās.

[3]) *Feer*, l. c., pp. xix f., xxvii; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 36. A specimen of it translated by *Feer* (AMG t. 5, 1883, p. 544 ff.). See also Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 85 ff. The language of the Dvāviṃśatyavadāna is a popular Sanskrit, s. R. L. *Turner* in JRAS 1913, 289 ff.

verse. However, in plan and contents it is said to resemble the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka to some extent.[1]

In the same way as, in the sectarian Purāṇas, there are large sections and entire works (Māhātmyas) consisting of legends which were invented to explain the origin of some feasts or rites (Vratas), so there are also similar Buddhist texts. A collection of such legends is the Vratāvadānamālā, "Garland of Avadānas on (the origin of) festivals or rites," which has only the framework of the dialogue between Upagupta and Aśoka in common with the previously mentioned Avadāna collections.[2]

The Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna is a collection with the most varied contents, containing 32 narratives, a few of which come from Avadāna-Śataka, and others belong to the type of the Vratāvadānas. The language, too, is as varied as the contents, now a barbaric Sanskrit, again good Sanskrit verses, and sometimes even Pāli.[3]

All these works are so far accessible only in a few manuscripts. Others are known only through the Tibetan and Chinese translations.[4] Not only books of Avadānas, but many single Avadānas of considerable length, however, have come down in manuscripts as well as in Chinese and Tibetan translations. An instance is the Sumāgadhāvadāna,

---

[1]) *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 88 ff.; *Feer*, l. c., p. xxix; Rāj. *Mitra*, l. c., p. 42 ff.; *Speyer*, l. c., p. xxxvi. According to S. d'*Oldenburg*, who has translated the 34th tale, a version of Jātakamālā 31 (Jātaka No. 537) (JRAS 1893, p. 331 ff.), it is later than Kṣemendra (about 1040 A. D.).

[2]) Rāj. *Mitra*, l. c., pp. 102 ff, 221 ff., 231, 275 ff. Other texts of the same kind: *Ibid*, pp. 229 f., 232 f., 265 ff., 269 ff., 280 ff., L. *Feer*, Suvarṇavarṇa-Avadānam et Vratāvadānamālā, OC XII, Rome, 1899, I, p. 19 ff. These are obviously quite late Mahāyāna works.

[3]) *Speyer*, l. c., pp. xciii-c.

[4]) Based on Chinese Avadāna books (*cf. Feer*, l. c., p. xxx f.) are the "Contes et Apologues Indiens" by Stanislas *Julien*, Paris, 1860, (transl. into German by A. *Schnell*, Rostock, 1903.

the legends of Sumāgadhā, the daughter of the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada, who alienates her husband from the Jain monks, and, by a miracle, converts the whole town to the religion of the Buddha. In a former existence she had been the daughter of King Kṛkin, famous for his ten marvellous dreams.[1]

Lastly, mention must here be made of the extensive Avadāna book of the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, the Avadāna-Kalpalatā,[2] which was completed in 1052 A.D., and which is held in great esteem especially in Tibet.[3] Kṣemendra is a prolific writer and a verse-maker of astonishing fertility. We shall meet with him again in other places, for his activity was most versatile. Yet he is distinguished not so much by genius and taste, but by an iron determination. The huge collection of legends, too, in which Kṣemendra has recast the Buddhist Avadānas in the style of ornate court poetry, contains more edifying stories than skilfully and tastefully narrated ones. The Buddhist tendency to self-sacrifice is here brought to a climax with such subtlety, the doctrine of Karman is applied so clumsily, and the moral is pointed in such an exaggerated manner, that the story often achieves the reverse of the desired result. The collection consists of 107 legends, to which Somendra, Kṣemendra's son, has added not only an Introduction but also a 108th narrative (Jīmūtavāhana-Ava-

[1]) These dreams belong to universal literature. *Cf.* Jātaka No. 77, S. d'*Oldenburg* in JARS 1893, p. 509 ff., and Tsuru-Matsu *Tokiwai*, Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna, Diss. der Universität Strassburg 1898; Rāj. *Mitra*, l. c., p. 237. In Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośavyākhyā the same Avadāna is quoted "from a Vinaya text."

[2]) The text, with the Tibetan transl., is published in Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1888 ff, by Sarat Chandra *Dās* and Hari Mohau *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*. A number of legends are translated in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vols. I-V, 1893-1897. *Cf.* also Rāj. *Mitra*, l. c., p. 49 ff.

[3]) Some Tibetan scholars, however, do not recommend this work, seeing that it was written by a layman; for Kṣemendra was not a monk.

dāna).[1] The legends are mostly known already from the older Avadāna books and also from other sources.[2]

The Mahāyāna-Sūtras.

The whole of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature discussed so far, belongs to the borderland which forms the transition between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism. We shall now turn to those works which belong entirely to the Mahāyāna.

The Mahāyāna does not possess a canon of its own, and cannot possess one, for the simple reason that the Mahāyāna does not represent one unified sect. There is, indeed, an account of a council which is supposed to have assembled under King Kaniṣka, but it is doubtful whether any canon was established at all at this council, and if so, in which language and by which sect.[3] It is true that a Chinese text translated by Hsüan-Tsang [4] makes mention of a "Bodhisattvapiṭaka" consisting of a long list of Mahāyāna texts, a Vinayapiṭaka and an Abhidharmapiṭaka, and the same text enumerates a lengthy list of Mahāyāna-Sūtras. How-

---

[1]) Somendra is an even worse poet than his father. In addition to the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, IX. 18-1221, he also made use of Harṣa's drama Nāgānanda. See F. D. K. *Bosch*, de legende van Jīmūtavāhana in de Sanskrit-Litteratuur, Leiden, 1915, p. 115 ff.

[2]) Thus the Padmāvatī-Avadāna (No. 68) corresponds to the stories, familiar from the Pāli commentaries, of Padmāvatī, under whose feet lotus blossoms spring forth, and the Ekaśṛṅga-Avadāna (No. 65) corresponds to the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend which is so well known to us. Both are to be found also in the Mahāvastu, and *Lüders* (NGGW 1901, p. 26) shows that Kṣemendra recast the Ṛṣyaśṛṇga-legend on the model of the Mahāvastu. The Avadāna of Kṣemendra has been rendered in German verse by Hermann *Francke* (Ekasringa Prinz Einhorn, Leipzig, 1901).

[3]) The object of the alleged council of Kaniṣka was not to establish a Canon, but to collect explanations (commentaries). According to J. *Takakusu* (JRAS 1905, 414 f.) this council dealt with the Hīnayāna, and not the Mahāyāna.

[4]) See S. *Lévi* and Éd. *Chavannes* in JA 1916, s. 11, t. VIII, p. 5 ff. The Buddhist dictionary Mahā-Vyutpatti (Bibl. Buddh. XIII) 65, mentions 105 separate Mahāyāna texts, No. 12 of which is a "Bodhisattva-Piṭaka." This is also quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, pp. 190 and 311.

ever, as the text goes on to say that "there are hundreds of myriads of similar Mahāyāna-Sūtras," we are scarcely justified in regarding this as an attempt at a classification of "the Mahāyāna Canon." The so-called "nine Dharmas"[1] are not the canon of any sect, but a series of books which were compiled at different times and belonged to different sects, but which, at the present day, are all held in great honour in Nepal. The titles of these nine books are: Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, Lalita-Vistara, Laṅkāvatāra or Saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa, Gaṇḍavyūha, Tathāgataguhyaka or Tathāgataguṇajñāna, Samādhirāja and Daśabhūmīśvara.[2] All these works are also called "Vaipulya-Sūtras."

The most important Mahāyāna-Sūtra, and certainly the one which stands foremost as a work of literature, is the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, "the Lotus of the Good Religion."[3] He who wishes to become acquainted with Mahāyāna Buddhism, with all its characteristic peculiarities, with all its advantages and defects, should read this Sūtra. There is not much of the *man* Śākyamuni left in this work.[4] The Budhha now is actually nothing less than a god above all gods, an infinitely exalted being, who has lived since count-

---

[1]) "Dharma" is here probably only an abbreviation of "Dharma-Paryāya" (religious texts). In Nepal a regular divine service is consecrated to these nine books (*Hodgson*, Essays, p. 13), a bibliolatry which is characteristic of the Buddhism of Nepal, and is also very conspicuous in the texts themselves.

[2]) *Hodgson*, l.c.; *Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 29 ff., 60 f.; *Kern*, Der Buddhismus, II, 508 ff.

[3]) Edited by H. *Kern* and Bunyiu *Nanjio*, Bibliotheca Buddhica X, St. Pétersbourg, 1908 ff. Transl. into French ("Le Lotus de la bonne Loi") by E. *Burnouf*, Paris, 1852, into English by H. *Kern* in SBE, Vol. 21, 1884. The title is explained in the following manner by M. *Anesaki* (Buddhist Art in its Relations to Buddhist Ideals, 1914, p. 15 f.): "The lotus is a symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not defiled,—just as Buddha is born into the world but lives above the world; and because its fruits are said to be ripe when the flower blooms,—just as the truth preached by Buddha bears immediately the fruit of enlightenment."

[4]) See *Anesaki* in ERE IV, p. 839; *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 145 f.

less aeons in the past, and will live for ever. "I am the father of the world," he says of himself (XV, Gāthā 21), "the self-existent (Svayambhū), the physician and protector of all creatures, and it is only because I know how perverse and deluded the fools are, that I, who have never ceased to exist, pretend to have passed away." Thus it is only out of pity for the beings, out of consideration for the weakness of the human understanding, that he pretends to have entered Nirvāṇa. He is like that physician with many sons who were once attacked by a severe illness during their father's absence. The physician returns and prepares medicines for them. Only a few of his sons however, take them, the others reject them. In order to persuade these also to take the medicines, he goes to distant parts, and gives out that he is dead. The children, who now feel deserted, take the prescribed medicines, and recover their health. Buddha has recourse to a similar artifice when he apparently enters Nirvāṇa, but yet returns again and again in order to preach.[1] It is his preaching which forms the link between him and the human beings. The Buddha of the "Lotus" does not, however, preach like the Buddha of the Pāli Suttas, who wanders from place to place as a mendicant monk, in order to proclaim his doctrine ; on the contrary, he sits on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill in a large assembly of monks and nuns, and in the midst of a still larger host of thousands of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, gods and demi-gods ; and when he is about to "pour down the great rain of the religion, to sound the great drum of the religion, to raise the great banner of the religion, to light the great torch of the religion, to blow the great shell trumpet of the religion, to beat the great kettle-drum of the religion," a ray of light bursts forth from the

[1]) Chapt. XV, SBE 21, p. 304 ff.

hair between his eye-brows; this ray of light illuminates eighteen thousand "Buddha-lands" with all the Buddhas and all the beings in them, and permits the Bodhisattva Maitreya to see wonderful visions; for the Buddha of the "Lotus" is also a powerful magician, who loves to work upon the senses of his audience by means of splendid phantasmagorias.

The doctrine of this Buddha differs just as greatly from that of the Hīnayāna, as his personality differs from that of the Buddha of the old texts. Though it is true that he, too, desires to lead the beings to the "Buddha knowledge," to enlightenment, he gives them a single "vehicle," the "Buddha vehicle," which carries them to their goal. Everyone who has merely heard the Buddha's preaching, who has performed any kind of meritorious actions, who has led a moral life, can become a Buddha. Moreover, even those who worship relics, erect Stūpas, construct any kind of images of Buddha, whether jewelled, marble or wooden statues or frescoes, even children who in play make Stūpas of sand, or scribble figures of Buddha on the wall, those who offer flowers or perfumes at Stūpas or make music before them, even those who only by chance, have on some occasion thought of the Buddha with the thought "honour to the Buddha,"—all these will attain to the highest enlightenment.[1] It is only in appearance that there are three "vehicles," namely that of the disciples, that of the Pratyeka-Buddhas, and that of the Bodhisattvas, by means of which Nirvāṇa can be attained. In reality it is only by the mercy of the Buddha that all of them alike attain to enlightenment and become Buddhas. This is illustrated by one of those beautiful parables which are not rare in the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka:

In a ruined old house lives a father with his children. Suddenly the house is on fire. The father is troubled about his children. It is true that

[1]) Chapt. II, Gāthās 61 ff., 74 ff., SBE 21, p. 47 ff.

he is strong, and could take the little ones in his arms and escape from the house with them. But the house has only *one* door. The children, unconscious of the danger, run about in merry play, and do not pay heed to his cry of warning. It is to be feared that he and his children will all perish in the fire. Then a good plan occurs to him. Children love playthings. He calls out to them that he has all sorts of beautiful toys for them, little bullock-carts, little goat-carts, little antelope-carts, in front of the house. No sooner do the children hear these words, than they all rush out of the door and are saved. Now they ask their father for the promised little carts of three kinds. However, the father is a rich man, and gives them splendid, beautifully decorated bullock-carts instead. The children are merry and happy. Who will accuse the father of deception, because he promised the children three kinds of inferior carts, and only gave them the carts of the one, most splendid kind? Even so does the Buddha deal with men: by the promise of the three "vehicles" he lures them away from the burning, ruined house of this world, he rescues them, and gives them the one "vehicle," the most precious of all, the "Buddha vehicle."[1]

Again, in the parable of the "prodigal son," the Buddha is represented as the good, wealthy father, who means well towards his sons, the human beings:

A rich man has an only son, who roams about in foreign lands for fifty years. While the father grows richer and richer, and has become a great man, the son lives in foreign parts, poor and in reduced circumstances. As a beggar he at last returns to his home, where his father has been yearning for him all the time. The beggar comes to the house of his father, whom, however, he does not recognise in the great man, who, like a king, surrounded by a great retinue, sits before his mansion. When he sees the pomp and splendour, he flees for fear that he, the ragged beggar, might be ill-treated. His father, however, recognised him at once, and sends out servants to bring the beggar in. Trembling and shaking with fear, he is dragged in, and he falls unconscious. Then his father commands that he shall be released. Gladly the beggar gets up, and goes to the poor quarter of the town. Now the rich man thinks out a plan whereby he may win the confidence of his son. He sends workmen

[1]) Chapt. III, SBE 21, p. 72 ff.

to hire him for the humblest work in his house; he sometimes chats with him and gradually becomes intimate with him. In this way twenty years pass, without the father's making himself known. Not until the hour of his death does he cause all his relatives to assemble, and announce that the beggar, who has now become a trusted servant, is his own son; and he makes him the heir to all his wealth. The rich man is Buddha; the son who was lost and is found again, represents the human beings, whom Buddha, as the wise father, gradually draws to himself, and finally appoints as his fortunate heirs.[1]

The Buddha is also compared to a physician, as often as to a loving father. There is an especially detailed parable, in which the human beings are compared to persons born blind, whose eyes are opened by Buddha, the great physician.[2] The fact that the Buddha knows no partiality, but is an equally good father and physician to *all*, is shown by two beautiful similes: Even as a mighty rain-cloud gathers, and waters and refreshes by its moisture all the grasses, herbs and trees, even as the latter absorb the moisture of the earth and blossom forth in renewed vigour, so the Buddha appears in the world and refreshes all creatures, bringing them blessed repose. Again, even as the sun and the moon send down their rays equally over all the world, on the good and the bad, on the high and the lowly, so the preaching of the Buddha is for all the world alike.[3]

All these similes and parables would be still more beautiful, if they were not spun out to such length and with such verbosity, that the pointedness of the simile suffered from it. This verbosity is very characteristic of the whole work. It is a veritable whirl of words with which the reader is stunned;

---

[1]) Chapt. IV, SBE 21, p. 98 ff. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 317 ff. The parable of the "prodigal son" in the Gospel of St. Luke, 15 has such a very different tendency, that I do not believe that there is any connection between the two. *Cf. Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 46 and Carlo *Puini* in GSAI 27, 1915, 129 ff.

[2]) Chapt. V, SBE 21, p. 129 ff.

[3]) Chapt. V, SBE 21, pp. 119 ff., 122 ff., 128 ff.

and the idea is often drowned in the flood of words. The *numbers* are, however, still more immoderate and extravagant than the words. For instance, there was a Buddha who lived " forty hundred thousand myriads of tens of millions of ages of the world, as many as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, and after he had attained to complete Nirvāṇa, his true religion still lasted hundreds of thousands of myriads of tens of millions of ages of the world, as many as there are tiny specks of dust in the whole of India, and a copy of the true religion after that, still lasted hundreds of thousands of myriads of tens of millions of ages of the world, as many as there are tiny specks of dust in the four continents," and there arose consecutively in the world " twenty hundred thousand myriads of tens of millions " of similar Buddhas.[1] The Buddha is glorified in the most extravagant manner, immoderate both in words and in numbers, especially in the splendid phantasmagoria of Chapter XIV, where, by the magic power of the Buddha, the earth opens and there suddenly appear from all sides many hundreds of thousands of myriads of tens of thousands of Bodhisattvas, each with a retinue as numerous as the sand of sixty Ganges rivers. While these countless Bodhisattvas pay homage to the Buddha, fifty ages of the world pass, during which great silence prevails, but which, by the magic power of the Lord, seem but a single afternoon. The Buddha tells the astonished Maitreya that all these countless Bodhisattvas were his pupils. The glorification of the text itself is equally immoderate and extravagant ; for, strange as it is, the text refers at every turn to Buddha's preaching and expounding of the text, and to its propagation by the preachers. Thus (in Chapter XI) Śākyamuni causes a wonderful Stūpa to appear in mid-air, and from the interior of the Stūpa sounds the voice of a Buddha, who had died

[1]) Chapt. XIX, Text, p. 376 f., SBE 21, p. 355.

myriads of ages previously: "Excellent, excellent, Lord Śākyamuni, the religious discourse called 'Lotus of the Good Religion' has been well expounded by thee. Yes, so it is, so it is, Lord Buddha (Sugata)." The same chapter relates: The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī proclaimed the "Lotus of the Good Religion" in the kingdom of the Nāgas at the bottom of the ocean, and the youthful daughter of the Nāga king heard the sermon, and understood all the doctrines. As a result she attains to enlightenment and changes her sex on the spot.[1] The merit of the preacher of the "Lotus" and of the faithful hearing of this sermon is praised again and again. Thus it is said in Chapter XXII:

"The religious discourse called 'Lotus of the Good Religion' is like a tank for the thirsty, like a fire for those who suffer from cold, like a garment for the naked, like the caravan leader for the merchants, like a mother for her children, like a boat for those who ferry over...like a torch for the dispelling of darkness." [2] Whoever writes down this book, or causes it to be written down, acquires endless merit. A female being who hears it, has lived as a female for the last time. He who, at the hearing of the sermon of the "Lotus" expresses his acclamation, will always exhale from his mouth sweet breath as from a lotus, and sandal-perfume will emanate from his limbs.

All these extravagances, and in particular all these glorifications of the texts in the texts themselves, are just as characteristic of all the Mahāyāna-Sūtras [3] as they are of the Purāṇas. In fact, it is the spirit of the Purāṇas of

[1]) SBE, Vol. 21, p. 250 ff.

[2]) SBE, Vol. 21, p. 388.

[3]) Amitāyurdhyāna-Sūtra 28 (SBE, Vol. 49, Part 2, p. 195) is significant: "If there be any one who commits many evil deeds, provided that he does not speak evil of the Mahāvaipulya Sūtras, he, though himself a very stupid man, and neither ashamed nor sorry for all the evil actions that he has done, yet, while dying, may meet a good and learned teacher who will recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the Mahāyāna scriptures. Having thus heard the names of all the Sūtras, he will be freed from the greatest sins which would involve him in births and deaths during a thousand Kalpas."

which we are reminded by every line of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.[1] At times the Buddha of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka reminds us of the Kṛṣṇa of the Bhagavad-Gītā.[2] This does not, however, enable us to draw any conclusion as regards the chronology, as we cannot determine any sure date, either for the beginning of the Kṛṣṇa-cult, or for the Purāṇas.

It is altogether difficult to fix any definite period for the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, as it contains sections belonging to various epochs. The prose in pure Sanskrit, and the Gāthās in "mixed Sanskrit" could not possibly have originated at the same time,[3] because, in contents, they often diverge from one another. Both the prose and the Gāthās several times mention the work as a metrical composition. Probably it originally consisted only of verses, with *short* prose passages inserted by way of introduction and as a means of connecting the verses. The short prose passages were later enlarged, especially as the dialect of the verses had become obsolete. Without being actually a commentary, the prose served as an explanation.[4] It is significant that precisely those chapters which contain no Gāthās, have, on other grounds too, proved to be later additions. These are Chapters XXI-XXVI, which are devoted more to the adoration of Bodhisattvas, while the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka on the whole serves for the glorification

---

[1]) The few points of agreement between the vocabulary of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka and that of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, which are pointed out by *Kern*, SBE 21, p. xvi f., are by no means sufficient to connect the work in any way with Vedic literature.

[2]) It seems to me, however, risky to assume that the "Lotus" was directly influenced by the, Kṛṣṇa-cult, the Vedānta and the Bhagavad-Gītā, as has been assumed by J. N. *Farquhar*, Outline of the Rel. Lit. of India, p. 114 f.

[3]) H. *Lüders* (Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, p. 161 f.) is of opinion that the original text was written in Prākrit, and was gradually Sanskritised.

[4]) We cannot, however, simply say that the prose is a résumé of the Gāthās, or that the Gāthās are an amplification of the prose. For instance, suposing that in Book I, we had only the prose, we should glean a meaning from it, whereas the Gāthās by themselves would remain inexplicable in some cases. In Book II, the main content is included in the Gāthās. In Book III (the parable of the father and the children), the prose diverges somewhat from the Gāthās, but the Gāthā narrative presents a better meaning.

of the Buddha Śākyamuni. One of these Bodhisattvas is Bhaiṣajyarāja, the "Prince of the art of Healing" who in Chapter XXI utters protecting magic formulas (Dhāraṇīs) and in Chapter XXII, after he has, for twelve years, eaten sweet-scented substances and drunk oil, wraps himself in heavenly garments, bathes in oil, and burns himself. During twelve thousand years his body burns without ceasing; and the sole purpose of this magnificent sacrifice and splendid firework display, is to do honour to the Buddha and the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka. Chapter XXIV is devoted to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the great redeemer. He who invokes him, is delivered from every danger. The executioner's sword is shivered into fragments, if he who is sentenced to death, prays to him. All fetters are loosened if his name is but uttered. He rescues the shipwrecked and the caravan which is attacked by robbers. A woman who desires a son or a beautiful daughter, needs only to invoke Avalokiteśvara, and her wish is fulfilled. The chapter also contains a Gāthā passage of considerable length for the glorification of Avalokiteśvara. This, however, is also of more recent date; not *all* the Gāthās are earlier than the prose: some were added later.[1]

However, though the work contains later and earlier parts, it presents a much greater uniformity of character than, for instance, the Mahāvastu or the Lalita-Vistara. Whilst both the last-mentioned works contain many a passage which harks back to the very earliest period of Buddhist doctrine and poetry, the *whole* of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka only gives expression to a later phase of Buddhism.[2] Nevertheless

[1]) *Kern*, SBE 21, p. xviii f. Though the old Chinese translation contains Chapts. XXI-XXVI, they appear in a different order from that of the Sanskrit text. This proves that they are Pariśiṣṭas, Appendices, which did not originally belong to the work. *Kern*., l.c., p. xxi f.

[2]) It is significant that *Kern*, SBE 21, p. X ff., in order to prove that the

we shall most probably be right in placing the nucleus of the work as far back as the first century A.D., as it is quoted by Nāgārjuna, who probably lived towards the end of the 2nd century A. D.[1] The work was first translated into Chinese in 223 A.D. This translation has not come down to us, but we have those of Dharmarakṣa (286 A. D.) and Kumārajīva (about 400 A.D.) and that of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (601 A.D.).[2] In the preface to the last-named translation it is stated that Dharmarakṣa and Kumāragupta made their translations according to two different texts.[3] Moreover, the fragments of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka which have been found in Eastern Turkestan, and which present a text diverging from that of the Napalese manuscripts, afford a proof of the fact that there were two recensions of the work. On the whole it is a shorter text, and yet it contains some passages which are missing in our (Nepalese) text.[4] Whatever the exact date of the work in its original form may be, one thing is certain: the nature of the work as we know it, implies a mature development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in the direction of Budha-Bhakti and the cult of relics and image-worship, and above all also an advanced stage of Buddhist art.

Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka and the Lalita-Vistara contain materials which belong to the earliest period of Buddhism, can quote examples *only* from the Lalita-Vistara.

[1]) See *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, 52.

[2]) See B. *Nanjio*, Bibliotheca Buddhica X, 5, 1912, Preface, p. ii f.; *Bagchi*, I, pp. 87, 150, 186, 310, 322, 409; and N. D. *Mironov* in JRAS 1927, p. 252 ff.

[3]) *Kern* in SBE, Vol. 21, p. xxi note.

[4]) The Central Asiatic fragments have been published by *Hoernle* and *Lüders* in *Hoernle*, Manuscript Remains, pp. 132 ff., 138 ff., 162 ff. See also *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1911, 1067 ff.; *Kern* in Preface to edition (Bibl. Buddh. X), p. v ff.; *Hoernle* in JRAS, 1916, p. 269 ff. According to N. D. *Mironov* (JRAS 1927, 252 ff.) there are two groups of fragments, one of which should, on palæographic grounds, be ascribed to the 5th and 6th centuries, and the other to the 7th century. Moreover, fragments of an Uiguric translation of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka have been found in Central Asia, s. F. W. K. *Müller*, Uigurica II, in ABA 1911, p. 14 ff.; *Lüders* in SBA 1914, p. 99. *Bendall* ascribes a Nepalese MS. of the Saddh., which he discovered, to the 4th or 5th century (JRAS 1901, p. 124 note).

When there is such frequent talk of thousands or myriads of tens of millions of Stūpas, which are erected over the relics of a Buddha, or of hundreds of tens of milions of Vihāras, which are described as splendid buildings, furnished with the greatest comfort and luxury, there must have been at least many hundreds of Stūpas and Vihāras (topes and monasteries) in the land, and these must have been furnished with pictures of Buddha made of jewels, statues of Buddha made of wood and metal, and with reliefs and frescoes.[1] On the other hand, the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka inspired Buddhist art.[2] It has always ranked foremost as a book of edification, among the Buddhists of China and Japan. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing relates that the "Lotus of the Good Religion" was the favourite book of his teacher Hui-hsi; during a period of more than sixty years he read it through once daily, so that he read it twenty thousand times.[3] Even at the present day it may be found in every Buddhist temple in Japan: it is the most sacred book of the Hokke-shū or "Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka sect," founded by Nichiren in 1252 A.D., and one of the principal works upon which the Tien-tai school in China, and the Tendai sect in Japan also take their stand.[4]

The whole of a long Mahāyāna-Sūtra is also devoted to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is glorified in Chapter XXIV of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka. The complete title of this Mahāyāna-Sūtra is Avalokiteśvara-Guṇakāraṇḍa-Vyūha, "the detailed description of the basket of the qualities of

[1]) See particularly Chapt, II, Gāthās 77 ff., SBE Vol. 21, p. 50 f.

[2]) See M. *Anesaki*, Buddhist Art in its Relations to Buddhist Ideals, p. 16 f.

[3]) I-tsing, transl. by J. *Takakusu*, p. 205.

[4]) *Cf.* B. *Nanjio*, Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, Tokyo, 1886, pp. 68 ff., 132 ff.; Yamakāmi *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhist Thought, Calcutta, 1912, p. 4; K. J. *Saunders*, Epochs in Buddhist History, Chicago, 1924, p. 60 ff., 120 ff., 146 f.; Timothy *Richard*, The New Testament of Higher Buddhism, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 127; and W. M. *McGovern*, An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, London, 1922. pp. 208 f., 222. Extracts from the Chinese translation of the Saddh., which are said to contain the nucleus of the work, have been translated by T. *Richard*, l.c., pp. 147-261.

Avalokiteśvara," but it is usually briefly called Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha. There are two versions of this work, an earlier one in prose and a later one in Ślokas.[1] The latter is based on a theistic view of the world. It relates how, at the beginning of all things, Ādibuddha, the "first Buddha," also called Svayambhū, "the self-existent," and Ādinātha, "the First Lord," appeared and created the world through meditation. Out of his spirit arose Avalokiteśvara, who also takes part in the work of creation, creating the gods out of his own body. Not only does this introduction remind us forcibly of the Purāṇas, but the language and style of the metrical Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha are entirely those of the later Purāṇas. Now we know that in the fourth century A.D. there were already Buddhists who believed in Ādibuddha as God and Creator.[2] The cult of Avalokiteśvara, too, was already prevalent at that time, for the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who came to India in the year 399 A.D., prayed to this Bodhisattva for deliverance, when he was overtaken by a storm on the voyage from Ceylon to China. The earliest pictures of Avalokiteśvara date from the 5th century.[3] For this reason it is possible that the metrical Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha was in existence even prior to the 4th century A.D., though this is not probable, since the Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, which originated in 616 A.D.,[4] is based upon the

---

[1]) The prose text is published by Satyavrata *Sāmas'ramī*, Calcutta, 1873. (An edition which appeared in Serampore in 1872, is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Library of the India Office.) Cf. *Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 196-206 ; Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 95 ff. ; 101 f. ; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 9 ff.; Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Catalogue of... MSS. belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta, 1895, p. 89 ; *La Vallée Poussin*, ERE II, p. 259 f.

[2]) This is proved by Maitreyanātha who says in the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra IX, 77 : "There is no Adi-Buddha." Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 182.

[3]) L. A. *Waddel*, JRAS, 1894, p. 57. *Cf.* A. *Foucher*, Étude sur l' iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde (Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, t. 13), Paris, 1900, p. 97 ff.; and *La Vallée Poussin*, ERE II, p. 256 ff.

[4]) Thus according to *La Vallée Poussin*, ERE II, p. 259.

prose version which makes no mention of Ādibuddha. The prose version that contains a large section in the style of the Tantras, is probably not very old either.[1]

The fundamental idea, the glorification of the wonderful redeemer Avalokiteśvara, the "Lord who looks down," *i.e.*, who looks down with infinite pity on all beings,[2] is the same in both versions of the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha. Avalokiteśvara here appears as the typical Bodhisattva, who refuses to assume Buddhahood until all beings are redeemed. Avalokiteśvara's one and only task is to bring the doctrine of salvation to *all* beings, to help all sufferers, to save them from every distress, and to exercise infinite pity that does not even shrink from sin,[3] and does not stop at the gates of hell. The early chapters of the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha describe how he descends into the terrible hell Avīci, in order to release the tortured ones from their torment. No sooner has he entered, than the burning heat is transformed into

---

[1]) Unfortunately, I am unable to determine whether the Ratna-Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha-Sūtra, which was translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa in 270 A.D. and by Guṇabhadra between 435 and 468 A.D., (s. B. *Nanjio*, Catalogue No. 168 f. ; *Bagchi* 1, 96, 380 ; Alfred *Forke*, Katalog des Pekinger Tripiṭaka. Ostas. Sammlungen der k. Bibliothek zu Berlin, 1916, Nos. 623, 1069) is identical with the "Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha Sūtra", translated between 980 and 1001 A.D. (*Nanjio*, No. 782 ; *Forke* No. 548), and with one of the Sanskrit versions. A Ratna-Kāraṇḍa-Sūtra is quoted in the Sikṣā-Samuccaya (pp. 6, 356), and mentioned in Mahā-Vyutpatti, 65, 84. In the Kanjur, the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha and the Ratna-Kāraṇḍa are, two different works, s. *Csoma de Kőrös* in AMG II, 243, 246.

[2]) The name is thus explained in the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha itself, *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 201 f. Other explanations of the name are also possible; see *La Vallée Poussin* ERE II, p. 256 f. H. *Zimmer*, ZII I, 1922, 73 ff., shows up the difficulties presented by all explanations of the name which have hitherto been suggested, but his own explanation: "The Master of Enlightenment, *i.e.*, he who has attained to perfect enlightenment, and yet does not become a Buddha, but remains a Bodhisattva until such time as all beings shall be released," is not at all convincing, for we ask ourselves in vain how Avalokita can possibly have the meaning of samyaksambodhi. On pictorial presentations of Avalokiteśvara, see A. *Foucher*, L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, p. 97 ff. ; Alice *Getty*, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Oxford, 1914, p. 54 ff.

[3]) Avalokiteśvara is made to say that it is better for a Bodhisattva to commit sin in the exercise of mercy, and to suffer in hell, than to disappoint any being in the which it has reposed in him. ERE II, p. 257 f.

a pleasant coolness; in place of the cauldron in which millions of the damned boil like pulse, a refreshing lotus-pond appears. The place of torture becomes an abode of joy.[1] From hell Avalokiteśvara goes to the abode of the Pretas and refreshes these ghosts, which are eternally tortured by hunger and thirst, with food and drink. One of his wanderings takes him to Ceylon, where he converts the cannibal witches (Rākṣasīs), thence he goes to Benares, where he preaches the doctrine to beings born as insects and worms, and then to Magadha, where he miraculously rescues the inhabitants from a dreadful famine. In Ceylon he appears as the winged horse Balāha, in order to bear away from the island the shipwrecked ones who had been allured by the witches, and to rescue them from destruction.[2]

Avalokiteśvara is not only a helper full of loving kindness, but he is also a cosmic being, out of whose body all the gods have come forth. "The sun and the moon came forth from his eyes, Maheśvara from his brow, Brahman and other gods from his shoulders, Nārāyaṇa from his heart, Sarasvatī from his two corner teeth, the winds from his mouth, the earth from his feet, Varuṇa from his stomach" (p. 14 f.). We see him as a genuine Bodhisattva, however, when his excellent qualities are praised: "Hear, O sons of a noble race! The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the Great Being, is a lamp for the blind, a sun-shade for those who are scorched by the great heat of the sun, a river for

---

[1]) *Cf.* E.B. *Cowell*, Journal of Philology VI, 1876, p. 222 ff. (reprinted also in Ind. Ant. VIII. 249 ff.); L. *Scherman*. Visionsliteratur, p. 62 ff. *Cowell* compares the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, and derives the Indian legend from the Christian one. My own opinion is that the points of agreement are not sufficiently great to warrant the likelihood of any historical connection. Similarly *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 77 f. Avalokiteśvara's visit to hell is the prototype of the legend of King Vipaścit in the Markaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, see above Vol. I, 562 ff., and J. *Charpentier*, Paccekabuddhageschichten I, 118. The beautiful poem by the Austrian poetess Betty *Paoli*. "Der gute König in der Hölle" (Gedichte, Auswahl und Nachlass, Stuttgart 1895, 217 ff.) is based upon the Buddhist legend.

[2]) *Cf.* Jātaka No. 196, where the winged horse is identified with the Buddha of a former birth. In the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha the merchant Siṁhala, cast adrift to Ceylon, is the Buddha Śākyamuni in a former birth.

those who are dying of thirst; he gives safety to those who are in fear of dangers, he is a physician to those who are tormented by sickness, he is a father and a mother to the unfortunate, he points the way to Nirvāṇa to those who have descended into hell. This is the nature of the qualities of this Exalted One. Fortunate are those beings in the world, who are mindful of his name. They escape from all suffering of Saṃsāra (from the first) to the last. Those people are very wise, who always honour Avalokiteśvara with gifts of flowers and incense" (p. 48 f.).

The major portion of Section II of the prose version of the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha is after the style of the Tantras, and is devoted to the glorification of the "knowledge of the six syllables," *i.e.*, the protecting and benedictory prayer formula "Om maṇipadme hum." This famous prayer, which even at the present day is on every one's lips in Tibet, and which is written on all praying wheels and praying banners, is praised in the most extravagant manner in this work. We read:

"This great knowledge of the six syllables is the profound secret of Avalokiteśvara, and he who knows the profound secret, knows release (p. 67).

"Whoever will give me the great knowledge of the six syllables" says a Bodhisattva, "to that man I will willingly give the four continents, filled with the seven kinds of precious stones. O Lord, if there be no birch bark on which to write it down, no ink, and no quill, let him use my blood as ink, let him strip off my skin and use it instead of the birch bark, let him split my bones and make a quill of them. O Lord, this would not hurt my body. He will be a father and a mother to me, the teacher above all teachers (p. 69).

"O noble youth, I can count every single grain of sand in the four oceans, but it is not possible for me to count up the sum of merit which one acquires by a single recitation of the great knowledge of the six syllables" (p. 70).[1]

[1]) Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE II, 259; H. *Zimmer*, Kunst-form und Yoga im indischen Kultbild, Berlin, 1926, 167 ff. Om maṇipadme hum is probably a mode of addressing Maṇipadmā, the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara; s. F. W, *Thomas* in JRAS 1906, 464, and *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 396 f.

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is very closely related to the Buddha Amitābha, who is glorified in the Sukhāvatī-Vyūhas, "Detailed Descriptions of the Blessed Land," in much the same manner as Śākyamuni in the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka and Avalokiteśvara in the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha. Two works have come down to us in Sanskrit, one of considerable length and the other much shorter; both are entitled Sukhāvatī-Vyūha,[1] and diverge widely from each other, though both of them describe the "blessed land" of the Buddha Amitābha or Amitāyus.[2] Not only the introduction to the shorter text, but certain traits in the description of Sukhāvatī are different, and there is also an essential difference in their tendency. The longer Sukhāvatī-Vyūha teaches that those who have accumulated a large pile of good works, who direct their thoughts to enlightenment and think of Amitābha in the hour of death, go to the "blessed land," although those who merely direct their thoughts to Amitābha and his Buddha-land, may possibly also reach Sukhāvatī. On the other hand, the shorter text teaches that the "blessed land" is not the reward for good works, but that anyone who merely hears the name of Amitāyus and thinks of it in the hour of death, will be born in this Buddha-land. There seems to me to be no doubt that the longer text is the earlier one.

In the longer Sukhāvatī-Vyūha, Śākyamuni appears in Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill, surrounded by thousands of monks, disciples and Bodhisattvas. In conversation with Ānanda, he enumerates 81 Buddhas

---

[1]) Both texts have been published by Max *Müller* and Bunyiu *Nanjio* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part II, Oxford, 1883) and translated by Max *Müller* in SBE, Vol. 49, Part II. The shorter Sukhāvatī-Vyūha has been translated into French from Kumārajīva's Chinese version, by *Ymaizoumi* and *Yamata* in AMG II, 39 ff.

[2]) On Amitābha, cf. *La Vallée Ponssin* in ERE I. 98 f.; *Grünwedel*, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, p. 169 f.; and Alice *Getty*, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Oxford, 1914, p. 36 ff.

of the past. The last of these, named Lokeśvararāja, instructs the monk Dharmākara regarding the perfections of the Buddha-lands. It is this Dharmākara who, by prayers (praṇidhāna) in a former life, and by faithfully practising the virtues of a Bodhisattva through countless aeons, was re-born in the Sukhāvatī world in the West as Buddha Amitābha. There he radiates immeasurable light (hence his name Amitābha) and his span of life is immeasurable (hence his other name Amitāyus). In his "Buddha-land," the Sukhāvatī paradise, there is neither hell nor animal birth, nor Pretas, nor Asuras. This blessed land is filled with infinitely sweet scent. Jewel trees in many hundreds of thousands of colours grow there, also wonderful lotus blossoms. There are no hills there, the country is as flat as an open hand. Delightful rivers yield pleasant, sweet water, and the rippling of the water is the most glorious music. The beings who are born in Sukhāvatī are all endowed with the most beautiful qualities, physical and mental, and enjoy all imaginable pleasures. There is no difference between men and gods. There is no question of day and night. There is no darkness. Here Amitābha is continually praised. And whoever thinks of this Buddha with awe, whoever pays heed to the increase of his good deeds, whoever directs his thoughts to enlightenment, whoever prays reverently to be re-born in that world, to him Amitābha appears in the hour of his death, and he is born again in the blessed land. Indeed, even those who only think of Amitābha with one thought, are "born" there. The beings in Sukhāvatī are not, however, born of woman : they appear seated on lotus blossoms if they have firmly believed in Amitābha, or resting in the cups of lotus blossoms if their faith had not been quite firm. The beings in that blessed world live in happiness and calm, in perfect wisdom and sinlessness.

In the Sukhāvatī-Vyūha the splendour of Amitābha and his paradise are described with the same verbal extravagance and the same numerical immoderation as we find in all the Mahāyāna-Sūtras.

Of the twelve Chinese translations of the longer Sukhāvatī-Vyūha which are said to have existed, five have come down to us in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the earliest of which was made between 147 and 186 A.D. The shorter Sukhāvatī-Vyūha was translated into Chinese three times, by Kumārajīva (402 A.D.), by Guṇabhadra (420-479) A.D. and by

Hsüan-Tsang (about 650 A.D.).[1] A third work, the Amitāyur-dhyāna-Sūtra,[2] which has come down only in the Chinese translation, deals less with the description of the blessed land, but devotes more space to the recommendation of meditations (dhyāna) on Amitāyus, by means of which one may reach that land. The loss of the Sanskrit original of this text is all the more regrettable, because it contains an interesting introduction, in which the story of Ajātaśatru and Bimbisāra is told, a story with which the Pāli accounts are also familiar.[3] For centuries, the three works on Amitāyus and Sukhāvatī have formed the basis of the faith of the majority of Buddhists in China and Japan, who found consolation and comfort in the belief in "Amida," as Amitāyus is called in Japan, and in the hope of the blessed land. This is especially true of the numerous adherents of the two Japanese sects Jodo-shu and Shin-shu.[4]

Just as the Sukhāvatī-Vyūha describes the blessed land of Amitābha, the Akṣobhya-Vyūha gives an account of the land of Buddha Akṣobhya,[5] and in the same way the Karuṇā-

---

[1]) Most of the Chinese translations bear titles, to which "Amitāyus-Sūtra" or "Amita-āyuṣa-vyūha" would correspond in the Sanskrit. *Cf.* Sukhāvatī-Vyūha ed. Anec, dota Oxoniensia, p. iv ff. ; B. *Nanjio*, Catalogue, Nos. 23 (5), 25-27, 199, 200, 863 ; *Forke*, Kat. des Pekinger Tripiṭaka, Nos. 42, 429 f., 562, 635, 639 and p. 179 ; and *Bagchi* I, 24, 76 f., 192, 287. In the Tibetan Kanjur the title Amitābha-vyūha appears as well as Sukhāvatī-vyūha, s. *Csoma de Kőrös* in AMG II, 214, 243, 245.

[2]) Translated from Chinese by J. *Takakusu* in SBE, Vol. 49, part 2 p. 159 ff, Cf. *Saunders*, Epochs of Buddhist History, p. 85 ff.

[3]) Cf. *Kern*, Der Buddhismus, I, 243 ff. ; Spence *Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, 1860, p. 317 f.

[4]) B. *Nanjio*, Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, pp. 104 ff., 122 ff. and Anecdota Oxoniensia, Vol. I, Part II, p. XVIII ff. See also H. *Haas*, "Amida Buddha nnsere Zuflucht", Urkunden zum Verständnis des japanischen Sukhāvatī-Buddhismus, Leipzig, 1910, and *Saunders*, l.c., 176 ff.

[5]) This Sūtra has only come down in the Chinese translations by Lokakṣema (178-188) and Bodhiruci (693-713) and in the Tibetan Kanjur, and is counted as a part of the Ratnakūṭa ; s. *Nanjio* No. 28 ; *Bagchi* I, 43 ; Csoma de *Kőrös*, AMG II, 214. The same Ratnakūṭa also contains, a Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-guṇa-Vyūha, "Description of the qualities of the Mañjuśrī Buddha-land," which is lost in the Sanskrit; s. *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, p. 181; *Kőrös*, AMG II, 215. On Mañjuśrī s. *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 405 f.

Puṇḍarīka, "the Lotus of Mercy,"[1] gives an account of the wonderland Padma of Buddha Padmottara, whose life lasted for thirty ages of the world. The Sūtra, which also contains legends after the style of the Avadānas, was translated into Chinese twice between 385 and 433 A.D. and once again in 558 A.D.[2]

Whilst the Mahāyāna-Sūtras which have so far been mentioned, are devoted mainly to the glorification of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, there is a series of other Sūtras which are rather in the nature of philosophical treatises. The earliest of these Sūtras, those which are regarded with the greatest reverence, and which are of the greatest importance from the point of view of the history of religion, are the Prajñā-Pāramitās, "the (Mahāyāna-Sūtras of the) Wisdom-Perfection."[3] They treat of the six "perfections" (Pāramitās)[4] of a Bodhisattva, but especially of Prajñā-Pāramitā, the highest perfection, called "wisdom." This wisdom consists of the knowledge of Śūnyatā, "emptiness,"[5] *i.e.*, the unsubstantiality of all phenomena, implying the conviction that all Dharmas or objects of thought, are only endowed with a conditional or relative existence.

---

[1]) Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 285 ff.; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 73. The text published by the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta, 1898, is unfortunately not accessible to me. A legend of the Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka in the Tokharian (Kuchean) language, has been discovered and published by S. *Lévi* (Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig, 1912, p. 155ff.).

[2]) *Nanjio* No. 142; *Bagchi*, I, 217 f., 239, 271. The introduction to the Tibetan version has been translated into French by L. *Feer* (AMG V, 1883, 153 ff.); see also *Kōiōs* AMG II, 239 ff.

[3]) Prajñā-Pāramitā means both the perfection of "wisdom", and the writings treating of it.

[4]) Though in the Mahāyāna, as in the Hīnayāna, there are sometimes ten Pāramitās enumerated, yet more frequently there are only six, namely: charity, moral conduct, patience, energy, meditation and wisdom (Dharma-Saṃgraha 17; see above, p. 152 n. 2).

[5]) See above p. 231 and n. 1. In the Chinese life-story of Kumārajīva, the believer in Śūnya is compared to that foolish person who desires a thread so fine that it cannot be seen, and is not content until the artisan points into the air and says: "Here is the thread." *Cf.* J. *Nobel* in SBA, 1927, 216 f.

There is evidence of the fact that the Prajñā-Pāramitās belong to the earliest Mahāyāna-Sūtras. Firstly, the ancient dialogue form, which is familiar to us from the Pāli Suttas, is still more conspicuous in these than in other Mahāyāna-Sūtras, and secondly, Buddha (called Bhagavān, "the Lord") generally appears in conversation with one of his disciples, especially Subhūti.[1] In other Mahāyāna-Sūtras Buddha usually talks to a Bodhisattva. A Prajñā-Pāramitā was already translated into Chinese as early as 179 A.D. The Prajñā-Pāramitās appear to have originated in the South, and afterwards spread to the East and the North.[2]

According to a Nepalese tradition, there was first of all a Prajñā-Pāramitā-Mahāyāna-Sūtra of 125,000 "Ślokas,"[3] and this is supposed to have been abridged successively to similar Mahāyāna-Sūtras of 100,000, 25,000, 10,000 and 8,000 "Ślokas" respectively. According to another tradition, however, the Sūtra of 8,000 "Ślokas" is the original one, and was gradually enlarged more and more.[4] The latter tradition appears to be the likelier one. At any rate, a considerable number of Prajñā-Pāramitā texts of all lengths were already in existence in India, and their number increased even more in China and Tibet. Hsüan-Tsang translated 12 different Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtras in his Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra: the longest is that of 100,000 "Ślokas," and the shortest that of 150. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the first large

---

[1]) On Subhūti in the Mahāyāna and in Pāli literature, see M. *Walleser*, Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhūti, Heidelberg (Akad.) 1917.

[2]) We are justified in drawing this conclusion, from the prophecy which Buddha is made to utter (Aṣṭasāhasrikā p. 225 f.): "These Sūtrāntas, in which six Pāramitās are taught, will be current in the South after the passing away of the Tathāgata, from the South they will go to the East again, and from the East again to the North." *Cf.* *Anesaki* in ERE IV, 838 (where "west," instead of "east," is an error).

[3]) The Prajñā-Pāramitās are prose works, but it is customary in India to give the size of prose texts too, by "Ślokas," *i.e.*, units of 32 syllables.

[4]) *Cf.* Rajendralāla *Mitra*, Aṣṭasāhasrikā Ed., p. IV f.; *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 414; Haraprasāda, Report I, 19 f. and Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 211 ff.

section is made up of the Prajñā-Pāramitās.[1] In the Tibetan Kanjur, in which the Prajñā-Pāramitā texts constitute the Śer-phyin section in 21 books, there are translations of the Prajñā-Pāramitās of 100,000, 25,000, 18,000, 10,000, 8,000, 800, 700 and 500 "Ślokas," of the Vajracchedikā (with 300 "Ślokas") right down to an Alpākṣarā or Svalpākṣarā Prajñā-Pāramitā, "Prajñā-Pāramitā of (very) few syllables", and even a Bhagavatī-Prajñā-Pāramitā-sarva-Tathāgata-māta Ekākṣarī, "the sacred Prajñā-Pāramitā of One Syllable, of the mother of all Tathāgatas", in which the perfection of wisdom is concentrated in the one sound "a."[2] The following have come down to us in Sanskrit: Prajñā-Pāramitās of 100,000 "Ślokas" (Śatasāhasrikā),[3] of 25,000 (Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā),[4] of 8,000 (Aṣṭasāhasrikā),[5] of 2,500 (Sārdhadvisāhas-

---

[1]) The Daśasāhasrikā Pr. ("Pr. of 10,000") was translated into Chinese for the first time in 179 A.D., and then repeatedly till the 10th century; s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 5-8, 927; *Bagchi* I, pp, 40, 156, 186 f., 289. There are three translations of the Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrikā Pr. ("Pr. of 25,000"), (286, 291 and 404 A.D.), s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 2-4; *Bagchi* I, 86, 185 f. A Saptaśatikā Pr. ("Pr. of 700"); was translated between 502 and 557 A.D., s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 21, 22; a Pañcaśatikā Pr. ("Pr. of 500") between 428 and 479; s. *Nanjio*, No. 16; *Bagchi*, I, 404; an Arḍhaśatikā Pr. ("Pr. of 150") several times between the 7th and 10th centuries, s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 18, 879, 1033 f. The Vajracchedikā Pr. was translated first by Kumārajīva (405 A.D.) and then often, s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 10-15; *Bagchi* I, 192, 253, 255, 425. For other Prajñā-Pāramitās, s. *Nanjio*, No. 17; *Bagchi* I, 44 ff. Apart from the numerous Chinese translations of Indian texts, there is a still greater number of original Chinese works dealing with the Prajñā-Pāramitās; s. O *Franke* in OZ 4, 1915-16, 207 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* Csoma de *Körös* in Asiatick Researches, Vol. 20 (1836), p. 393 ff. and AMG II, 119 ff. For a bibliography of Chinese and Tibetan translations of Prajñā-Pārmitās, s. *Walleser*, Prajñāpāramitā, p. 15 ff.

[3]) Edited by Pratāpacandra *Ghoṣa* in Bibl. Ind. 1902-1914 (19 fasc.; more did not appear until 1926). *Cf.* Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit. 177 ff.; *Bendall*, Catalogue, pp. 143-148. On Central Asiatic fragments of the Śatasāhasrkā Pr. in Chinese and Khotanese, s. *Hoernle*, E. *Chavannes* and S. *Lévi* in Hoernle, Ms. Remains I, 387 ff. Fragments of a Prajñā-P., which corresponds to the Śatasāhasrikā, but appears to be a shorter version, have been published by Pandit B. B. *Bidyabinod*, Fragment of a Prajñāpāramitā Ms. from Central Asia (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 32), 1927.

[4]) Rāj. *Mitra*, l.c. 193 f.; *Bendall*, l.c. 144 f.; Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the ...Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, p. 10 f.

[5]) Edited by Rājendralāla *Mitra* in Bibl. Ind. 1888; Chapt. XVIII translated by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in J.B.T.S. II, 1894; Extracts translated into German by Max *Walleser*

rikā),[1] of 700 (Saptaśatikā),[2] the Vajracchedikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, "the diamond cutter Prajñā-Pāramitā," *i.e.*, the Prajñā-Pāramitā,[3] cutting as sharp as a diamond and also the Alpākṣarā Prajñā-Pāramitā[4] and Prajñā-Pāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtras,[5] which are only used as protecting magic formulas (Dhāraṇīs).

In all probability the earliest of these writings is the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā, which was, on the one hand, expanded into the larger works, and the contents of which were, on the other hand, condensed in the shorter texts.[6]

Prajñāpāramitā, die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis, nach indischen, tibetischen, und chinesischen Quellen, Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Göttingen 1914. In the Śikṣā-Samuccaya there are quotations from the Aṣṭasāhasrī Pr., as well as from a Mahatī Pr., an Ārya-Pr. and a Bhagavatī Pr.; s. *Bendall*, Śikṣāsamuccaya Ed., p. 369 and JRAS 1898 870 ff.

[1]) *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 123 f.

[2]) *Bendall*, l.c., p. 5 f.

[3]) Edited by F. Max *Müller* in Buddhist Texts from Japan, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, I, 1, 1881, and translated by the same scholar in SBE Vol. 49, part II, pp 109-144; translated into French by C. de *Harlez* in JA 1891, s. 8, t. XVIII, 440 ff.; into German by *Walleser* l.c. pp. 140-158. Complete MSS. of the Sanskrit and of the Khotanese versions were discovered by Sir Aurel *Stein* in Eastern Turkestan, and the Sanskrit version has been edited and translated by J. E. *Pargiter*, the Khotanese version by Sten *Konow* (in Hoernle, MS. Remains I, pp. 176-195, and 214-288). The first fragments have been published, together with an Adhyardhaśatikā-Pr. (in a Sanskrit recension interspersed with Khotanese sections), by E, *Leumann* (Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur, 56 ff., 84 ff.). The Tibetan version has been edited and translated into German by T. Y. *Schmidt* in Mémoires de l' Acad. de St. Pétersbourg t. IV, 1837. C. de *Harlez* has published and translated the Manchu version in WZKM 11, 1897, 209, ff., 331 ff.

[4]) Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS...in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I No. 16; Chinese translation, s. *Nanjio*, No. 797; Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, s. *Körös*, AMG II, 202.

[5]) Edited by F. Max *Müller* and B. *Nanjio* in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part III, 1884, and translated by Max *Müller* in SBE Vol. 49, Part II, p. 145 ff.; also by Shaku *Hannye* in EB II, 1922, 163 ff. Translated from the Tibetan by L. *Feer* in in AMG V, 176 ff. See below in the section on the Dhāraṇīs.

[6]) In the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Kārikās it is said that the Aṣṭasāhasrikā was remodelled into the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā; s. Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Cat. of Sansk. MSS. in the ..... As. Soc. of Bengal, I, p. 7 and Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 212. The Chinese translation of the Daśasāhasrikā is said to differ but little from the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, s. Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Cat. p. 3; Ind. Hist. Qu. l.c.; *Walleser*, Prajñāpāramitā, p. 18.

The Aṣṭasāhasrikā contains in 32 chapters dialogues between Buddha and his disciples Subhūti, Śāriputra and Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, and frequently Śakra, the prince of the gods, and sometimes a Bodhisattva joins them. The work begins with introductory verses, in which the Prajñā-Pāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, is personified and praised as "the sublime producer and the beloved mother of all heroes, she whose mind is fixed firmly on the highest goal", "as the kind grandmother of all beings" etc.[1] In the very first chapter we have an example of the dialectics which remind us of the Greek sophists, and which are characteristic of the Prajñā-Pāramitās. We read (pp. 4-6):

Then through the power of Buddha, the venerable Subhūti spoke thus to the Lord: "Now as to what you have said, O Lord: 'May it become clear to you, Subhūti, with regard to the wisdom-perfection of the Bodhisattvas, of the Great Beings,[2] how the Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, are able to advance until they attain to wisdom-perfection'—when there is constantly mention of 'Bodhisattva, Bodhisattva', to what manner of object (dharma), Lord, does the term 'Bodhisattva' correspond? I do not see any object, Lord, which might be called 'Bodhisattva'. Neither do I see that object which is called 'wisdom-perfection.' Therefore, Lord, as I cannot find, perceive or see either a Bodhisattva or a Bodhisattva-object, and moreover, as I cannot find, perceive or see the wisdom-perfection,—what manner of Bodhisattva am I to teach, instruct, and in what manner of wisdom-perfection? Is it not, O Lord, perhaps precisely when his power of thought does not sink down, does not melt away, is not exhausted, does not become weak, when his mind does not lose all stability, does not entirely break down, when it does not take fright, does not tremble, does not grow fearful, on hearing such sermons and on receiving such doctrine and instruction, that he is a Bodhisattva who is fit to be instructed in wisdom-perfection? It is precisely this which is to be understood by the wisdom-perfection of a Bodhisattva, a Great Being. That is the instruction in wisdom-perfection, when he conducts himself thus, and his teaching, his instruction consists of this. Furthermore, O Lord, a Bodhisattva, a Great Being, who walks in the wisdom-perfection, who lives and has his being in the wisdom-perfection, must be trained in such a way that, as a result of

---

[1]) S. *Lévi*, L'Inde et le monde, Paris, 1928, p. 46, compares the Gnosis of the Gnostics, to this personified Perfection of Wisdom. We also think of the personification of Pistis Sophia. I am doubtful, however, whether these are more than coincidences.

[2]) Mahāsattva, "the Great Being," usual epithet of the Bodhisattva.

this training, he should not think anything by this thought which is fixed on enlightenment. And why is this so? Because it is so, that the thought is a non-thought, that the nature of the thought is shining in purity (*i.e.*, free from all contamination with non-real phenomena)."

Then the venerable Śāriputra said to the venerable Subhūti: "Venerable Subhūti, does such a thought which is a non-thought exist?"

To these words the venerable Subhūti replied to the venerable Śāriputra in the following words: "But, venerable Śāriputra, in the case of that which is non-thought, is there either a being or a non-being found or perceived?"

Śāriputra said: "No, venerable Subhūti."

Subhūti said: "If it is true, venerable Śāriputra, that neither a being nor a non-being is found or perceived in that which is non-thought, is there any sense in the question when the venerable Śāriputra says: "Does such a thought which is a non-thought exist?"

At these words the venerable Śāriputra addressed the venerable Subhūti in the following manner: "But, venerable Subhūti, what is this non-thinking?"

Subhūti said: "This non-thinking, venerable Śāriputra, is without change, without alternation."

Furthermore we read in the same chapter (p. 20 f.):

The Lord said: "Here, O Subhūti, a Bodhisattva, a Great Being, thinks thus: 'Immeasurable hosts of beings are to be led to complete Nirvāṇa by me, innumerable beings are to be led to complete Nirvāṇa by me.' Now neither those who are to be led to Nirvāṇa, nor those by whom they are to be led, do exist. He leads so many beings to complete Nirvāṇa, and there is no being which has attained to complete Nirvāṇa, and there is no one by whom such a being has been led to complete Nirvāṇa. And why so? That, Subhūti, is precisely the true nature of phenomena;[1] they are based upon deceptive appearances. Now, Subhūti, supposing a skilful magician or magician's apprentice were to conjure up a large crowd of people at a cross road, and after he had conjured up this large crowd of people, he were to cause it to vanish again,—what do you think, Subhūti, would anyone have been struck down, killed, destroyed, or caused to vanish, by anyone?"

[1]) Literally: "The Dharma-hood of the Dharmas."

In Chapter II Subhūti instructs the gods (p. 39 f.) :

" O sons of gods, the beings are like an illusion (māyā), O sons of gods, the beings are like a dream. No, illusion and beings are not two different things, and do not form a duality ; and dreams and beings are not two different things, and do not form a duality. Furthermore, O sons of gods, all objects of thought are like an illusion, like a dream. He, too, who has just entered the stream, (*i.e.*, the new convert) is like an illusion, like a dream... He, too, who is completely enlightened, is like an illusion, like a dream ; the condition, too, of him who is completely enlightened, is like an illusion, like a dream....O sons of gods, even Nirvāṇa itself is like an illusion, like a dream, I say, how much more then every other object of thought."

Then the sons of gods said : " Noble Subhūti, you say that Nirvāṇa is like an illusion, like a dream ? "

The venerable Subhūti said. : " Yes, O sons of gods, if there were another, more excellent object of thought than Nirvāṇa, I should still say that it is like an illusion, like a dream. No, O sons of gods, illusion and Nirvāṇa are not diverse, they do not form a duality, and also dreams and Nirvāṇa are not diverse, they do not form a duality."

The entire book continues in this strain. We are assured over and over again, that all phenomena are without being (śūnya), that even Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and the perfection of wisdom itself have no reality ; but, at the same time, the Bodhisattva ideal is extolled time and again, as for instance in the beautiful words (p. 321 f.) which the Lord is made to say :

"O Subhūti, a Bodhisattva, a Great Being, who desires to advance to unsurpassable complete enlightenment, must behave alike towards all beings, must cultivate the same mind towards all beings ; he mnst support the other beings with an impartial mind ; he must support the others with thoughts of love, with kindly..., with friendly thought..., with thought which is free from pride..., he must support the others with thought which is not hostile, free from thoughts of harm..., he must support the others with thoughts free from injury. He must transfer to all beings the idea of the mother ; he must support all beings, transferring to them the idea of the father, the idea of the son, the idea of the daughter (*i. e.*, he must

look upon them, as if they were his mothers, his fathers, his sons, his daughters). In this way, therefore, Subhūti, a Bodhisattva, a Great Being, who desires to advance to unsurpassable complete enlightenment, must behave towards all beings : in this way he must train himself in being a protector of all beings. And he himself must be steadfast in suppressing all evil, he must give alms, observe the moral law, train himself in patience, he must show himself energetic, must devote himself to meditation and achieve the victory in wisdom, he must contemplate the formula of the causally conditioned origination both in regular and in inverted order, he must teach it to others, extol it in their presence, and enable them to take delight in it. "

While in reading the numerous long epistemological and metaphysical discussions on Śūnyatā, we often wonder what all this has to do with religion, such passages about the Bodhisattva as the above, remind us of the fact that the text before us is, after all, a religious book. This religious character of the book is emphasized also in several chapters, in which the great merit to be acquired by the hearing and understanding, the reading and writing, and the learning and teaching of the Prajñā-Pāramitā, is praised over and over again in extravagant fashion.[1]

As it was considered so great a religious merit to read and write these sacred books, it need not surprise us greatly that, as a result of endless repititions and phantastic embellishments of the scenes which introduced the speeches, more and more new works of this type, each one more voluminous than the last, came into existence.

---

[1]) In the Vajracchedikā, Chapt. 13, Buddha is made to say words to the effect that he who "selects merely one four-footed verse here from this sermon (the Vajr. contains 2 Gāthās in Chapt., 26 and one Gāthā in the last chapter), and explains it to others," acquires greater religious merit than a person who might sacrifice his life day by day for aeons, *cf. Walleser*, Prajñāpāramitā, p. 146 f., 149 ff. In the fragment of the Adhyardhaśatikā Pr. from Khotan (*Leumann*, Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur, p. 89) it is even said that he who "even while still in the womb" hears this section of the Pr., is freed from all attacks and dangers, and never goes to hell or is reborn in any other evil form of existence.

Whilst the Aṣṭasāhasrikā relates in a few sentences that Buddha sojourned in Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill, surrounded by a host of monks, who were all arhats, the Satasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā begins with a grandiose description of the scene on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill:

The Lord is seated with his body erect and his legs crossed, ready for meditation, and becomes absorbed in that meditation which is called "King of all meditations," in which all absorptions are included. And after he had arisen, mindful and with a clear consciousness, from this absorption, he glanced over this Buddha-land with his heavenly eyes, and while so doing, he let a radiant light shine forth from the whole of his body and from every pore in his skin, and this radiant light illumined all the continents brilliantly. And all beings by whom this radiance was seen, became clear-sighted through it, and they were all confirmed in the unsurpassable complete enlightenment. Then the Lord thrust forth his tongue through the opening of his mouth, and produced a smile, and many hundreds of thousands of millions of milliards of rays of light emanated from his tongue. On each ray there arose lotuses of jewels, shimmering like gold, with a thousand petals, brightly hued, and beautiful to look upon, sweet, golden, with a pleasant scent, delicate and soft as Kācilindika.[1] And upon these lotuses sat the embodied Tathāgatas and preached the doctrine of the six perfections. But all beings by whom this doctrine was heard, were confirmed in the unsurpassable complete enlightenment. He again became absorbed in the Buddha-meditation which is called "lion's play." In this moment, hell, animal birth, and all evil forms of existence, were suspended in all the innumerable continents. All human beings and gods remembered their former births, approached the Lord and did homage to him. And at the same moment, those who had been born blind, in all the innumerable continents, recovered their sight, the deaf recovered their hearing, the insane had their sanity restored to them, etc.

All this is not stated in such short sentences, but is related with an endless mass of detail. We have already met with the peculiarity of the continual repetitions in the Pāli Suttas.

[1]) According to Mahā-Vyutpatti, 262, 39, a kind of garment.

This characteristic is exaggerated to such a degree in the longer Prajñā-Pāramitās, that it would be quite possible to write down more than one half of a gigantic work like the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajnā-Pāramitā from memory, as the same sentences and expressions constantly recur literally. For instance, in the introduction it is not only said that rays of light shine forth from the whole body of Buddha, and shed an infinite radiance of light over the whole world, but it is said of the toes, the ankles, and every limb and every little part of the body, that rays of light shine forth from them, and shed an infinite radiance of light over the eastern part of the world, the western part of the world, and so on— and the whole set of phrases is repeated for each part of the world, in the same words. In the same way, the writer is not content to say merely: "All is only name," but this "all" is amplified in minute detail, in never-ending series of sentences, until the whole of creation is completely exhausted. We can well comprehend people's holding the view that the world is not real and that everything is empty and vain, and that nothing can be expressed in words, and that "no" is the only possible reply to all questions:— but we would really regard it as an impossibility for book upon book, and for thousands of pages to be written from the standpoint of such a categorical negation of anything and everything: and yet, in the Prajñā-Pāramitās, the impossibility has become a reality. Our sole explanation of this verbosity for the sake of verbosity, is that these monks wrote so much, because it was regarded as a religious merit to write and read as much as possible of these sacred texts.[1] The substance of their writing did not matter. The actual doctrine is the same in the "Hundred-thousand Prajñā-Pāramitā"

[1] The same principle of repetition also appears in art, when entire rocks and caves are covered all over with pictures of Buddha. *Cf. Grünwedel*, Buddhist. Kunst in Indien, pp. 172, 182.

as in the Vajracchedikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā, a little work of but a few pages, in which the content of these texts appears in its most condensed form. In this work, too, we come across the same paradoxes as in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā and the longer Prajñā-Pāramitās. Thus, for instance, we also read in the Vajracchedikā (Chapt. 13) :

" The perfection of wisdom which has been proclaimed by Buddha, the same has been proclaimed by Buddha as a non-perfection also. What do you think, Subhūti, is there any doctrine (Dharma) which has been proclaimed by Buddha ? " Subhūti said : " No, Lord, there is no doctrine which has been proclaimed by Buddha..." The Lord said : "What do you think, Subhūti, can Buddha, the saint, the completely enlightened one, be recognised by the thirty-two characteristics of a great man ? " Subhūti said : " No, Lord, Buddha, the saint, the completely enlightened one, cannot be recognised by the thirty-two characteristics of a great man. And why not ? Because the thirty-two characteristics of a great man, which have been proclaimed by Buddha, were proclaimed by Buddha as non-characteristics. Therefore they are called the thirty-two characteristics of a great man."

There are probably just as many (non-Buddhist) readers who will see a profound meaning in such utterances, as there are those who will regard them as pure nonsense.[1] In reality, they are probably neither the one nor the other, but views which frequently crop up in the history of philosophy, and which only become intelligible if we distinguish between

[1]) Among the latter is probably *Barth*, who says (RHR, t. 5, 1882, p. 117 Oeuvres I, 326) that in our text the Prajñāpāramitā is glorified, " transcendental wisdom, which knows that things are neither existent nor non-existent, that there is no reality which is not also a non-reality, wisdom which has been proclaimed and will be proclaimed by an infinity of myriads of Arhats and Bodhisattvas who have been and have not been, who will be and will not be ; who, thanks to their knowledge of Buddha, and their view of Buddha, are perceived, apperceived, known of Buddha, who himself is neither existent nor non-existent." On the doctrines of the Prajñāpāramitās, *cf. Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 111, 390, 404 ff., 412 ff., 430 ; W. *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 157 ff. and M. *Anesaki*, ERE IV, p. 837f.

a higher, transcendental, and a lower, empirical truth, as expressly taught by the Mahāyāna philosopher Nāgārjuna.

The great philosophers of the Mahāyāna, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, wrote bulky commentaries on the Prajñā-Pāramitās, which have, however, only come down to us in the Chinese Tripiṭaka and in the Tibetan Tanjur. Nevertheless it is very difficult for us to imagine that the immense sanctity which is attributed to these texts, can really be due to a valuation and an understanding of the metaphysical doctrines which they propound. It is more probable that it is precisely the dark and incomprehensible element in the doctrines taught by these texts, which has contributed to make them sacred. *Omne obscurum pro magnifico.*[1]

In the Buddhist dictionary Mahā-Vyutpatti (65, 4), a work called Buddhāvataṃsaka[2] is mentioned in a list of Mahāyāna-Sūtras, immediately after the Śatasāhasrikā, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitās. Both in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Section IV, Hua-yen) and the Tibetan Kanjur,[3] there is a large body of writings entitled thus. It is the sacred scripture of the Avataṃsaka school which arose in China between 557 and 589 A.D., and of the Japanese Kegon sect.[4] According to Chinese sources, there

---

[1]) According to the Ādikarma-Pradīpa (s. *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, E'tudes et Matériaux, Mémoires Ac. Belgique, 1897, p. 227), the reading and Sun-wise circumambulation of the Prajñāpāramitās and similar books are part of the Buddhist cult. Fa-hien, who visited India in the year 399 A.D., already mentions that the Prajnāpāramitās were an object of divine worship at his time; s. S. *Beal*, Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records of the Western World I, p. xxxix. In the Nepalese chronicle Vaṃśāvali it is related, that during the reign of King Śaṅkaradeva (12th century) on the occasion of a fire in a village, a widow fled to Patna, taking nothing with her except a small model of a Caitya, a manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā, which is said to have been written in the year 188 A.D. in golden letters, and her little son; s. *Bendall* in OC Berlin, 1881, II, 190.

[2]) The title means: "Buddha Ornament; avataṃsaka is given as a synonym of alaṃkāra, in Mahā-Vyntpatti, 237, 48.

[3]) Section III, s. Csoma de *Körös*, AMG II, 208 ff.

[4]) *Cf.* B. *Nanjio*, Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, p. 57 ff.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 282 f.; Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhist Thought, 287 ff.

are supposed to have been six different Avataṃsaka-Sūtras, the longest of which contained 100,000 Gāthās and the shortest 36,000. The latter was translated into Chinese in 418 A.D. by Buddhabhadra together with other monks. Śikṣānanda made a translation in 45,000 Gāthās, between 695 and 699 A.D.[1] Though no Avataṃsaka or Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra has come down in Sanskrit, there is a Gaṇḍavyūha-Mahāyāna-Sūtra,[2] which corresponds to one of the Chinese translations of the Avataṃsaka.[3] The main contents of the Gaṇḍavyūha are the wanderings of the youth Sudhana, who travels all over India on the advice of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in order to attain to the highest knowledge essential for enlightenment. He wanders from land to land, seeking instruction from various persons, monks and nuns, lay adherents both male and female, from a merchant, a king, a slave, a boy, also from the goddesses of the night, from Gopā, the wife of Śākyamuni and from Māyā, the mother of Śākyamuni,[4] until, finally, by the favour of Mañjuśrī, he attains to perfect knowledge,

---

[1]) *Cf. Nanjio*, l.c. and Catalogue, Nos. 87-89; *Bagchi* I, 343 f.; *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, Nos. 1053, 1054. Isolated sections of the Avataṃsaka were translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema (178-188 A.D.), Dharmarakṣa (291-297 A.D.) and others, s. *Bagchi* I, 42, 89 f., 97, 220, 237, 286, 405; *Forke*, l.c., Nos. 1055-1057, 1059, 1065; for commentaries and explanatory writings on them, s. *Forke*, l.c., Nos. 1058, 1060-1064; Avataṃsaka Sūtra (according to Buddhabhadra's translation) epitomised by Japanese scholars and translated into English by D. T. *Suzuki* in EB I, I ff., 146 ff.

[2]) The text is not yet published. For table of contents, see Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 90 ff.; *cf. Bendall*, Catalogue, pp. 23, 102; *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 111; *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p, 171 ff.

[3]) At my request, my friend Dr. *Takakusu* compared the text of the Gaṇḍavyūha in the India Office with the text of the "Avataṃsaka-Sūtra in 40 chapters" (in Nanjio's Catalogue), and (in a letter of 4th Sept., 1912) he communicated to me the contents of the work, which coincides in the main with the table of contents given by Rāj. *Mitra*. According to D. T. *Suzuki* (EB I, 1 note), the third Chinese translation is "practically the same as the Nepalese Gaṇḍavyūha," whilst Śikṣānanda's translation "*also*" contains the Gaṇḍavyūha and the Daśabhūmaka. According to S. *Lévi* in JA, t. 203, 1923, p. 6 ff., the Gaṇḍavyūha is the last section of the Avataṃsaka. *Cf.* also *Watanabe* in JRAS 1907, 663; *Pelliot* in JA 1914, II, p. 118 ff.; *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, 54 f.; III, 283.

[4]) There is a remarkably large number of women among these teachers.

through the instrumentality of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.[1]

The Gaṇḍavyūha is quoted fairly frequently in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, whilst the "Avataṃsaka" is not quoted. For instance, there is a long quotation in Gāthās, in praise of the Bodhisattva who is resolved to become a Buddha, in order to show love and pity towards the beings and release them from suffering, to make hell empty, and to point the way to heaven. Another passage (in prose) treats of the cleansing of the city of the mind (citta-nagara) which a Bodhisattva must always bear in mind. In yet another passage we find Gāthās on the rare and blessed good fortune of seeing and hearing a Buddha.[2]

At the end of the Gaṇḍavyūha, both in manuscripts and in Chinese and Tibetan translations, we find the Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna-gāthāḥ, "the Prayer Verses concerning the Pious Life,"[3] a prayer in 62 melodious Dodhaka stanzas,[4] which ranks among the most beautiful expresssions of Buddhist piety, and has been used for purposes of worship in all countries of Mahāyāna Buddhism ever since the 4th century A.D.[5] It is also found as an independent text, and was

---

[1]) This is according to Rāj. *Mitra's* table of contents. However, in the communication of Dr. *Takakusu* from the India Office MSS. (mentioned above in note 3, p. 325) it is said: "At last he meets Samantabhadra who directs him to the one Buddha Amitābha of the West, from whom the earnest youth learns the highest truth and gets enlightened. In one text this last Amitābha section is omitted."

[2]) Śikṣās. 101 ff., 122 f., 310 f.

[3]) *Cf.* K. *Watanabe*, Die Bhadracarī, eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik untersucht und herausgegeben (mit deutscher Übersetzung von E. *Leumann*), Diss. Strassburg, 1912. According to *Watanabe*, Bhadra is an abbreviation of Samantabhadra, and the title should be translated: "The verses in which the pious wishes that distinguished the religious life of Samantabhadra, find expression." In the Śikṣā-Samuccaya it is quoted with the title Bhadracaryā (Gāthā).

[4]) On this metre (four Pādas of eleven syllables: — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑), so popular with the Mahāyāna Buddhists, s. *Watanabe*, l.c., p. 24 ff.

[5]) *Watanabe*, l.c., p. 10 ff. According to *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE II, 259 note, it belongs to the sacred books of the Santrāntikas, but in ERE XII, 194, he counts it among the Tantras.

translated into Chinese several times in the 4th and 8th centuries, and into Tibetan in the 9th century. The language is a Prākrit with a strong leaning towards Sanskrit.

The prayer opens with verses in which homage is paid to all Jinas. Then come the pious wishes (praṇidhāna), in which the believer, after having renounced all evil, requests all the Buddhas to allow the wheel of the doctrine to revolve throughout all the aeons, in which he wishes good fortune and blessing for all beings, and prays on his own behalf, that he may ever lead a pious life, direct his thoughts to enlightenment, and that he may one day, as a Buddha, make an end to the sufferings of the world. In particular he implores the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, whom he strives to imitate, and in conclusion he expresses the hope that he may at some future time behold Amitābha and attain to the Blessed Land (Sukhāvatī).

The Daśabhūmaka or Daśabhūmika-Sūtra or Daśabhūmīśvara,[1] is also regarded as a portion of the Avataṃsaka, but it is found just as frequently as an independent work. The subject-matter of this work is a discourse on the ten steps (daśabhūmi) by which Buddhahood may be attained. The speaker is the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha, who gives himself up to a deep meditation in a vast assembly of gods, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and is then invited by Śākyamuni to explain the "ten steps," while rays of light emanate in all directions from all the Buddhas present. Chapter I also contains Gāthās (in Sanskrit, not

[1]) The Sanskrit text has been edited, and the chapter on the seventh Bhūmi translated into English, by Johannes *Rahder*, Diss. Utrecht 1926 (J.-B. Istas, Leuven), Chapter VII also in Acta Or. IV, 214 ff. The text in Sanskrit and Tibetan with a French translation of Chapters I-VI (on the first six Bhūmis) had already previously been edited by *La Vallée Poussin* in Le Muséon 1907, 1910 and 1911, Chapt. VI also in Bouddhisme, Etudes et Matériaux, Théorie de douze causes (1913), p. 115 ff. *La Vallée Poussin* says (ERE II, 744) that Daśabhūmīśvara is the title of a recension augmented by Prākrit verses. *Rahder* does not make this distinction, but merely remarks that some MSS. have Gāthās in the last chapter. In the colophon in *Rahder's* edition, the title reads: Daśabhūmīśvara Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja. *Cf.* also Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 81 ff.; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 4 f. It is frequently quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya.

in the Gāthā dialect), though the actual treatise on the Bhūmis is entirely in prose. The doctrine of the "ten steps" is to be found in an earlier form in the Mahāvastu, but in the Mahāyāna it is a principal feature,[1] and the Daśabhūmaka is the most important work which treats of this doctrine. It was translated into Chinese in 297 A. D. by Dharmarakṣa.[2]

Like the Avataṃsaka, the R a t n a k ū ṭ a or "Heap of Jewels," also constitutes a large section both of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (II, Pao-chi)[3] and of the Tibetan Kanjur (IV, Kon-ts'egs).[4] In these works it is a collection of 49 Sūtras, including, among others, the long Sukhāvatī-Vyūha, the Akṣobhya-Vyūha, the Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-Guṇa-Vyūha, and also a Bodhisattva-Piṭaka, a Pitāputrasamāgama, "Meeting of the son (Śākyamuni) with his father (Śuddhodana),"[5] the Kāśyapa-Parivarta, and many Paripṛcchās, "Questions" (with the corresponding answers).

---

[1]) The doctrine of the Bhūmis is also to be found in the Lalita-Vistara, in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā XVII ff., in Candrakīrti's Mādhyamakāvatāra and in Maitreyanātha's Mahāyānā-Sūtrālaṃkāra XX, XXI. For a detailed treatment s. T. *Suzuki*, Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Ch. 12, and especially *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE II, 743 ff.; VIII, 329 f.

[2]) Apart from this, it was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (406 A.D.), Bodhiruci (500-516) and Śīladharma (789). Kumārajīva also translated the Daśabhūmikavibhāṣāśāstra, a commentary on the first two Bhūmis, by Nāgārjuna. *Cf. Nanjio*, Nos. 88 f., 105, 110, 1180, 1194; *Bagchi* I, 87, 103, 186, 197 f., 253, 257; K. *Watanabe* in JRAS 1907, 663 f. A *Daśabhūmikleśacchedikā-Sūtra*, which is said to have been translated as early as in the year 70 A.D., has not come down, but the translation by Fo Nien (388-417) is extant, s. *Nanjio*, No. 375; *Bagchi* I, 171 f.; *Rahder*, l.c., pp. iii, viii, 217 f. The work treats of the same subject as the Daśabhūmaka, but is not identical with it.

[3]) Collected by Bodhiruci in 706-713 A.D.; s. *Nanjio*, No. 23, *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, p. 179 ff. There is in Chinese also a short Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra, which treats of the Ratnakūṭa-samādhi; s. *Forke*, l.c., No. 846. Many shorter sections of the Ratnakūṭa were translated into Chinese from the 3rd to the 6th century A.D., s *Bagchi* I, pp. 24, 41-43, 96 f., 104 f., 210, 220, 252, 258, 350 f., 391. See also *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 167 ff.

[4]) *Cf.* Csoma de *Kőrös* in AMG II, 212 ff. and Marcelle *Lalou* in JA 1927, Oct.-Déc., p. 233 ff.

[5]) Extracts from it in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya,

We may take it that there was a Ratnakūṭa in Sanskrit too. According to Tāranātha the Ratnakūṭa-Dharma-Paryāya in 1,000 sections, had its origin during the reign of Kaniṣka's son.[1] On the other hand, the various single texts which are mentioned as portions of the Ratnakūṭa in the Chinese and Tibetan works, only occur as independent works in Sanskrit.[2] The Chinese and the Tibetan books agree in giving the Kāśyapa-Parivarta as section 43 of the Ratnakūṭa. Valuable fragments of the Sanskrit original of this work were found in the neighbourhood of Khotan, and have been published by *Baron A. von Staël-Holstein.*[3] It appears, moreover, that this Kāśyapa-Parivarta is identical with the original Ratnakūṭa.[4] The work was entitled Kāśyapa-Parivarta, because Kāśyapa the Great, Buddha's disciple, is the principal speaker.

In this work, which is said to have been translated into Chinese as early as between 178 and 184 A.D.,[5] the prose and the verses alternate in such a way that the verse portions

---

[1]) *Eliot*, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, 56 f.

[2]) Maitreyanātha quotes the Ratnakūṭa in his Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra XIX, 29. The Ratnakūṭa is mentioned in Mahā-Vyutpatti 65, 39, but the single texts, too, are enumerated as independent works. Similarly, in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, both the Ratnakūṭa and the works which it comprises, such as the Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā, Ugra-Paripṛcchā, Akṣayamati-Paripṛcchā, and others, are cited. When the Śikṣ. quotes the Ugra-Paripṛcchā and the Ratnakūṭā side by side, on pp. 146, 196, or when in Śikṣ., p. 54 f. first the Ratnakūṭa, then the Rāṣṭrapāla-Sūtra, and then again the Ratnakūṭa are quoted, it follows that Śāntideva did not know the Ugra-Paripṛcchā and the Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā as parts of the Ratnakūṭa.

[3]) The Kāçyapaparivarta a Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class edited in the Original Sanskrit, in Tibetan, and in Chinese (The Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1926).

[4]) *Bendall*, Śikṣāsamuccaya Ed., p. 52 note 1, and *Staël-Holstein.* l.c., p. ff. xiv There is no colophon in the fragments, but the title Mahā-Ratnakūṭa-Dharmaparyāya occurs in a few fragments (pp. 82, 217, 227). However, the title "Kāśyapa-Section" remains unexplained, if the Rātnakūṭa and the Kāśyapa-Parivarta are one and the same work.

[5]) Three other translations were made between 265 and 420 A.D., 350 and 431 A. D., and at the close of the 10th century, s. A. *von Staël Holstein*, l.c., pp. ix f., xxi; *Nanjio*, Nos. 57, 1363; *Bagchi* I, 26 f., 41, 239.

(in Sanskrit with occasional Prākritisms) repeat what has already been said in prose. As far as we can glean from the fragments which have come down, the ideal of the Bodhisattva, and the doctrine of unreality (śūnyatā) are proclaimed again and again in the Kāśyapa-Parivarta in many a parable in the conversations between Buddha and Kāśyapa.

The first 22 fragments are reminiscent of the section of four in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya. Four good and four bad qualities, four good and four bad friends, etc., of a Bodhisattva are enumerated. The first of the four good qualities is a love of truth: "Not even in order to save their lives, do they utter a falsehood" (p. 8). Then come the comparisons (p. 56 ff.). As the vast earth is useful to all living creatures, unchanging and without seeking a reward, so also is the Bodhisattva. "As the element of water, O Kāśyapa, enables all the grasses, shrubs, herbs and trees to grow, even so the Bodhisattva, who is pure of heart, enables all beings to blossom forth, by the manifestation of his love (maitra), and continuing thus, enables all the luminous qualities of all beings to mature" (p. 58). In similar fashion the Bodhisattva is compared to fire, the wind, the moon, the sun, a lion, an elephant, a lotus, etc. There is a series of other similes in explanation of the Śūnyatā. Even as a physician heals the sick man, the Śūnyatā is a remedy for all who are entangled in heresies (p. 97). Then come fresh similes having reference to the Bodhisattva. "O Kāśyapa, just as the new moon is worshipped, and the full moon is not worshipped to the same degree, even so, Kāśyapa, a Bodhisattva should be honoured far more than a Tathāgata, by my followers. And why? Because the Tathāgatas arise from the Bodhisattvas" (p. 129).

Among the numerous Paripṛcchās which are included in the Chinese and the Tibetan Ratnakūṭa,[1] there is also the Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā, or Rāṣṭrapāla-Sūtra.[2] The Sūtra consists of two parts, the first of

[1]) *Cf. Nanjio*, Catalogue, p. xiii ff.; *Körös* in AMG, II, 564 f.

[2]) Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, Sūtra du Mahāyāna, publié par L. *Finot*. (Bibliotheca Buddhica II.) St. Pétersbourg 1901. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Le Muséon N. S. IV, 1903, p. 306 ff. This Sūtra has nothing in common with the Raṭṭhapāla-Sutta (see above, p. 48 f.) except the name Rāṣṭrapāla (=Pāli Raṭṭhapāla).

which is more dogmatic and contains Buddha's reply to "Rāṣṭrapāla's question" on the qualities (Dharmas) of a Bodhisattva, while Part II relates the Jātaka of Prince Puṇyaraśmi, whose story has a few features in common with the Buddha legend. Even in Part I, however, Buddha gives a brief account of his actions in former births, by way of elucidating the Bodhisattva-Dharmas, and fifty Jātakas are mentioned. Following abruptly after these Jātakas, is a prophecy of the future decay of the religion,[1] and this is the most interesting part of the Sūtra: for the picture here sketched in a very life-like and accurate manner, must necessarily reflect actual facts, and must contain a satirical description of the lax morals of the Buddhist monks. It says, for instance:

"My monks will be without shame and without virtue, haughty, puffed up and wrathful...intoxicating themselves with alcoholic drinks. While they bear the banner of the Buddha, they will only be serving the householders...They themselves will have wives, sons and daughters like householders....' You are not to indulge in sensual pleasures, in order that you may not be born again as animals, ghosts or beings of hell,' thus they will preach to the householders, but they themselves will be uncontrolled, and so on."

This prophecy reminds us of similar ones in the Thera-Gāthās (see above, p. 111). The Chinese translation of the Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā made between 585 and 592 A. D.,[2] proves that the conditions here described, already existed in the 6th century. The Sūtra is probably not much earlier than the Chinese translation, as is shown by the barbaric language, which particularly in the Gāthās is a mixture of Prākrit and bad Sanskrit, and by the elaborate metres and the careless style.

---

[1]) *Finot*, l.c., p. ix ff., 28 ff.

[2]) *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, p. 181; *Nanjio*, No. 23 (18). A second translation was made between 980 and 1000 A.D., s. *Nanjio*, No. 873.

Many of the Paripṛcchās which are counted as belonging to the Ratnakūṭa, are also quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, thus for instance, the Ugra-Paripṛcchā or Ugradatta-Paripṛcchā, "Questions of (the householder) Ugradatta,"[1] from which, for example, a long passage on the advantages of a forest hermit's life is cited, the Udayana-Vatsarāja-Paripṛcchā, "Questions of the Vatsa king Udayana" (No. 29 in the Ratnakūṭa of the Kanjur), the Upāli-Paripṛcchā, "Upāli's Questions on Discipline,"[2] and others. It is interesting that women are made to ask quite a number of "questions," thus for instance, there is a Candrottarā-Dārikā-Paripṛcchā, "Questions of the Girl Candrottarā" (Śikṣ., p. 78 ff., on the evil consequences of lust), Dārikā-Vimalaśraddhā-Paripṛcchā (No. 40 in the Ratnakūṭa of the Kanjur), Sumati-Dārikā-Paripṛcchā (No. 30 in the Chinese Ratnakūṭa), etc.

Just as the Prajñā-Pāramitās proclaim first and foremost the Śūnyavāda, the doctrine of unreality, the Saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, "the Revelation of the Good Religion in Laṅkā (Ceylon)," generally called briefly Laṅkāvatāra,[3] teaches principally a modification of the Śūnyavāda, the Vijñānavāda, the "Doctrine of Consciousness," *i.e.*, that doctrine which, though it also denies the reality of the external world, does at the same time recognise that the phenomena of consciousness have a subjective reality.

---

[1]) Translated into Chinese as early as in 181 A.D., and then again in 252 A.D., s. *Bagchi*, I. 47, 104 f.; *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, Nos. 283, 1207. Śikṣās. pp. 198 ff., 367.

[2]) Vinaya-viniścaya-Upāli-paripṛcchā in the Kanjur (s. M. *Lalou* in JA 1927, Oct.-Dec., p. 252). Upāli is the expert of the Vinaya, at the council of Rājagṛha (Vinaya-Piṭaka, Culla-Vagga XI, 1, 7).

[3]) Edited by Bunyiu *Nanjio*, Kyoto 1923 (Bibliotheca Otaniensis, Vol. I). An analysis of the doctrines contained in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, especially in their relation to the Japanese Zen Buddhism, is given by D. T. *Suzuki* in EB IV, 199-298. *Cf.* G. *Tucci* in RSO X, 1923, 567 ff. and Memorie R. Acc. Lincei, ser. V, Vol. XVII, fasc. V, p. 170 ff.; J. W. *Hauer*, Das Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra und das Sāṃkhya (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte 1927); and *Schayer* in ZB 8, 1928, 249 f. In the colophon of Chapt. II, the Sūtra is called Ṣaṭtriṃśatsāhasra, "consisting of 36,000 (Ślokas)."

In the form in which we have it, the work is either a very careless compilation, or else it has suffered very badly in coming down to us; moreover, it consists of portions which belong to various periods. It was translated into Chinese three times, by Guṇabhadra in 443 A.D., by Bodhiruci in 513 and by Śikṣānanda in 700-704.[1] In the first translation Chapters I, IX and X are missing, so that we may be justified in assuming that these three chapters were not written until between 443 and 513 A.D. The last chapter (Sagāthakam) consists entirely of verses, while the rest of the book is in prose with occasional Gāthās interspersed.[2]

Chapter I gives a very detailed description of the meeting of Buddha with Rāvaṇa, the king of the Rākṣasas in Laṅkā. Encouraged by the Bodhisattva Mahāmati, Rāvaṇa asks Buddha questions about the difference between true and false doctrine (Dharma and Adharma). With Chapter II, which has no connection whatsoever with Chapter I, Mahāmati, after he has praised Buddha and obtained permission to ask him questions, begins to ply Buddha with a long series of over one hundred questions: these questions bear on all the details of the doctrine, on release ("Whither does the released one go? Who is bound? By whom is he released?"), on Ālaya,[3] Manovijñāna and other main notions of the Vijñānavāda, on Śūnyatā, enlightenment, etc. But we also find such questions as: "How do food and drink of all kinds come into existence? How does copulation come about? What is the nature of a king, a ruler of the world (Cakravartin), a ruler of a district (Maṇḍalin)?...How is it that you are descended from the Śākya race, through whom and how are you a scion of Ikṣvāku?...Why are you alone seen in all lands?," etc. Buddha does not only deal with these questions and give his assent to them, but adds many

[1]) *Nanjio* Edition, Preface, p. viii f.; *Bagchi* I, pp. 254, 380.

[2]) Though Chapts. II-VIII appear in all the three Chinese translations, *Hauer*, l.c., p. 3, doubts whether Chapt. VIII, which is devoted entirely to the condemnation of meat-eating, belonged to the original work. As the question as to whether meat-eating is permissible is already discussed in II, 45, it is possible that Chapt. VIII too may have belonged to the nucleus of the work.

[3]) "The store-room of all ideas." *Cf.* O. *Rosenberg*, Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, Heidelberg, 1924, p. 235; Th. *Stcherbatsky*, Central Conception of Buddhism, pp. 65, 67, 100; *Strauss*, Indische Philosophie, p. 256.

more questions to the list, having reference to general knowledge (medicine, the arts, geography, etc.) which Mahāmati should have asked.[1] Then comes an enumeration of 108 subjects which have been explained by former Buddhas. The main portion of Chapters II-VII is entirely philosophic in content, and actually treats of the whole system of the Buddhist doctrine, mainly from the standpoint of the Vijñānavāda. The question: "What is Nirvāṇa?" and the various opinions on it, are discussed in two places.[2] In Chapter III, we find, among other things, a discussion on the paradoxical utterance of Buddha: "Between the night during which the Tathāgata attained to enlightenment, and the night during which he will be completely extinguished, in that time not one syllable was spoken by the Tathāgata, and he will not speak a single syllable: the Buddha word is a non-word" (p. 142 ff.). In the same chapter (p. 192 f.) we also come across a remarkable list of names of Buddha. We are told here that, just as in other cases there are several names for one and the same thing, *e.g.*, Indra and Śakra, hasta and pāṇi (both of which mean "hand"), etc., similarly, there are countless names for Buddha too; some call him Tathāgata, others Svayambhū, Nāyaka, Vināyaka, Pariṇāyaka, Buddha, Ṛṣi, Vṛṣabha, Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu, Īśvara, Pradhāna,[3] Kapila,[4] Bhūtānta (the end of the beings, death), Ariṣṭanemi,[5] Soma (moon), Bhāskara (sun), Rāma, Vyāsa, Śukra, Indra, Bali, Varuṇas and others again: Anirodhānutpāda (non-destruction and non-originating), Śūnyatā, Tathatā, Truth, Reality, Highest Being, Dharmadhātu, Nirvāṇa, That which is Eternal, the Four Noble Truths, etc. Chapter IV treats of the ten Bhūmis.

In Chapter VIII,[6] Mahāmati begs of the Lord to explain to him what is good or bad in the practice of eating meat, "so that we, I and the other Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings, may in the future and in the present so preach the doctrine that the beings who are still affected by the impres-

---

[1]) Here there is a repetition of some questions which had already been asked previously. It is clear that the text is in disorder.

[2]) Pp. 98 ff., and 182 ff. *Cf.* Th. *Stcherbatsky*, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 31 note; *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 459 f.

[3]) Original matter, a term of the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

[4]) The founder of the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

[5]) A Jain saint.

[6]) It begins with the words: "Then the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, Mahāmati, questioned the Lord in the Gāthās." However, what follows is only prose; the verses seem to have been dropped.

sions surviving from a previous existence as a beast of prey, and who for that reason are greedy for meat, may renounce their greed for (the) taste (of meat), and in order that the meat-eaters may cast from them the greed for (the) taste (of meat), and that, as a result of a longing for the taste of the doctrine, they may treat all beings with a love as strong as that felt towards an only son, and thus gain the great Love (mahāmaitrī)." The eating of flesh is forbidden even by the adherents of false doctrines, and they themselves eat no meat, whilst under the Completely Enlightened One, who is all pity, people eat meat, and the eating of meat is not forbidden. Buddha's reply to this, is that the eating of meat should be avoided for innumerable reasons, first and foremost being the fact that every being is at some time or other connected with all other beings by rebirth as a father, brother, son, and so on. Legends are told, as evidence of the evil consequences of eating meat. In the Gāthās which follow the prose, not only meat, but also intoxicating drinks, onions and garlic are prohibited. Buddha admits that, in the future, there will be meat-eaters who will declare that the eating of meat is allowed by Buddha.[1] The Buddha however, forbids any kind of meat-eating, whether it be as a medicine or as a food, and he accounts it tantamount to eating the flesh of a son.

Chapter IX is a Dhāraṇī, a magic formula protecting people against snake-demons and ghosts of all kinds.[2]

The whole of Chapter X is a long philosophical treatise in 884 verses.[3] In this case, too, the doctrines put forth, are those of the Vijñānavāda. It is, however, expressly emphasized again and again, that all phenomena are unreal like a fata morgana, an illusion, a delusion. We are frequently reminded of the language of the Vedānta. As in the Gauḍapādīya-Kārikās, in which the Vedāntist doctrine of Māyā is first developed, this work (v. 443) also illustrates the non-reality of the

[1]) *Hauer*, Das Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, p. 3 f., regards these passages as allusions to Tantric cults. This is a possible, but not a necessary assumption. The practice of meat-eating may have arisen among Buddhists in the Northern districts even before there were Tantric cults.

[2]) Translated by J. W. *Hauer*, Die Dhāraṇī im nördlichen Buddhismus (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, 2, 1927), p. 2 ff. Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in JASB Proceedings, 1900, p. 100 ff., describes a "Laṅkāvatāra" Tantra, which, however, has nothing in common with the Mahāyāna-Sūtra.

[3]) The prose sentence at the beginning: "Then Mahāmati, the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, spoke to the Lord thus," is an absurd interpolation; for it is evident that a Buddha is made to say these verses.

world by the simile of the circle of fire, which originates when a burning stick is twirled round. Again and again we come across the instances of the "horn of a hare," the "ring-like apparitions before the shut eyes," and similar fictions and delusions of the senses, which are intended to show that everything is only illusion and that nothing is real, not even release (verse 623).[2] Sāṃkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, naked sophists, and the theists, are mentioned as adherents of false doctrines (verse 723). The speaker in Chapter X is not Śākyamuni, but one of his predecessors, a Buddha of an earlier age, who says of himself: "I am descended from the family (gotra) of Kātyāyana, and have come from the Śuddhāvāsa heaven. I preach to the beings the doctrine which leads to the city of Nirvāṇa. I and those Tathāgatas have pointed to this very ancient path as leading to Nirvāṇa, in 3,000 Sūtras" (v. 772 f.). "And my mother is Vasumatī, my father is the Brahman Prajāpati, I am descended from the family of Kātyāyana, and my name is Jina the Pure (Viraja Jina). I was born in Campā, and so were my father and my grandfather also. The latter was called Somagupta, and was descended from the dynasty of the moon" (v. 798 f.).[1]

A few passages in Chapter X might possibly be of historical significance, if they were clearer; in particular the prophecy (X, 784 ff.): "Vyāsa, Kaṇāda, Ṛṣabha, Kapila, the Śākya leader, these and others will be there after my passing away. A hundred years after I have passed away, the Vyāsa who is well known from the (Mahā-)Bhārata, and also the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas, Rāma and then the Maurya (Chandragupta is meant) will live, and after that, the Mauryas, Nandas and Guptas, and then the barbarians, the meanest of the kings. At the end of the reign of the barbarians, there will be armed riots, and after they are ended, the Kali-Yuga will come, and at the end of the Kali-Yuga, the Good Religion will not be promoted by the people." In another passage (X, 813 ff.) the coming of Pāṇini, Akṣapāda, Bṛhaspati, of the teachers of Lokāyata, of Kātyāyana the writer of Sūtras, of Yājñavalkya, Vālmīki, Masurākṣa, Kauṭilya and Āśvalāyana, is foretold.

---

[1]) X, 558-623, translated into German by *Hauer*, Das Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, p. 7 ff.

[2]) S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* (JASB 1905, p. 161; JRAS 1905, p. 833 ff.) took these verses to be the words of the author of the book. His opinion is shared by *Hauer*, l.c., p. 4. Strange as this passage is, and it does really sound as though it were spoken by an author, this view is nevertheless impossible.

Whilst the last-named list is anything but chronological,[1] and can scarcely be of service in fixing any date, we are most likely justified in taking it that the passage about the Guptas, and the one about the succeeding reign of the barbarians, refer to the Hun invasions at the close of the 5th century.[2] From this we could infer that Chapter X was written not long before the time of the second Chinese translation (513 A.D.). The philosophy of the Vijñānavāda, which is taught in all parts of the Laṅkāvatāra, coincides with the doctrines of Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga, and the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda, which may be ascribed to the 4th century A.D. at the earliest. It is, therefore, probable that the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, even in its earlier form, was not in existence more than 50 or at the very most, 100 years before the Chinese translation of 443 A.D. At all events, from the point of view of the history of Indian philosophy from the 4th to the 6th century A.D., the importance of this work, which contains such numerous allusions to other systems of philosophy, should not be undervalued.[3]

Among the later Mahāyāna-Sūtras there is also the Samādhirāja, "(the Sūtra about the) King of Meditations," or the Candrapradīpa-Sūtra, as it is called after the principal speaker.[4] Here, in a dialogue between Candrapradīpa (or Candraprabha) and Buddha, it is shown how a Bodhisattva can attain to the highest knowledge by means of the various

---

[1]) *Cf.* E. H. *Johnston* in JRAS 1929, p. 86. ff.

[2]) *Cf.* above, Vol. I, 524 f.

[3]) Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (Ind. Hist, Qu. I, 1925, 208 f.) speaks of the Laṅkāvatāra as a work belonging to the period before Kaniṣka. This is probably based upon the erroneous statement of Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p, 113, that the work was already translated into Chinese in 168-190 A.D. H. *Śāstrī* (l.c.) calls attention to a paper published by Harinath *De*, "in which 20 different systems of thought were culled from the Laṅkāvatāra."

[4]) I do not know of any edition of the work. I only know it from quotations in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya and from the table of contents given by Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., pp. 207-221; s. *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 22 f.; Śikṣā-Samuccaya, ed. Bendall, p. 368.

meditations, especially the highest of all, the "King of Meditations," and which preliminary conditions are necessary in order to prepare the spirit for this highest stage of meditation. Such preliminary conditions are worship of the Buddhas, complete renunciation of the world, gentleness and goodness towards all beings, entire indifference as to one's own life and one's own health if there is a question of sacrificing them for others, and lastly the knowledge of the non-reality of the world, the steadfast belief in the unreality (śūnyatā) of all phenomena. Passages of moral contents, mostly in Gāthās, are quoted by Śāntideva in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, as for instance the beautiful verses about peace of mind (Śikṣ., p. 242 f.):

"*He* will never depart from the doctrine of the Blessed Ones (Sugatas *i.e.*, Buddhas), *that* hero will never fall into the power of women, *he* takes a delight in the commandment of the Blessed Ones—he who understands that real peace of mind is the true nature of Religion.

He will soon become a prince of men here, *he* will be a healing physician, a giver of good fortune, *he* will pull out completely the thorn (of pain) of the unfortunate,—he who understands that real peace of mind is the true nature of Religion.

He shines forth among the people, like the moon, by the power of his mildness, *he* is not angered, though he be ill-treated with clods of earth and with sticks, *he* remains unmoved, though he be pulled to pieces limb by limb,—he who understands that real peace of mind is the true nature of Religion."

In the Śikṣā-Samuccaya (p. 134) a verse is cited from the Jñānavatī section of the Samādhirāja, according to which the eating of meat, which is otherwise prohibited, is allowable by way of medicine. In a prose passage of some length, it is explained that it is more likely for a man who is burning from head to foot, and who is still alive, to think of sensual pleasures, than for a Bodhisattva to find rest, as long as there are still human beings in distress.[1] Legends are also told of saints

[1] Śikṣ., p. 166. A long passage on morality is quoted on p. 100 f., and a passage on the advantages of a hermit's life, on p. 193 ff.; a beautiful verse on maitrī, love, which is

who were successful owing to the "King of Meditations." This Sūtra corresponds to the Chinese Yüehtêng-san-mei-ching, which was translated in 450 and 557 A.D.[1]

The last work to be mentioned among the later Mahāyāna-Sūtras, is the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa or "Splendour of Gold,"[2] the contents of which are partly philosophical and ethical, and which also contains many legends, but which, for a great part, already bears the stamp of a Tantra.

In Chapter I the Brahman Kauṇḍilya begs for a relic of Buddha, even though it might not be larger than a grain of mustard. The Licchavi prince Sarvalokapriyadarśana replies to him in the following verses: "When flowers will grow in the floods of the Ganges, when crows are red and Kokilas are the colour of conch-shells, when the Jambu tree bears palm nuts and the date tree mango blossoms,—then there will be a relic the size of a grain of mustard. When people will be well protected against the winter's cold with coats made out of the hairs of the tortoise,...When the feet of a mosquito will afford a firm support which will not waver,...When people will make a firm ladder out of a hare-horn, whereby to climb up to heaven,...When a mouse will climb up this ladder, and having eaten the moon up, will run around Rāhu,...When an umbrella made of Palāśa leaves will be large enough to protect people from the rain,...When ocean ships will career around upon the dry land with sail and mast,...When owls will carry away Gandhamādana hill with their beaks,[3] then there will be a

---

to be esteemed far above any cult, is quoted on p. 318. In the Śikṣ. the title is always Candrapradīpa-Sūtra.

[1]) Thus according to K. *Watanabe* in JRAS 1907, 663; *Nanjio*, No. 191. Both titles also occur in the Tibetan Kanjur, s. *Körös.* in AMG II, 249. The Śūraṅgamasamādhi, which is also quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, is a different work from the Samādhirāja.

[2]) Edited by Rai Sarat Chandra *Dās*, Bahadur, and Pandit Sarat Chandra *Śāstrī*, fasc. 1, Calcutta 1898 (Buddhist Text Society of India). More does not seem to have been published. The complete title reads thus in the colophons: Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja. The fascicule contains Chapts. I-XV. Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 241 ff., gives the contents of 21 chapters. *Cf. Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 171 ff., 490; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 12 f.; M. *Anesaki* in ERE IV, p. 839. An edition of the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa was prepared by the late Bunyiu *Nanjio*, and is being made ready for the press by his pupil Hotoku *Idzumi*, s. J. *Takakusu* in The Young East, May 1928, p. 404.

[3]) This list of impossible things is to be found, in part word for word, in Jātaka No. 425 (Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka, "the Jātaka of the Impossibilities"). *Cf.* Th. *Zachariae*, Kleine Schriften, Bonn 1920, p. 70 f.; She-Rab Dong bu or Prajnya Danda by Lu-Trub (Nāgārjuna

relic." The Brahman himself states the reason: It is impossible to find a relic of Buddha, even as small as a grain of mustard, as there is neither bone nor blood of Buddha's body, for the Completely Enlightened Tathāgata has only a Dharmakāya,[1] and consists only of the Dharma element, *i.e.*, he has only an immaterial "body" consisting of the absolute, and he is composed only of ideas, of spiritual (non-sensual) phenomena. A Buddha was never created and never passes away; only in order to bring the beings to maturity, he causes the vision of the complete Nirvāṇa to appear.

Chapter IV is on a lofty ethical plane, and contains many a beautiful passage such as the confession of sins,[2] and the praise of love (maitrī) towards all beings.[3] The doctrine of Śūnyatā is developed in Chapter VI. The major portion of the work consists, however, of a glorification of the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa itself, and the merit of reading this book is extolled over and over again. In Chapter VIII the goddess Sarasvatī appears, and in Chapter IX Śrī Mahādevī, the great goddess Śrī, in order to magnify the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa as a Dhāraṇī.[4] Chapter XIII is a kind of manual for kings (rājaśāstra), called Devendrasamaya, which Baladaketu recited to his son Ruciraketu when he was anointed as king.[5] Among the legends which are related in the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa, there is also one about a prince who

---

ed. and transl. by W. L. *Campbell*, Calcutta 1919, p. 98 (vs. 194); and *Penzer-Tawney*, The Ocean of Story, IX, 152.

[1]) On the Mahāyāna doctrine of the three bodies (trikāya) of the Buddha, *viz.*, dharmakāya (the absolute), sambhogakāya (the superhuman body with which the Buddhas enjoy their glory, virtue and wisdom) and nirmāṇakāya (the assumed body, which the Buddhas assume, in order to carry out their work of releasing the beings, on earth), see *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE I, 97 f.; M. *Anesaki* in ERE IV, 839 f.; P. *Masson-Oursel* in JA 1913, sér. 11, t. 1, p. 581 ff.; *Rosenberg*, Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, p. 236 ff.; W. Montgomery *McGovern*, An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, London 1922, p. 75 ff. I-tsing's Chinese translation of the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa has a chapter on the doctrine of Trikāya, which does not appear in the Sanskrit text, and which, in the opinion of *Anesaki* (l.c.) was probably interpolated by an adherent of Vasubandhu. On Dharmadhātu see Th. *Stcherbatsky*, Central Conception of Buddhism, pp. 59, 97.

[2]) P. 12 ff., quoted in Śikṣā-Samuccaya, pp. 160-164. This passage has been published by H. *Stönner* (SBA 1904, 1310 ff.) from a block print found in Idikutschari (Eastern Turkestan).

[3]) P. 19 ff., quoted in Śikṣā-Samuccaya, p. 217 f.

[4]) It is justified to a certain extent, when *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, E'tudes et Matériaux, Mémoires etc., 1897, p. 127, describes the Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa as a Māhātmya of Dhāraṇīs.

[5]) It is not easy to see how this section crept into this pious work. It reminds us of similar sections in the Purāṇas.

kills himself in order to serve as food for a hungry tigress,[1] whereupon the prince's father has his son's remains preserved in a golden casket, and has a Stūpa erected over them. In other places, however, Tantric ritual is also taught, and female deities, Hārītī, Caṇḍikā, etc., are mentioned.

The Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa enjoys a great reputation and is popular in all countries where Mahāyāna Buddhism prevails. In Central Asia, too, fragments of this work have been discovered.[2] It is said to have been explained in China by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga as early as during the reign of Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.).[3] If this statement is not a mere fiction with a view to extolling the work, there must have been a Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa in those days which diverged widely from the present text. The Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema (414-433), Paramārtha and his pupils (552-557) and I-tsing (703) have come down to us.[4]

The Masters and Poets of the Mahāyāna.

Tāranātha[5] says that the adherents of the Hīnayāna declare the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā to be the latest of the Mahāyāna-Sūtras, and the work of Nāgārjuna,[6] and

---

[1]) See above, p. 274 f. According to a Mongolian version translated by I. J. *Schmidt*, Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache, St. Petersburg 1831, p. 142 ff.

[2]) A passage from it in the language of Khotan, s. in E. *Leumann*, Buddhist. Lit. Nordarisch und Deutsch, 1920, p. 53 ff. A few Central Asiatic fragments of the Sanskrit text have been published and translated by F. W. *Thomas* in Hoernle, MS. Remains, p. 108 ff. An Uiguric translation appeared in Bibl. Buddhica in 1914. For fragments of Uiguric texts, s. F. W. K. *Müller*, Uigurica, in ABA 1908, p. 10 ff.; *Lüders*, SBA 1914, p. 99; in the colophon it is expressly stated that the work was translated from the Indian language into Chinese, and from the Chinese into Turkish.

[3]) *Bagchi* I, p. 4.

[4]) *Bagchi* I, 220, 422; *Forke*, Pekinger Tripiṭaka, Nos. 121, 127. In the Tibetan Kanjur, s. AMG II, 315 f. The West Mongolian recension (Altan Geral) has been published by Erich *Haenisch*, Leipzig 1929.

[5]) Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A *Schiefner*, St. Petersburg 1869, p. 71.

[6]) On Nāgārjuna, see A. *Grünwedel*, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei, Leipzig 1900, p. 29 ff.; *Eliot*, II, 84 ff.; Satis Chandra *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* in Proc.

it is not impossible that this Prajñā-Pāramitā is indeed an apocryphal Sūtra which was produced by Nāgārjuna's school. It is more likely, however, that this statement is due to a confusion between the text of the great Prajñā-Pāramitā and the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra-Śāstra which was ascribed to Nāgārjuna, *i.e.*, the commentary on the Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā. At all events Nāgārjuna cannot possibly have been the founder of the Mahāyāna, as was so often supposed in former days; for there is no doubt that Mahāyāna-Sūtras were in existence long before his time.[1] According to Hsüan-Tsang,[2] Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Kumāralabdha (=Kumāralāta) were contemporaries, and he calls them "the four suns which illumined the world." According to Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (I, 173), the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna was "the only lord of the land" in Kashmir at the period of the kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka. Tāranātha says that he was born in the days of Kaniṣka. It is a good working hypothesis, though nothing more, that he lived in the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.[3] On the other hand, so many legends have been woven about his life, that doubts have even been expressed as to whether he was a historical personage at all.

According to the biography of Nāgārjuna translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (in about 405 A.D.), Nāgārjuna was born as a Brahman in Southern India, studied the four Vedas and learned all sciences. He was also, however, said

---

IOC, Vol. II, p. 125 ff.; Max *Walleser*, The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources (Hirth Anniversary Volume, Asia Major I, 421 ff.); P. L. *Vaidya*, Etudes sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka, Paris 1923, p. 46 ff.; *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 229 f.

[1]) In the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra-Śāstra and Daśabhūmi-Vibhāṣā-Śāstra (both translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in about 405 A.D.), Nāgārjuna quotes numerous Mahāyāna-Sūtras; s. R. *Kimura* in Ind. Hist. Qu. III, 1927, p. 412 ff.

[2]) Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World transl. by S. *Beal*, II, 97 ff., 302 f.; Hwui Li, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, transl. by S. *Beal*, 1911, p. 199.

[3]) Cf. *Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 122 f.; *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 229; *Walleser* in *ZB* VI, 1924-25, pp. 95 ff., 237 ff.

to be a great sorcerer. By his magic art he was able to make himself invisible, and, accompanied by three friends, he secretly entered into the royal palace, where they began to violate the women. They were discovered, Nāgārjuna's three companions were sentenced to death, but he himself escaped after he had first vowed to become a monk. He fulfilled his vow, studied the whole of the three Piṭakas in 90 days, and grasped their meaning; yet he was not satisfied with this, but began to seek other Sūtras, until at last he received the Mahāyāna-Sūtra from a very aged monk in the Himalaya. With the aid of a Nāgarāja, a serpent-king, he also found a commentary on it. He zealously propagated Buddhism in Southern India. He directed the religion, says the biographer, for over 300 years.[1] The Tibetans even go as far as to let him attain the age of 600 years.

Kumārajīva describes Nāgārjuna not only as a great magician, but also as well versed in astronomy, medicine, the production of precious stones, and other worldly things. The poet Bāṇa (7th century A.D.) relates in the Harṣacarita, that Nāgārjuna received a necklace of pearls from a snake-king, which served as a remedy for snake-bite and in fact all pains. In the Tibetan chronicles Nāgārjuna appears almost exclusively as a mighty magician.[2] In spite of all this, we

---

[1]) *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 232 ff. According to *Walleser* (Hirth Anniversary Volume, p. 443 ff.) it is not certain whether we possess the authentic text of Kumārajīva's biography.

[2]) Thus especially in No. 16 of the " Stories of the 84 Magicians," translated by A. *Grünwedel* (Baessler-Archiv, V, 1916, 161ff.). A medical writer Nāgārjuna is named as the author of the Uttara-Tantra on the Suśruta; s. J. *Jolly*, Medizin (Grundriss), pp. 16, 125, and in ZDMG 53, 1899, 378. About Nāgārjuna, the author of Tantras, who lived in the 7th century, see below. Albērūnī says of the alchemist Nāgārjuna, the author of the Rasaratnākara, that he lived a hundred years before his time. P. C. *Ray* places him in the 7th or 8th century A.D. In the Rasaratnākara we find dialogues between Nāgārjuna and King Śālivāhana (for Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana as a friend of Nāgārjuna, see below), and at the beginning of Chapter III, which deals with quicksilver, we read that the goddess Prajñā-Pāramitā appeared to Nāgārjuna in a dream, and revealed to him the ingredients for a recipe. *Cf.* P. C. *Ray*, A History of Indian Chemistry, I, Calcutta 1903,

may safely assume that he came from Vidarbha (Berār) and was born as a Brahman, for his writings give evidence of an intimate acquaintance with Brahmanical learning. So great was the reputation which he enjoyed, that even after the lapse of centuries, numerous works for which people desired to assure special authority, were ascribed to him.[1] The fact of his being the founder of one of the most important schools of the Mahāyāna, namely the Mādhyamaka school, accounts for this high degree of veneration: for there is not a shadow of a doubt that he is the author of the Mādhyamika-Kārikās or Mādhyamika-Sūtras [2] which present in a *systematic* manner the Śūnyavāda which is taught in the Mahāyāna-Sūtras.

The work consists of 400 memorial verses (Kārikās) in 27 chapters, on which the author himself has written a commentary, the Akutobhayā "The Safe One." Nāgārjuna was perhaps the first, or at all events one of the first, to make use of this style of presentation which is so greatly favoured in the scientific literature of the Indians, to wit—memorial verses

---

pp. xxiv, xcii ff.; II, 1909, pp. xx, xxiii ff., xxxviii ff., 6 ff. Most likely the Buddhist philosopher, the Tantric writer, the medical writer and the alchemist were four different men, who were confused owing to the identity of the names.

[1]) For the works ascribed to Nāgārjuna, s. *Nanjio*, col. 369 ff.

[2]) Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikās (Mādhyamika-Sūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā, commentaire de Candrakīrti, publié par L. *de La Vallée Poussin*, St. Pétersbourg (Bibliotheca Buddhica IV), 1903 ff. *La Vallée Poussin* has translated Chapt. 24 of the Commentary, in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leiden 1896, p. 313 ff. Chapt. I (on Causality) and Chapt. XXV (on Nirvāṇa) with the Commentary of Candrakīrti, transl. by Th. *Stcherbatsky*, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Leningrad 1927, pp. 63-212. A summary of the contents of Candrakīrti's Commentary, the text of Chapt. I, and a translation of Chapts. II, V and VII, are given by Satis Chandra *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* in JBTS V, 1897, part 4, p. 7 ff.; II, 1894 and 1896, part I, p. 13 ff ; 1897, part I, 23 ff. ; part III, p. 21 ff. The Kārikās with the Akutobhayā have been transl. from Tibetan by Max *Walleser*, Die mittlere Lehre (Mādhyamikaśāstra) des Nāgārjuna, Heidelberg 1911. The same scholar has also translated the Chinese version of the Mādhyamika-Śāstra, the Cuñ-lun, by Kumārajīva, Heidelberg 1912, and edited the Tibetan version of the Akutobhayā in photographic reproduction according to the Peking edition of the Tanjur, in "Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus," Heft 2, Heidelberg 1923.

with a commentary by the author himself. The Akutobhayā has not come down in Sanskrit, and our knowledge of it rests upon the Tibetan translation. The commentaries by Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka have also come down in Tibetan translations only. The commentary entitled Prasannapadā, "The Clear-Worded," [1] by Candrakīrti, who on several occasions argues against his two predecessors, is the only one which we possess in Sanskrit. The Mādhyamika system, which is taught by Nāgārjuna and his pupil Āryadeva, and which found one of its chief exponents in Candrakīrti derives its name "the middle doctrine" [2] from the fact that it declares nothing either positive or negative, but merely relativity. The work begins with the famous eight negations, but it is here expressly stated that they mean the same as the doctrine of causally dependent origination: [3]

"No passing away and no origination, no destruction and no everlasting continuance, no unity and no multiplicity, no coming and no going: I revere the Completely Enlightened One, the best of teachers, him who has thus taught the causally dependent origination, the salutary cessation of the world of phenomena."

There was an obvious objection to this, and Nāgārjuna himself makes his opponent voice it in Chapter XXIV: If everything is "empty," and there is neither origination nor

[1]) In the opinion of *Stcherbatsky* (Nirvāṇa, p. 67, note 1), it is so entitled "not without some dose of irony, since...its extreme dialectical subtlety...is equalled by no other work in the whole domain of Northern Buddhist literature." Buddhapālita's commentary is edited in Tibetan by M. *Walleser* in Bibl. Buddhica XVI.

[2]) Whilst in the "Sermon of Benares" the "middle way" is understood in the ethical sense (avoidance of the extremes of worldly life and exaggerated asceticism), the expression has a metaphysical meaning in this case: the avoidance of extreme statements regarding existence and non-existence.

[3]) The reproach that the Mādhyamikas are nothing but Nāstikas or "Nihilists," is firmly rejected by Candrakīrti (Madhyamaka-Vṛtti, p. 368). On the system of the Mādhyamikas, *cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, pp. 189 ff., 290 ff., and ERE VIII, 235 ff., *Anesaki* in ERE IV. 838; Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhistic Thought, p. 194 ff.; P. L. *Vaidya*, Études sur Āryadeva, p. 34 ff.

passing away, then there can also be no "four noble truths" and no rule of life based on the knowledge of these truths, no fruit of good and evil deeds, no Buddha doctrine (Dharma), no monastic community, and finally also no Buddha. Thus the entire religion of the Buddha collapses into nothingness. Thereupon Nāgārjuna replies: The doctrine of the Buddha rests on two truths, one conventional truth, in which the deeper meaning remains hidden, and one truth in the highest sense. He who does not know the distinction between these two truths, does not understand the profound substance of the Buddha doctrine. The highest truth can be taught only when based on the truth of every-day life, and without the assistance of this highest truth, it is not possible to understand Nirvāṇa.

The same doctrines are expounded by Nāgārjuna in more concise form in two shorter works, Yuktiṣaṣṭikā, "Sixty Arguments," [1] and Śūnyatā-Saptati, "Seventy Verses on Unreality." [2] The Pratītya-Samutpādahṛdaya treats of the "Secret of the causally dependent origination" in 7 Āryā stanzas.[3] The Mahāyāna-Viṃśaka [4] is a short philosophical treatise, in which it is taught that, from the standpoint of absolute truth, there is neither Saṃsāra nor Nirvāṇa, and that everything is mere illusion and dream. The Vigraha-vyāvartanī, which is frequently quoted by Candrakīrti, is a work on logic. In the case of other works which are attributed to Nāgārjuna, it is more or less doubtful whether

---

[1]) Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā, die sechzig Sätze des Negativismus nach der chinesischen Version übersetzt von Phil. *Schaeffer*, Heidelberg 1923 (Materialien zur Buddhismus, 3. Heft). It is extant in Tibetan also.

[2]) Extant in Tibetan in the Tanjur. The work seems to have been the prototype for Vasubandhu's Paramārtha-Saptati and Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhya-Saptati.

[3]) Tibetan text with French translation by *La Vallée Poussin* in Bouddhisme, Etudes et Matériaux, Théorie des douze causes, Gand 1913, p. 122 ff.

[4]) Tibetan and Chinese with English translation, edited by Susumu *Yamaguchi* in EB IV, 56 ff., 169 ff.

they are really his. This applies, for instance, to the Dharma-Saṃgraha, which is ascribed to him, and which has come down in Sanskrit.[1] This is a short and very useful glossary of Buddhist technical terms, but it is one which any monk might have compiled.[2]

The Suhṛl-Lekha or "Letter to a Friend,"[3] has a more rightful claim to be regarded as a work of the great master, though it contains no Mādhyamaka doctrines whatsoever. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in the epistle which could not just as well be in the Pāli Canon, and certain verses coincide word for word with the Dhammapada and similar texts, other verses agreeing with Brahmanical sayings. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing praises this work of Nāgārjuna very highly, and reports that in his day it was widely read and memorised in India.[4] The Chinese mention Sātavāhana as the friend, to whom the letter is addressed.[5] Now Sātavāhana is not the name of a king, but

---

[1]) Edited by Kenjiu *Kasawara*, *Max Müller* and H. *Wenzel* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part 5), Oxford 1885. Half the termini of the Dharma-Saṃgraha are also to be found in the *Dharma-Śarīra-Sūtra*, a block-print of which was brought from Idikucchari by *Grünwedel* and published by H. *Stönner* (SBA 1904, p. 1282 ff.). The Dharma-Saṃgraha has much in common with the Buddhist lexicon Mahā-Vyutpatti (edited by J. P. *Minayeff* in Bibl. Buddhica XIII, 1911), the period and author of which are entirely unknown. As Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa are mentioned, and as allusions to Greek astrology occur in the Mahā-Vyutpatti, the work cannot be earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A.D.; s. F. W. *Thomas* in Ind. Hist. Qu. II, 1926, 501 ff.

[2]) In the Chinese version the name of the author is not mentioned. *Cf. Kasawara*, Dharma-Saṃgraha Edition, p. 68.

[3]) The complete title is Ārya-Nāgārjuna-bodhisattva-suhṛllekha. Translated into English, after the Chinese translation of Guṇavarman (424-431 A.D.), by S. *Beal* in Ind. Ant. 16, 1887, 169 ff. Other Chinese translations by Saṅghavarman (about 433 A.D.) and by I-tsing (about 700 A.D.); s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 1440, 1441; *Bagchi* I, 375, 377. Translated into English, after the Tibbtan version, by H. *Wenzel* in JPTS 1886, p. 1 ff., and into German, Leipzig 1886. The Sanskrit original has not come down.

[4]) *Cf.* I-tsing, transl. *Takakusu*, p. 158 ff.

[5]) *Cf.* Hwui Li, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, tr. by S. *Beal*, p. 135; Th. *Watters*, on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 200 f., 206. A legend related by Bāṇa (Harṣacarita, transl., by E. B. *Cowell* and F. W. *Thomas*, London 1897, p. 252) also mentions Sātavāhana as the friend of Nāgārjuna.

the title adopted by the rulers of the Āndhra dynasty, which held sway in Southern India from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. until the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The first prominent Āndhra sovereign, who called himself Sātavāhana, and who favoured both Brahmans and Buddhists, was Gautamīputra (119-128 A.D.). His successor was Rājā Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyi, who reigned over 30 years. In the period which we have assumed for Nāgārjuna, Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī, who reigned in 166-196 A.D., would come into question.[1]

There are no ground for denying Nāgārjuna the authorship of the commentaries Prajñā-Pāramitā-Śūtra-Śāstra and Daśa-Bhūmi-Vībhāṣā-Śāstra.[2] The short treatise Eka-Śloka Śāstra,[3] which has come down only in Chinese, and which sets out to prove that true existence (svabhāva) is non-existence (abhāva), is perhaps rightly ascribed to Nāgārjuna. On the other hand, it is not very likely that the Prajñā-daṇḍa,[4] which has come down in Tibetan, a book of 260 sayings, only very few of which are Buddhist at all, and the majority of which merely teach general morality and wisdom, with many an allusion to the fables in the Pañcatantra, was the work of Nāgārjuna.

---

[1]) *Cf. Smith*, Early History, p. 221 ff. Max *Walleser* (ZB VI, 96 ff.) makes it seem probable that the statement, according to which in the Tibetan version, Udayana is the king to whom the letter is addressed, is based upon an error. He assumes (l. c., p. 103) that Vijaya Śrī Sātakarṇi, who ascended the throne in 213 A.D., was Nāgārjuna's friend.

[2]) Both commentaries, as well as the Madhyamika-Śāstra, were translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva ; s. *Bagchi* I, 197 f., 428.

[3]) Translated from the Chinese by H. R. Rangaswamy *Iyengar* in the Mysore University Journal for Arts and Science 1, 1927, No. 2. A short treatise consisting of 9 Kārikās, entitled Yogāvatāra, is ascribed to Nāgārjuna only in one Sanskrit manuscript, and in the Tibetan version is ascribed to Dignāga; s. Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya* in Ind. Hist. Qu. IV, 1928, 775 ff.

[4]) She-rab Dong-bu or Prajnya Danda by Lu-Trub (Nāgārjuna) edited and translated by Major W. L. *Campbell*, Calcutta 1919.

One of Nāgārjuna's pupils was Deva or Āryadeva, also known as Kāṇadeva, "the one-eyed Deva" and Nīlanetra, "the blue-eyed." [1] Hsüan-Tsang relates the following of him: The Bodhisattva Deva came from the land of Siṃhala (Ceylon), in order to discuss the difficulties of the doctrine with Nāgārjuna. He asked a pupil to announce him to the Master. Nāgārjuna sends his begging-bowl out, filled with pure water. Deva throws a needle into it. The pupil takes the bowl back, and Nāgārjuna is much delighted at this "eloquent silence." In reply to the question of his astonished pupil, the master says, that the bowl with the water signified his own pure knowledge; by throwing the needle in, Deva wanted to say that he has reached the very bottom of this knowledge. Deva is shown in, and approaches the Master very modestly. Nāgārjuna was very well satisfied with the discussion he had with Deva, and as he himself was already old and feeble, he appointed him as his successor.[2] Deva's biography was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (in about 405 A.D.) together with those of Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna, and is just as legendary as these last named. Legend has it that he died at the hands of a murderer. The pupil of one of the heretical teachers whom Deva had defeated in disputation, waylaid him and pierced him through with a sword, as he sat in the forest absorbed in meditation. Before his death he instructed the murderer, and restrained his pupils who were about to pursue the murderer, with these words: "Everything is unreal. Reflect upon the true meaning of all things in the world of phenomena. Where is the oppression or

---

[1]) He is said to have been named thus, owing to two blue spots, resembling eyes, on his cheeks. According to the legend, he became one-eyed in the following manner: In order to demonstrate that a golden statue of Maheśvara is not the god himself, he tore out the left eye of the statue; but, in order to show that he had not done this out of pride, he tore out one of his own eyes, when Maheśvara paid him a visit the next day.

[2]) *Cf.* Hwui Li, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, tr. by S. *Beal*, p. 135; Th. *Watters*. On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 200 ff.

cruelty ? Who is pierced or murdered ? If you recognise the true nature of all things, then there is neither murdered nor murderer. Who is a friend and who is a foe ? Who is the murderer and who is the murdered ? "[1] Both Hsüan-Tsang and I-tsing mention Āryadeva along with Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna, as one of the great men who lived "in ancient times." Most probably he lived at about the turning-point of the second and third centuries A.D.[2]

Many works are ascribed to Āryadeva.[3] His most famous work is Catuḥ-Śataka,[4] which, like the Mādhyamika-Sūtra, consists of 400 Kārikās. With Candrakīrti's commentary, it belongs to the fundamental works of the Mādhyamika school. Deva defends Nāgārjuna's doctrines not only as against other Buddhist schools, but also against Brahmanical systems, especially the Vaiśeṣikas. The importance of distinguishing between the two kinds of knowledge, is very emphatically brought out by Āryadeva in these verses:

"Love for the religion is prescribed by the Tathāgatas for such as long for heaven ; on the other hand, the highest truth is prescribed for such as seek deliverance.

---

[1]) *Cf. Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 234 f.; Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhist Thought, p. 187 ff.

[2]) See above, p. 258. According to Kumārajīva's statements, H. *Ui*, The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, London, 1917, p. 43, calculates the time of Nāgārjuna between 113 and 213, and that of Deva between 163 and 263, whilst Harivarman, the pupil of Kumāralāta and author of the Satyasiddhi-Śāstra (which has come down only in Chinese) is said to have lived in about 260 or 270 A.D.

[3]) See *Nanjio*, Col. 869 ff.

[4]) It is often quoted by Candrakīrti, under the title Śataka or Śataka-Śāstra, in the Madhyamaka-Vṛtti. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin* in Le Muséon, N.S.I., 1900, 236 ff. The Catuḥśataka has come down in its entirety in the Tibetan version. Fragments of the Sanskrit original of the text and commentary have been discovered and edited by Haraprasada *Śāstrī* in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 8, pp 449-514, Calcutta 1914. Chapter VII with Extracts from the Commentary of Candrakīrti, reconstructed from the Tibetan Version, with an English Translation, by Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya*, in Proc. IV OC, Vol. II, pp. 831-871. P. L. *Vaidya*, Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka, Paris 1923, p. 69 ff., has reconstructed the Sanskrit text of the last 9 chapters (VIII-XVI), on the basis of the Tibetan version, in as far as the Sanskrit text

He who desires to acquire religious merit, cannot always talk of unreality (śūnyatā). Does not a medicine, wrongly used, become a poison ?

Just as one can make a thing clear to a barbarian (mleccha) only if one uses his language, even so one cannot explain anything to the common people unless one uses the common language." [1]

Down to the present day, Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika-Śāstra together with Āryadeva's Catuḥ-Śataka or Śata-Śāstra and the Dvādaśa-Nikāya-Śāstra, form the ground-work of the faith of the Sanron sect in Japan.[2]

Only fragments have come down to us of the Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa,[3] " Section of the Purification of the Mind," a didactic poem containing among other things controversial arguments against the Brahmanical ceremonial system. The following is declared against the belief that bathing in the Ganges washes away sins : If salvation could be attained by means of Ganges water, then fishermen would all attain salvation, and more particularly the fishes, which are in the Ganges day and night. It is doubtful, however, whether this work in its present form, in which Tantric ideas, and expressions for the days of the week (vāra) and the zodiac (rāśi) which were borrowed from Greek astronomy, occur, can be ascribed to the ancient Āryadeva.[4]

---

was not extant, and has added a French translation (p. 129 ff.). Hsüan-Tsang translated the work into Chinese. A complete Italian translation of the text and commentary, from the Chinese, has been published by G. *Tucci* in Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni, 1925. For a comparison of the Chinese text with the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan version, s. *Tucci* in RSO X, 1923, 521 ff.

[1]) Verses 192-194 in P. L. *Vaidya's* Text.

[2]) *Cf. Nanjio*, Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, p. 44 ff.; W. M. *McGovern*, Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 205 ff.

[3]) Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* has also discovered these fragments, s. JASB 67, 1898, 175 ff.

[4]) *Cf. LaVallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 383, note 1 and Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in in Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, p. 464 : " The book has been revised by another Āryadeva in later times, for at the end are mentioned images not known in the great Āryadeva's time, and there was one Āryadeva in Bengal who wrote also in Bengali." For this reason it is im-

There are in the Chinese Tripiṭaka two short treatises translated by Bodhiruci (508-535), which are ascribed to Āryadeva, and which constitute a kind of commentary on those sections of the Laṅkāvatāra which deal with heretical doctrines of Nirvāṇa.[1] There is another short treatise by Āryadeva the Hastavāla-Prakaraṇa or Muṣṭi-Prakaraṇa, the Sanskrit text of which F. W. Thomas has endeavoured to reconstruct on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.[2] In this work it is taught, in 5 memorial verses, that all phenomena are mere illusion, and a sixth verse explains the distinction between the two truths.

Hitherto it has usually been thought that the founder of the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism was Asaṅga or Āryāsaṅga. It is now, however, probable that the tradition according to which several of his works are supposed to have been revealed to Asaṅga by the future Buddha Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven, rests upon the fact that Maitreyanātha, briefly called Maitreya, was a historical personage, the teacher of Asaṅga, and the real founder of the Yogācāra school.[3] This

---

possible to deduce from this work the chronological data, which were deduced by H. *Jacobi*, JAOS 31, 1910, p. 2.

[1]) Nanjio, Nos. 1259, 1260. *Cf.* G. *Tucci* in T'oung Pao, 2 série, Vol. XXIV, 1926, p. 16 ff.

[2]) JRAS, 1918, 267 ff. The Chinese translations, which were used by *Thomas*, of Paramārtha and I-tsing (*Nanjio*, Nos. 1255, 1256) are here published by H. *Ui*. Dignāga seems to be the author of the commentary on the Kārikās, for which reason the whole work appears among the works of Dignāga.

[3]) The Tibetan Bu-ston, in his "History of Religion," ascribes 5 Śāstras to Maitreya: (1) Sūtrālaṃkāra in 7 chapters, (2) Madhyānta-Vibhaṅga, (3) Dharma-Dharmatā-Vibhaṅga, (4) Mahāyāna-Uttaratantra-Śāstra, and (5) Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Kārikā. He ascribes to Asaṅga the three works Pañcabhūmi, Abhidharma-Samuccaya and Mahāyāna-Saṃgraha; s. *Stcherbatsky* in Le Muséon, N.S., VI, 1905, 144 f. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka a whole series of works is ascribed to Maitreya, s. *Nanjio*, col. 868. It is true that the tradition that Asaṅga received the revelation from Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven, was already taken to China by Paramārtha (499-569), and was believed by Dharmapāla (528-560), Prabhākaramitra (630-632), who translated the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra-Śāstra into Chinese, as well as by Hsüan-Tsang and I-tsing. However, see below, p. 354, note 1.

school teaches the Vijñānavāda, *i.e.* that nothing exists outside consciousness. Thus, like the Śūnyavāda, it denies the reality of the world of phenomena, but yet, in a certain sense, recognises an existence contained in thought and consciousness. The sole Absolute, however, which embraces this conciousness which in its turn includes in itself all psychic processes (ālayavijñāna), is Bodhi, the one and only truth, which is *one*, though revealed in the endless multiplicity of the Buddhas. But this Bodhi is only attainable to the Yogācāra, *i.e.* to him who practises Yoga, and even to him only in stages, after he has gone through all the ten stages (daśabhūmi) of the career of a Bodhisattva. The practice of Yoga, which, in Hīnayāna Buddhism also, plays no unimportant part,[1] is here associated systematically with Mahāyāna Buddhism.[2]

At all events, the Abhisamyālaṃkāra-Kārikās, also known as the Prajñā-Pāramitopadeśa-Śāstra, are certainly the work of Maitreyanātha. The text is usually to be found at the beginning of the manuscripts of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā, which was translated into Chinese between 261 and 316 A.D.[3] In all probability, the text of the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, which is composed of memorial verses

---

[1]) For instance, the Manual of a Mystic being a Translation from the Pāli and Sinhalese work entitled the Yogavachara's Manual, by F. L. *Woodward*, ed. by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, London, PTS 1916, is a Hīnayāna manual of Yoga.

[2]) On the teachings of the Yogācāra school or the school of the Yogācāryas, *cf.* *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 200 ff.; D. T. *Suzuki*, Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, London 1907, pp. 60 ff., 125 ff.; S. *Lévi* in the introduction to his translation of the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra; Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhistic Thought, p. 210 ff.; Otto *Rosenberg*, Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, Heidelberg 1924 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus 8), p. 235 f.; J. *Masuda*, Der individualistische Idealismus der Yogācāra-Schule (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus 10), Heidelberg 1928. Th. *Stcherbatsky*, The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 31 ff.

[3]) *Cf.* Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in JASB 1910, p. 425 ff., and Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS...Asiatic Society of Bengal 1, 1917, p. 7 ff. The section on Trikāya in Chapt. VI of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra with commentary, translated into French by P. *Masson Oursel* in JA, 11 sér., I, 1913, p. 598 ff. S. *Lévi* (Rapport sur la mission dans l'Inde et au Japon in Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscr. et belles lettres, Paris 1899, p. 83) mentions a

(Kārikās), which was discovered by S. Lévi and attributed to Asaṅga by the same scholar, is also the work of Maitreyanātha.[1] Without being a great poet, the author of these memorial verses certainly has the art of writing Buddhist Sanskrit skilfully, and also of utilising elaborate metres side by side with Ślokas and Āryā stanzas. However, he is decidedly more of a philosopher than a poet. Even when, in the last two chapters he glorifies the perfections of the Buddhas, and concludes with a hymn (verses 43-61), there is more erudition than enthusiastic worship in the enumeration of all the perfections of the Buddhas. Only in Chapter IX, in which Maitreyanātha expends all his mental energy in elucidating the conception of Bodhi and Buddhahood, is the dry-as-dust tone occasionally enlivened and elevated by more imaginative and picturesque language. Thus, for instance, Bodhi, by which the Buddhas enlighten the world, is compared with the sun, in a series of metaphors (IX, 20 ff.).

The Yogācāra-Bhūmi-Śāstra or Saptadaśa-Bhūmi-Śāstra, too, of which only a portion, the Bodhisattva-Bhūmi,[2] has

---

commentary by Haribhadra (10th century) on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. However, according to Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (JBORS 5, 1919, 176 f.), the monk Haribhadra, who lived under Dharmapāla, the second king of the Pāla dynasty, is the author of the commentary Abhisamayālaṃkārāvaloka on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā.

[1]) Asaṅga, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, Exposé de la doctrine du grand vehicule selon le système Yogācāra, Édité et traduit par Sylvain *Lévi*, t. II (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, t. 159, 190), Paris 1907, 1911. On the style and contents of the work, *cf.* St. *Schayer* in ZII 2, 1923, 99 ff. H. *Ui* (ZII 6, 1928, 215 ff.) has made it seem very probable that Maitreyanātha, and not Asaṅga, was the author of the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra ; even previously, Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 465 f.) had declared Maitreyanātha to be the founder of the Yogācāra school, and placed him between 150 and 265 A.D. In the work itself Asaṅga is not mentioned as the author, bnt it is described as being "proclaimed by the Bodhisattva Vyavadātasamaya ('Purifier of the doctrine'). This might be an epithet of Asaṅga just as well as of Maitreyanātha. According to S. *Lévi*, both the Kārikās and the commentary are the work of Asaṅga. H. *Ui* (l.c., 220 ff.) shows that Vasubandhu is the author of the commentary.

[2]) Bodhisattvabhūmi, a Text-Book of the Yogācāra School; an English Summary with Notes etc., by C. *Bendall* and L. *de La Vallée Poussin*, Le Muséon, N. S. VI, 1905, p. 38 ff.; VII, 1906, p. 213 ff.; XII, 1911, p. 155 ff.; Unrai *Wogihara*, Asaṅga's

come down in Sanskrit, is among the works which are supposed to have been revealed to Asaṅga by the mythical Maitreya : probably, however, it is one of Maitreyanātha's works. It is a prose work after the style of the Abhidharma texts. The Bodhisattva-Bhūmi, "The Bodhisattva step," is the fifteenth of the seventeen steps taught in this large work : the last step is that in which no trace of the Karman remains.[1]

The Tibetans attribute the Yogācāra-Bhūmi-Śāstra to Asaṅga. Hsüan-Tsang, too, who took Asaṅga's work to China, appears to have regarded it as a work of this master. At all events the name of Asaṅga[2] as the teacher of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda has become more famous than that of his teacher Maitreyanātha. It is true that his works have only come down in Chinese translations : Mahāyāna-Samparigraha, translated by Paramārtha (563 A.D.),[3] Prakaraṇa-Āryavācā, Mahāyānābhidharma-Saṃgīti-Śāstra, translated by Hsüan-Tsang (625 A.D.),[4] and a commentary on the Vajracchedikā, translated by Dharmagupta (590-616 A.D.).[5]

Asaṅga, more properly Vasubandhu Asaṅga, is the eldest of three brothers, who were born as the sons of a Brahman of the Kauśika family in Puruṣapura (the present-day Peshāwar) in the extreme North-West of India. They probably lived in the 4th century[6] and were all three originally adherents of

---

Bodhisattvabhūmi, Strassburger Diss., Leipzig 1908. The text of the Bodhisattvabhūmi is also edited by J. *Rahder* in the Appendix to the edition of the Daśabhūmi-Sūtra (1926). *Cf.* also U. *Wogihara* in ZDMG 58, 1904, 451 ff. On Yogācārya- and Yogācāra-Bhūmi, s. *Ui*, l.c., p. 224 f.

[1]) *Cf.* E. *Leumann* in ZDMG 62, 1908, p. 89 ff.

[2]) About him, *cf.* M. *Anesaki* in ERE II, 62 ; *Wogihara*, l.c. ; *Lévi* in the introduction to the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra ; N. *Péri*, A propos de la date de Vasubandhu, p. 31 ff.; *Winternitz* in WZKM 27, 1913, 33 ff.

[3]) It is the principal work of the Shōron sect in Japan ; s. *McGovern*, Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 209.

[4]) *Nanjio*, No. 1199.

[5]) *Nanjio*, No. 1168 ; *Bagchi* I, 258.

[6]) N. *Péri*, A propos de la date de Vasubandhu (BEFEO XI, 1911, Nos. 3-4) has adduced sound arguments in favour of Vasubandhu's having lived in the 4th century A.D.

the Sarvāstivāda school. The youngest, Vasubandhu Viriñcivatsa, was not prominent in literature. So much the more important was the middle one of the three brothers, Vasubandhu, one of the most prominent figures in the history of Buddhist literature.[1] He combined great independence of thought with astonishing erudition. His chief work, the Abhidharmakośa, has unfortunately not come down in the Sanskrit original. We only know the Abhidharmakośa-

---

J. *Takakusu* (JRAS 1905, 33 ff.) had placed Vasubandhu between 420 and 500 A.D., but stated later (JRAS 1914, p. 1013 ff.), without definitely going over to *Péri's* side, that he was inclined to assume that Vasubandhu lived earlier. *Wogihara* (Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 16) places Vasubandhu between 390 and 470, and Asaṅga between 375 and 450, but in ERE XII, 1921, 595 f., he states 420-500 as the period of Vasubandhu's life. *Lévi* places Asaṅga's activity in the first half of the 5th century. It appears, however, that there were two Vasubandhus, both of whom dealt with Abhidharma and the elder of whom was the teacher and the younger the pupil of Manoratha. This view was put before me, and was supported by sound arguments in great detail, as early as the year 1922, by the Japanese scholar T. *Kimura* when he visited Prague, and also in a long letter. However, I cannot say that I am fully in agreement with his grounds for assigning the dates 420-500 A.D., to the later Vasubandhu, the author of the Abhidharmakośa. Cf. *Watters*, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, I, 211 ff.; *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Cosmologie, p. viii ff. and Abhidharmakośa, traduit et annoté, I, p. 26 (note to I, 13), II, p. 70 (note to III, 27), III, p. 7 (note to IV, 3); *Stcherbatsky*, The Central Conception of Buddhism, p. 2, note 2. According to K. B. *Pathak* (Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 244) Vasubandhu lived under Kumāragupta and Skandagupta; the monk Buddhamitra, who is mentioned in an inscription, is identified by him with Vasubandhu's teacher, who, according to Paramārtha, was called Buddhamitra. *Smith*, Early History, pp. 320, note 2, 325, 346 f., agrees with N. *Péri*, and places the life-time of Vasubandhu, the author of the Kośa, in the period of the reign of Chaudragupta I and Samudragupta (about 280-360 A.D.). Hsüan-Tsang says that the Abhidharmakośa was written during the reign of Vikramāditya or his son Bālāditya, s. *Watters* I, 210.

[1]) *I-tsing* (transl. *Takakusu*, p. 181) classes Asaṅga and Vasubandhu among the celebrated men of the "middle ages," *i.e.* the period between the time of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva on the one hand, and his own time on the other. The Indian monk *Paramārtha* (499-569 A.D.) compiled a biography of Vasubandhu, in which that of his brother Asaṅga is also included. It has been translated from the Chinese by J. *Takakusu* in T'oung Pao V, 1904, pp. 1 ff.; given in extracts by W. *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 235 ff. Still more fabulous than the Chinese is the Tibetan biography in *Tāranātha's* History of Buddhism, p. 107 ff. Paramārtha took the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu from Magadha to China in the year 539. Hsüan-Tsang, too (s. *Watters* I, 354 ff.), relates legends of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

Vyākhyā, Yaśomitra's commentary on the work,[1] and on the other hand the Chinese and Tibetan versions. the earliest Chinese translation is that of Paramārtha, written between 563 and 567 A.D. A second translation (651-654 A.D.) is by the celebrated Hsüan-Tsang. The Abhidharmakośa treats, in 600 memorial verses (Kārikās) together with the author's own commentary (Bhāṣya), of the entire field of ontology, psychology, cosmology,[2] ethics and the doctrine of salvation. The last chapter, which is given either as Chapter IX or as an appendix to Chapter VIII, and which is not composed of memorial verses, treats of the Buddhist doctrine of the soul (denial of a permanent soul), and is directed against the Pudgalavādins, those who believe in a permanent soul.[3] Though the Abhidharmakośa is written from the standpoint of the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hīnayāna, it is nevertheless an authority for *all* schools of Buddhism. We can learn far more from the Kośa with its commentary, about the dogmatics of the ancient Buddhist schools, than from any other work, and it affords us a sidelight upon the debates between the Vaibhāṣikas and the

---

[1]) Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakoçavyākhyā, the Work of Yaçomitra First Koçasthāna, ed. by S. *Lévi* and Th. *Stcherbatsky*, Bibl. Buddhica XXI, 1918. L. *de La Vallée Poussin* has translated the Sanskrit text of Yaśomitra's Vyākhyā, making use of the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's own commentary and the Chinese versions by Paramārtha and Hsüan-Tsang, into French : L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu traduit et annoté, hitherto 5 vols., Paris 1923-1926. *Cf.* also *Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 397 ff., 502 ff.; Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 3 ff.; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 25 ff.; S. *Lévi* in ERE I, p. 20; *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE IV, p. 129 ff.

[2]) Chapter III, which deals with cosmology, has already been reconstructed in Sanskrit, and translated into French, by *La Vallée Poussin* in Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Cosmologie : Le Monde des Êtres et le Monde-Réceptacle (Mémoires de l'Académie Roy. de Belgique, classe de lettres, etc., II. série, t. VI, 1914-1919) according to the Tibetan version. In the appendix to this work, *La Vallée Poussin* gives an analysis and the extant fragments of the Prajñapti-Śāstra (Lokaprajñapti and Kāraṇaprajñapti) by Maudgalyāyana, belonging to the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins. *Cf.* also *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE IV. 129 ff.

[3]) It has been translated from the Tibetan by Th. *Stcherbatsky*, The Soul Theory of the Buddhists, in Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie, Petrograd 1919, pp 824 ff., 937 ff. The Pudgalavādins are here called Vātsīputrīyas.

Sautrāntikas. Moreover, the work is rich in quotations from the earlier literature.[1] In the 7th century the Abhidharmakośa was so widely read in India that, in a description of a hermitage of Buddhist monks, Bāṇa says that the parrots explained the Kośa to one another.[2] This work gave rise to an extensive literature of commentaries, and in China and Japan it is largely used as a text-book. It is also the final authority, when controversies regarding points of dogma arise.[3]

There is a book of sayings, thoroughly Hīnayānist in character, extant only in Tibetan and ascribed to Vasubandhu, called the Gāthā-Saṃgraha, with a brilliant commentary, from which A. Schiefner[4] has given a few specimens. The 24 Gāthās are sayings in the true manner of the Dhammapada. Provided that the work is correctly ascribed to him, the commentary shows us the philosopher Vasubandhu also as a humorous preacher. Merely a short specimen of this :

"A jackal followed a lion, because he desired the remains of the meat which the lion had devoured. As the lion had once, when he was hungry, slain a great boar, he told the jackal to carry this load. Now as the jackal was too feeble, and could not carry this load, but was afraid that the lion might in wrath, kill him, he had no pleasure in complying with the lion's

---

[1]) Some passages from the Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā have been compared with corresponding passages in the Pāli Canon, by *La Vallée Poussin* (JRAS 1906, p. 443 ff.). *La Vallée Poussin's* book, La morale bouddhique, Paris 1927, is based largely upon the Abhidharmakośa. *Cf.* also Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhistic Thought, pp. 109 ff.

[2]) Harṣacarita VIII; s. Harṣacarita transl. by E. B. *Cowell* and F. W. *Thomas*, p. 236.

[3]) *Cf.* O. *Rosenberg*, Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, pp. xv, 37 ff., 41, 93. Hwui Li (The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, transl. by S. *Beal*, p. 80) says of Vasubandhu : " His deep reasoning and ornate style were the admiration of all Western students. The very spirits and demons also studied and followed his teaching." Hwui Li (*loc. cit.*, p. 79 f.) also reports : The Kashmiri Saṅghabhadra wrote a Kośa-Kārikā-Śāstra in 25,000 Ślokas and 80 myriads of words. He died before he could have the meeting with Vasubandhu which he had desired. However, when later on, Vasubandhu became acquainted with Saṅghabhadra's work, he praised it highly, and said it should be called the Nyāyānusāra-Śāstra, because it was in such close agreement with his own teachings.

[4]) Über Vasubandhu's Gāthā-Saṃgraha, Mélanges asiatiques VIII (Bulletin, t. XXV, St. Petersburg 1878), p. 559 ff.

request. But as he knew the lion was proud, he said : ' It is needful to do two things in carrying this load, to groan and to bear the burden ; I cannot do both at the same time, you will have to undertake one of them.' As the lion was proud and did not want to groan, he asked the jackal to groan, while he could carry the load himself. So the lion carried the load, but the jackal followed the lion, groaning. In the same way I also bear the burden of presenting the doctrine, but you are not able to say, in agreement with me, ' It is so.' "[1])

In the Abhidharmakośa already, Vasubandhu adduces many arguments against the teachings of Brahmanical philosophy, and he attacks the Vaiśeṣikas in particular. He wrote an especial work in order to refute the Sāṃkhya philosophy, the Paramārtha-Saptati, " Seventy (verses) on the Highest Truth." This work, the Sanskrit original of which is lost also, seems to be a confutation of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhya-Saptati, though Paramārtha speaks of a heretic Vindhyavāsa as the author of the Sāṃkhya work attacked by Vasubandhu. Strange to say, the Chinese also ascribe a commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's work to Vasubandhu.[2])

It was not until the latter part of his life that Vasubandhu was converted to the Mahāyāna by his brother Asaṅga. Now, as his biographer relates, he regretted his former calumniation of the Mahāyāna so deeply that he wanted to cut off his tongue. But his brother demonstrated to him that it would be a much better penance if he would now employ his tongue, which he had formerly employed in attacking the Mahāyāna doctrine, with equal skill in expounding the Mahāyāna. Vasubandhu did this, and after the death of Asaṅga, wrote a large number of commentaries on Mahāyāna-

---

[1]) *Schiefner, loc. cit.*, p. 582.

[2]) See *Takakusu* in T'oung Pao 1904, pp. 15 ff., 461 ff. ; BEFEO, t. IV, 1904, p. 1 ff. ; JRAS 1905, p. 16 ff. *Takakusu's* assumption that Vindhyavāsa is another name for Īśvarakṛṣṇa is not tenable, see S. N. *Dasgupta*, History of Indian Philosophy, I, Cambridge 1922, p. 218, note 3.

Sūtras, on the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka,[1] the Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra[2] and the Vajracchedikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā.[3] It was at this time that he also wrote the two classical treatises on idealism, the Viṃśatikā and Triṃśikā,[4] in which in a subtle manner, he refutes the belief in the reality of the objective world, but defends the doctrine of the reality of pure consciousness (Vijñānamātra). The Tibetan Bu-ston also mentions the following works of Vasubandhu : Pañcaskandha-Prakaraṇa, Vyākhyāyukti, Karma-Siddhi-Prakaraṇa and commentaries on Maitreya's Mahāyāna-Sūtralaṃkāra, on the Pratītya-Samutpāda-Sūtra and the Madhyānta-Vibhāga.[5] Towards the end of his life, he is said to have become a devotee of Amitābha and to have written a work entitled Aparimitāyus-Sūtropadeśa, in which he gave expression to the longing for Sukhāvatī.[6] Paramārtha concludes his biography of Vasubandhu with these words :

"The sense conveyed in his compositions is fine and excellent ; there is no one who, on hearing or seeing it, does not believe and pursue it. Therefore all those who study the

---

[1]) Translated into Chinese between 508 and 535, s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 1232, 1233; *Bagchi* I, 250, 258.

[2]) Translated between 386 and 550, s. *Nanjio*, Nos. 1206, 1207.

[3]) Translated between 386 and 534, s. *Nanjio*, No. 1231.

[4]) The Sanskrit originals of these two treatises the Viṃśatikā with the author's commentary, and the Triṃśikā with Sthiramati's commentary, were discovered by S. *Lévi* and edited by him for the first time : Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, deux traités de Vasubandhu, Viṃśatikā et Triṃśikā, Paris 1925 (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sc. hist. et phil. 245). The Viṃśatikā with the author's commentary has been translated into French from the Tibetan, by *La Vallée Poussin* (Le Muséon 1912, pp. 53-90). A good idea of the subject-matter of these two important philosophical treatises, is given by Surendra Nath *Dasgupta* in Ind. Hist. Qu. IV, 1928, p. 36 ff. There were as many as ten different commentaries on the Vijñapti-mātratā-triṃśat-kārikā in India : these were translated by Hsüan-Tsang, who afterwards melted them down to *one* work with Dharmapālas commentary Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Śāstra. Dharmapāla was the teacher of Hsüan-Tsang's teacher. *Cf.* H. *Ui*, The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, London, OTF, 1917, p. 2, and L. *de La Vallée Poussin*, Vijñapti-Mātratāsiddhi, La Siddhi de Hiuan Tsang, Paris, 1928.

[5]) See *Stcherbatsky* in Le Muséon, N.S. VI, 1905, 144 ff. According to G. *Tucci* (Ind. Hist. Qu. IV, 1928, 630 ff.) the Vādavidhi, which others ascribe to Dignāga, is also a work of Vasubandhu.

[6]) *Cf.* U. *Wogihara* in ERE, XII, 596.

Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in India and in all the frontier countries use the works of Vasubandhu as their text-books. There are no teachers of any other schools (of Buddhism) or of the heretical sects who, on hearing his name, will not become quite nervous and timid. He died in A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā) at the age of eighty. Though he lived an earthly life, his real nature is indeed difficult to be understood."[1]

A work which attempted a synthesis of the teachings of the Mādhyamika and Vijñānavāda schools, is the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda, "The Origin of the Mahāyāna Faith." It is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, but cannot possibly have been written by the poet of the Buddhacarita. It must remain an open question whether it was attributed to the great poet with a view to securing a greater reputation for the book, or whether there was an Aśvaghoṣa II in about the 5th century A.D., who wrote this philosophical work, which gives evidence of an advanced stage of development of Mahāyāna philosophy.[2] The work has come down only in two Chinese versions, one by Paramārtha (about 553 A.D.) and one by Śikṣānanda (about 700 A.D.).[3] It is entirely unknown in

---

[1]) J. *Takakusu*, The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569). Extrait du "T'oung-pao," 1904, p. 27.

[2]) In the year 1912 I repeatedly had the opportunity to converse with my friend Prof. *Takakusu* verbally as well as by letter, regarding the question of the authorship of the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda. In a letter of the 18th July, 1912, he wrote to me: "Either the poet Aśvaghoṣa is different from the philosopher Aśvaghoṣa (for Buddhists generally believe there were more than one Aśvaghoṣa) or that Śāstra of a different origin has been attributed to him simply because of his great renown. I think the latter is the case, *for an earlier Catalogue of Chinese texts omits the name Aśvaghoṣa.* In any case the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda does not belong to him. Nor do the contents show any probability of his authorship. It is later than Laṅkāvatāra in which Nāgārjuna's appearance is prophesied by Buddha, and only a step earlier than Vijñānamātravāda." R. *Kimura*, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 41, 180 ff., is inclined to attribute the work to the beginning of the 5th century A.D. On the doctrines of the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda, *cf.* Y. *Sōgen*, Systems of Buddhistic Thought, p. 252 ff.; S. N. *Dasgupta*, History of Indian Philosophy, I, 129 ff.; K. J. *Saunders*, Epochs in Buddhist History, p. 97 ff.; *Stcherbatsky*, Nirvāṇa, p. 32; *McGovern*, Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 60 ff.

[3]) It has been translated into English, after the second Chinese version, by *Teitaro Suzuki*, Açvagosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna, Chicago, 1900.

Sanskrit, and is not quoted either by the great masters of the Mahāyāna or their commentators. In a biography of Hsüan-Tsang, the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda is ascribed to the celebrated Aśvaghoṣa, but it is said that Hsüan-Tsang translated it *from Chinese into Sanskrit*, and thus propagated it throughout the five empires of India.[1] Even at the present day the work is much studied in the schools and monasteries of Japan and it is a favourite work of reference.

Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya),[2] who belong to the school of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva and wrote commentaries on their works, lived and worked at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Buddhapālita is the founder of the Prāsaṅgika school, which followed the method of leading an opponent *ad absurdum*, whilst Bhāvaviveka founded the Svātantra school, which seeks to prove the correctness of the Mādhyamika doctrines by means of independent (svatantra) arguments. Their works have come down only in Tibetan translations.

In the 5th century A.D. there lived Sthiramati,[3] Dignāga (or Diṅnāga), and somewhat younger Dharmapāla, teachers who arose from Vasubandhu's school. Sthiramati wrote a commentary on the Kāśyapa-Parivarta, or Ratnakūṭa,[4]

Suzuki regards the poet Aśvaghoṣa as the author. It has been translated into English, after Paramārtha's Chinese version, by Timothy *Richard*, The New Testament of Higher Buddhism, pp. 37-125. On the Chinese translations, s. *Suzuki*, l.c., p. 38 ff., and *Bagchi*, I, 423.

[1]) *Cf.* J. *Nobel*, Kumārajīva, in SBA, 1927, p. 231, note. This account would speak in favour of the view, held by a few Japanese scholars, especially *Senshoi Murakami*, that the Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda is a Chinese, and not a Sanskrit work. There was a heated controversy on this question in Japan, s. EB I, 1921, pp. 88, 103 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* P. L. *Vaidya*, Études sur Āryadeva, p. 26 ff.; *Stcherbatsky*, Nirvāṇa, p. 66 f.

[3]) The question of the date of Sthiramati is very complicated, and it is probable that there was more than one author of this name. One Sthiramati was a pupil of Guṇamati, and lived before 425 A.D. *Cf.* N. *Péri*, La date de Vasubandhu, Extrait du BEFEO 1911, p. 46 ff.; H. *Ui* in ZII 6, 1928, p. 218 f.; and A. V. *Stäel-Holstein*, The Kāśyapaparivarta, p. xvi f.

[4]) Extant in Chinese and Tibetan translations, s. A. V. *Staël-Holstein*, l.c., p. xiv f.

and on Vasubandhu's Triṃśikā. Dharmapāla wrote a commentary on the Vijñaptimātratā-Siddhi. The greatest and most independent thinker among the successors of Vasubandhu is Dignāga, the founder of Buddhist logic, and one of the foremost figures in the history of Indian Philosophy.[1] Only *a single one* of Dignāga's works, the Nyāyapraveśa, has come down in Sanskrit; we know the others only from the Tibetan translations.[2] The principal work of his successor Dharmakīrti,[3] the Nyāyabindu, has come down to us in Sanskrit.

One of Dharmapāla's pupils is Candrakīrti, who must accordingly have lived in the 6th century, and not, as is usually taken for granted,[4] in the 7th. According to Tāranātha, he was born in Southern India at Samanta, even in childhood showed great intellectual gifts, entered the monastic order, studied all the Piṭakas, and began to study the works of Nāgārjuna under Kamalabuddhi, the pupil of Buddhapālita and Bhavya. After completing his studies, he lived as a Pandit in Nālandā, and wrote numerous works on

---

[1]) According to Tāranātha, Dignāga was a pupil of Vasubandhu. Works by him were translated into Chinese in 557 and 569 A.D. *Randle*, Fragments from Diṅnāga, p. 3, says: "All that can be said with certainty is that he lived somewhere between 350 A.D. and 500 A.D." *Cf.* Th. *Watters*, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, 209 ff.; *Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 305 ff.; and *Stcherbatsky*, Nirvāṇa, p. 35. Translations of Dignāga's works on logic are to appear shortly, by Prof. *Stcherbatsky*, who wrote to me about it on 26th April, 1929: "You will be astonished to find among the Indians, especially Dignāga, a comprehensive system of critical philosophy. It has long been my conviction that we here have before us a most excellent achievement of the Indian mind, this conviction has now grown stronger than ever before, and I hope to be in a position to present it clearly."

[2]) The Tibetan text of the Nyāyapraveśa is edited by Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya* in GOS No. XXXIX, Baroda, 1927. The Sanskrit text is to be edited by A. B. *Dhruva* in GOS. The Sanskrit fragments which are available in quotations have been collected and translated by H. N. *Randle*, Fragments from Diṅnāga, London, 1926.

[3]) *Cf. Keith*, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 308 ff. The trio Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Asaṅga, together with the trio Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, are called by the Tibetans "the six ornaments of Jambudvīpa," s. *Grünwedel*, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet, p. 36. Dignāga and Dharmakīrti more properly belong to the history of secular philosophy; for further information on them, see Vol. III.

[4]) *Cf.* P. L. *Vaidya*, Etudes sur Āryadeva, p. 52 ff.

Mādhyamika philosophy. He is the principal representative of the Prāsaṅgika school, and carried on the work of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.[1] His chief work is the Madhyamakāvatāra, "Introduction to the Middle Doctrine," which has come down to us in the Tibetan Tanjur.[2] Chandrakīrti frequently refers to this work of his own, in the above-mentioned commentary Prasannapadā on the Mūla-Madhyamaka-Kārikās. In this commentary he gives evidence of exceptional erudition, in the numerous quotations, which are very important for us, because many of the texts which he cites, have not come down to us in Sanskrit. Chandrakīrti is not only a learned scholastic, but a good writer as well. The numerous verse quotations, which occur especially frequently at the end of a chapter, put life into the narration. His commentary on Āryadeva's Catuḥśatikā is a work of even greater literary merit. In this treatise, the presentation of the dogmas and philosophical doctrines is continually flavoured by means of examples, comparisons and parables.[3]

For instance, the fact that there are more causes for grief than for joy, is explained in the following way: "It is just like the wooing of a princess who holds a self-choice of a husband (svayamvara). The many who come to woo her, suffer grief; for she is the cause of joy to *one* only, not for all. Though many desire her, they do not win her, hence they are unhappy."

In order to explain that there is nothing which is impure in itself, the following is related: An astrologer declared to a certain king, that rain would fall, and that everyone who used this rain-water, would become mad. Then the king had his own well closed. The rain fell, all the people used the water, and became mad. As they were all mad, they all

---

[1]) *Stcherbatsky*, Nirvāṇa, p. 66, describes him "as a mighty champion of the purely negative method of establishing Monism."

[2]) The Tibetan text edited in Bibl. Buddhica, IX, 1912, by L. *de La Vallée Poussin*, and translated by the same scholar in Le Muséon, N.S. VIII, 1907; XI, 1910; XII, 1911. *Cf.* also Le Muséon, I, 1900, 226 ff.

[3]) Similarly Book IV of the Sāṃkhya-Sūtra contains a whole collection of "little stories" (Ākhyāyikās).

thought that they were all sane, and only the king was considered to be mad. When the king saw how things were, he too used that water, so that the people should not think him mad, laugh at him, or even kill him.

Another example: If only *one* person in the world were to pass urine, he would be avoided as one avoids a leper. But as all people pass urine, it does not occur to anyone to see anything unclean in it.[1]

A contemporary and opponent of Chandrakīrti, whose teachings he refuted, was Candragomin, who enjoys an immense reputation in the Buddhist world as a grammarian, philosopher and poet. According to Tāranātha,[2] who has much that is legendary to relate of him, he composed an enormous number of hymns and learned works. Of his poetical works we have only a religious poem in the form of a letter to his pupil, the *Śiṣyalekha-Dharma-Kāvya*.[3] Buddhist doctrines are here presented in elegant Kāvya style. His drama Lokānanda has come down to us only in the Tibetan version in the Tanjur.[4]

As the most prominent among the later teachers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, who also shone as poets, we have to mention Śāntideva, who probably lived in the 7th century A.D. According to Tāranātha, he was born in Saurāṣṭra (in

---

[1]) Catuḥśatikā by Ārya Deva edited by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, pp. 458, 459.

[2]) Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 156 ff.

[3]) Edited by I. P. *Minayeff* in Zapiski IV; *cf.* H. *Wenzel*, JRAS, 1889, p. 1133 ff; *Bendall*, Catalogue, p. 31 f.; *Kern*, Manual, p. 11.

[4]) I-tsing (Record, transl. by J. *Takakusu*, pp. 164, 183) speaks of a Candra or Candradāsa, who was a holy man, a kind of Bodhisattva, who composed a musical play about Prince Viśvāntara (=Pāli Vessantara), to which all people " in the five realms of India " sing and dance, and who was still alive when he came to India (in 673] A.D.). S. *Lévi* (BEFEO 3, 1903, p. 41 f.) has identified this Candra with Candragomin. This identification has, however, been refuted on good grounds, by B. *Liebich* (Das Datum Candragomin's und Kalidasa's, Breslau 1903). *Liebich* (WZKM 13, 1899, 308 ff.) dates Candragomin between 465 and 544 A.D., which would approximately fit in with our dating of his contemporary Candrakīrti. Candragomin was a pupil of Sthiramati. *Péri*, l. c., (Extrait, p. 50, note 2) places Candragomin in the beginning or the first half of the 7th century. However, in the first half of the 7th century Candragomin's Grammar is already used by the writers of the Kāśikā. On Candragomin as a grammarian, s. Vol. III.

the present-day Gujarat) as a king's son, but was instigated by the goddess Tārā herself to renounce the throne, whilst the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in the form of a Yogin, initiated him into the sciences. He acquired great magic powers, and was for a time the minister of King Pañcasiṃha, but finally he became a monk. He was a pupil of Jayadeva, the successor of Dharmapāla in Nālandā. Tāranātha ascribes to him the works Śikṣā-Samuccaya, Sūtra-Samuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra.[1]

The Śikṣā-Samuccaya, "the Sum Total of the Doctrine,"[2] is a manual of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which consists of 27 Kārikās (memorial verses) and an extensive commentary compiled, together with the Kārikās, by the author himself. I say intentionally that the commentary was "compiled" by Śāntideva, for it consists almost entirely of quotations and extracts from the sacred texts, which he has grouped around his Kārikās and arranged in chapters.

---

[1]) Tāranātha, Geschichte des Budhdismus, übers. von *Schiefner*, p. 162 ff. The biography of Śāntideva, which Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, pp. 49-52) found in a Nepalese manuscript of the 14th century, agrees in the main with Tāranātha. In this MS. Rājā Mañjuvarmā is mentioned as his father. It is said here that he had the additional name "Bhusuka," because he was well versed in the meditation called "Bhusuka." He is also said to have been the author of a Tantra, and Haraprasāda found works of the Vajrayāna school and songs in the Old Bengali language, which are attributed to a certain Bhusuka. This biography, too, speaks of *three* works of Śāntideva. The assumption of P. L. *Vaidya* (Études sur Āryadeva, p. 54) that by Śikṣā-Samuccaya, the text of the Kārikās is meant, and by Sūtra-Samuccaya the commentary containing the quotations from Sūtras, is indeed very tempting: nevertheless, I regard it as far more likely that the statement about the *three* works of Śāntideva is merely based upon an erroneous interpretation of the verses Bodhicaryāvatāra V. 105 f., where Śāntideva recommends the study of his Śikṣā-Samuccaya or the Sūtra-Samuccaya of Nāgārjuna; s. *Winternitz* in WZKM 26, 1912, 246 ff. *Cf.* also P. L. *Vaidya*, l. c., p. 54 ff. and *Kieth*, HSL, pp. 72 f., 236.

[2]) Edited by C. *Bendall* (Bibl. Buddhica I), St. Petersburg 1902. Translated by C. *Bendall* and W. H. D. *Rouse*, London 1922 (Indian Texts Series). The work was translated into Tibetan between 816 and 838, but was probably written as early as the middle of the 7th century. (*Bendall*, Introduction, p. v f.). *Bendall*, Introd., p. xxxi ff. gives a short summary of contents. The edition rests on a single manuscript.

The work betrays an extraordinary degree of erudition and reading, but little originality. Śāntideva himself confesses this modestly in the introductory words to his book: "I have nothing new to say here, nither have I any skill in the writing of literary works. Therefore my efforts are not for the benefit of others, but my only desire is to perfect my own mind. Nevertheless, the longing for clearness is fostered by this my work, so as to make the good real; and if another who is of the same mind as myself, should see this longing, then this my work will not have been in vain." [1] The book is, nevertheless, extremely suitable as an introduction, especially to the ethical doctrine of the Mahāyāna, and is also of great value on account of the numerous, often long, extracts from texts which are no longer extant, the more so as Śāntideva, in those cases in which we can judge of his work, proves to be very accurate and very reliable in his quotations.

The fundamental idea of the work and the nucleus of Mahāyāna morality, is expressed in the first two Kārikās:

"If to my neighbour as to myself
Fear and pain are hateful,
In what does my ego differ,
That I should guard it more than another's?
Do you wish to attain the end of suffering,
And the goal of happiness?
Then let your faith be as a firmly planted root,
And direct your mind towards enlightenment."

By means of numerous extracts from the Mahāyāna-Sūtras, it is shown how salutary *Bodhicittam* is, *i.e.*, thought directed towards enlightenment, the Will to Enlightenment, the resolve to embark on the career of a Bodhisattva, in order to become a Buddha in the future. Whoever has formed this resolution,

[1] The same verses are to be found also in the introduction to the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

however, must carry self-denial, self-sacrifice for the sake of others, to the extreme. He must be prepared not only to give up his temporal possessions but even his salvation in the Beyond, for his neighbour. He must not shrink from taking the sins and sufferings of the beings in hell upon himself. The Bodhisattva must say:

"I take the sufferings of all beings upon myself, I am firmly resolved to do this, I bear them, I do not turn back, I do not fly, I do not shudder, I do not quake, I do not fear, I do not shrink back and do not despair. And why? It is necessary that I take the burden of all beings upon myself. It is not my choice. For I have vowed to deliver all beings...I must liberate all beings from the jungle of birth, from the jungle of old age, from the jungle of disease...from the dense jungle of heresy, from the jungle of the loss of good deeds, from the jungle which has grown up through ignorance...I am not concerned with my own liberation only. For, with the boat of resolve of omniscience, I must rescue all beings from the flood of Saṃsāra...I am resolved to spend endless myriads of ages in every single place of torture...And why? Because it is bettter that I alone suffer, than that all these beings should sink into the places of torture. I give myself as ransom," etc.[1]

But next to active pity, the pure way of life of the Bodhisattva must also include all the other perfections (Pāramitās), above all, meditation, which leads to the highest wisdom, *i.e.*, to insight into the "unreality" (Śūnyatā) of all phenomena, and faith, which finds expression in Buddha-worship, in the erection of Stūpas, etc. Yet here, too, his mind should ever strain at the liberation of the beings. "May I lead all beings into the city of Nirvāṇa!" Let this be his constant thought.[2]

Of the many texts quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya,[3] we here call attention only to a few, which are represented by

---

[1]) Text, p. 280 ff., quotation from a Vajradhvaja-Sūtra. *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, pp. 322 f., 337 f.

[2]) According to the Ratnamegha-Sūtra quoted on page 348.

[3]) They are recorded in the edition by *Bendall*, p. 367 ff.

a considerable number of quotations or by fairly long extracts. A long passage is quoted from the Ākāsa-Garbha-Sūtra, on the sins (the five principal iniquities of a king, the eight iniquities of an Ādikarmika-Bodhisattva, and so on, p. 59 ff.). One short passage and one longer one on sin and confession, are quoted from the Upāli-Paripṛcchā (pp. 164 f., 168 ff.). Quotations from the Ugra- or Ugradatta-Paripṛcchā [1] are fairly numerous, *e. g.*, on the duties of married life (p. 78) and on the life of a hermit in the forest (p. 198 ff.). We find a long passage on the virtues of a Bodhisattva from the Vimala-Kīrtinirdeśa,[2] which is quoted several times (p. 324 ff.). The Avalokana-Sūtra, which occurs in the Mahā-Vastu, is quoted by Śāntideva as an independent text (*e. g.* p. 297 ff.). A long passage from the Ratnolkā-Dhāraṇī [3] on the virtues of a Bodhisattva, shows us a "Dhāraṇī" which is not a mere magic formula, but scarcely differs from a Sūtra. The quotation is also interesting owing to the enumeration of vocations and ascetic orders (p. 331 ff.). Other works quoted, are: Tathāgatayuhya-Sūtra, Daśabhumika-Sūtra, Dharma-Saṃgīti-Sūtra, several recensions of the Prajñā-Pāramitā, Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka, Gaṇḍavyūha, Candra-Pradīpa-Sūtra, Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra,[4] Ratnamegha, Laṅkāvatāra, Lalita-Vistara, Śālistamba-Sūtra,[5] Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa, etc.

---

[1]) See above, p. 332.

[2]) The Sūtra has been translated from Chinese, by Karichi Ôhara in the Japanese monthly publication Hansei Zasschi XIII, 1898, XIV, 1899, and again by *Hokei Izumi* in EB II-IV (1922-1928). It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 406 A.D., s. *Bagchi* I, 188.

[3]) P. 327 ff. Cf. *Bendall*, JRAS 1901, p. 122 ff.

[4]) On these Sūtras, ses above, p. 327 ff.

[5]) This is a principal source for the doctrine of the Pratītya-Samutpāda; it is edited by *La Valée Poussin*, Théorie des douze causes, Gand 1913, p. 68 ff. Cf. also *La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1901, p. 307 f. and E. *Hardy* in JRAS 1901, p. 573.

Although the Śikṣā-Samuccaya is the work of a not very original scholar, and the Bodhicaryāvatāra [1] that of a prominent poet, yet there can scarcely be a doubt that they are both by the same author. Apart from external reasons,[2] these two works, which are so fundamentally different from each other in character,[3] are nevertheless both on exactly the same doctrinal standpoint. In both, the ethical ideal is the Bodhisattva, who has formed the resolve one day to attain enlightenment, who strives to reach this, the highest goal, firstly by infinite pity for the beings, and secondly by worshipping the Buddhas, and who sees the highest wisdom in the conviction of the unreality of the world of phenomena (Śūnyatā).

But while in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya there is often only a loquacious learnedness which shows itself in a flood of quotations, the Bodhicaryāvatāra ("the Entrance into the Bodhi-Life," *i.e.*, "into the way of life leading to enlightenment") not infrequently rises to the loftiest flights of religious poetry.

---

[1]) Edited by I. P. *Minayeff* in Zapiski IV, 1889, reprinted in JBTS 1894. Prajñākaramati's commentary (including text) edited by *La Vallée Poussin*, Bibl. Ind. 1901-1914, Chapt. IX also in Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mémoires de l'Acad. Belgique, t. 55, 1898, pp. 253-388. Translations: Into French by *La Vallée Poussin*, Paris 1907 (Extrait de la RHR X-XII, 1905-1907; and by L. *Finot*, Paris 1920 (Les classiques de l'Orient II); into English (abridged) by L. D. *Barnett*, London, 1909 (Wisdom of the East); into German by Rich. *Schmidt*, Paderborn 1923 (Dokumente der Religion V); into Italian by G. *Tucci*, Torino 1925. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka the Bodhicaryāvatāra is erroneously attributed to Nāgārjuna, s. *Lévi* in BEFEO II, 253 ff.

[2]) *Cf. Bendall*, Introduction to the edition of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, p. iii ff. Śāntideva included in the Bodhicaryāvatāra a few passages occurring in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya as quotations, *e. g.*, Śikṣās, p. 155 ff. in Bodhic. VI, 120 ff. In the Bodhic. V, 105, Śāntideva recommends the study of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya.

[3]) *Barth* (RHR 42, 1900, p. 55=Oeuvres II, 338) terms the Śikṣā-Samuccaya "la scholastique verbeuse et délayée usque ad nauseam," whilst he values the Bodhicaryāvatāra very highly as a counterpart to the "Imitatio Christi" of Thomas à Kempis (RHR 1893, p. 259 f.=Oeuvres II, 172). The Bodhicaryāvatāra does not, it is true, teach how to imitate Buddha, but teaches how to become a Buddha. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, p. 297 ff.; C. H. *Tawney* in JRAS 1908, 583 ff; *Foucher* in RHR 1908, t. 57, p. 241 ff.

It is certain that, here too, Śāntideva refrains from pursuing any literary aims in his work; but he gives such fervent and inspired expression to his religious feelings, that he becomes a poet almost in spite of himself.

The work begins with a glorification of bodhicittam, the Will to Enlightenment, the determination to become a Buddha for the sake of the salvation of the beings. Thus it reads, I, 8:

"If you would overcome the many hundreds of sufferings of existence,
If you would deliver all beings from their sufferings,
If you would enjoy many hundreds of delights,
Then never, never cease to direct your minds to Bodhi."

In inspired words, the poet describes his feelings after he has thus directed his mind towards enlightenment. He expresses his fervent joy at the good deeds of all beings and at their liberation, he prays to the Buddhas of all parts of the world, that they may light the lamp of religion for all those who are in ignorance, he beseeches all Bodhisattvas to defer their Nirvāṇa, he prays for the salvation of all beings, and finally offers himself for all beings:

"By the merit which I have ever acquired,
By good deeds, may I bring to all beings
Relief from all their sufferings!
I desire to serve as medicine, doctor and nurse
To all the sick as long as their sickness lasts."

"I desire to be a protector to those who need protection,
A guide to those who wander in the desert,
And a ship, a landing-stage and a bridge
To those who seek the shore.
A lamp to those who need a lamp,
A couch to those who need a couch,
A slave to all beings who need a slave." [1]

[1]) III, 6; 7; 17; 18.

Chapters IV-VIII deal with the duties which the Bodhisattva takes upon himself. Whoever has vowed to strive for Bodhi, on him are the hopes of all beings, and he is responsible for the welfare of all beings. He must be diligent in all the perfections (Pāramitās). Above all, he must be prepared to sacrifice himself entirely. He must, however, also obey all the commandments of the religion, and fulfil all the rules of good conduct, as they are laid down in the sacred texts, which he must therefore study diligently.[1]

Our worst enemies are wrath and hatred and passion. These must be overcome. They harm us, not our enemies. We must love our enemies like all other creatures. For if we love the creatures, we delight the Buddhas, but if we injure them, we injure the Buddhas. If others wrong me, it is only the fruit of some action (Karman)—then why should I be angry with them? One must not hate even those who destroy or despise Buddha-pictures, Stūpas, or even the good religion itself. He who does good to the beings, does good to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who have so often annihilated their bodies and have gone to hell for the sake of the beings. Therefore one should do good only, even to those who have done much evil to us.[2] From the outset the Bodhisattva aims at making no difference between his ego and his neighbour: to identify his ego absolutely and entirely with that of others, is a kind of spiritual exercise in which the Bodhisattva is particularly active.

> " I must destroy others' suffering, for it hurts like one's own pain ;
> I must do good to others, as they are beings like myself."

In the same way as a man loves his hands and feet, because they are limbs of his body, so all other living beings have a right to his love, as they are all members of the same

---

[1]) Here (V. 103 ff.) some texts are specially recommended for study.

[2]) See particularly VI, 19 ; 33 ; 68 ; 120 ; 124 ; 126.

world of the living. It is only a habit to regard our body, which does not really exist at all, as our ego; in exactly the same way we can form the habit of regarding our neighbour as our ego.[1]

With admirable eloquence, which can only spring from the most sincere conviction, Śāntideva succeeds in representing it as a matter of course, that for the pious disciple of Bodhi, there is complete "equality between one's neighbour and one's ego" (Parātmasamatā), and that he finally reaches the "transformation of one's neighbour into one's ego" (Parātmaparivartana).[2]

Chapter IX is less attractive, and is purely erudite in its content: here the philosophical doctrine of the unreality of the world of phenomena (Śūnyatā) is developed according to the Mādhyamika system, incompatible though the negativism of this system appears to us with the devotion and self-sacrifice for other beings, as taught in the first chapters of the work, yet Śāntideva, too, utilises the doctrine, already familiar to us, of the differentiation between the two truths as a means of bridging the contradiction. Everything in the world is indeed vain and transitory, but only the delusion concerning the ego (ātmamoha) is harmful, whilst the delusion concerning the duties (Kāryamoha) is beneficent.[3] Nevertheless, it is strange enough that, after all the doctrines of active pity, the only conclusion at which the poet can arrive, is (IX, 152 f.):

> As all existence is so empty and transitory,
> What can be gained, what can be taken away?
> Who can be honoured, who blamed?
> How can there be joy and sorrow, beloved objects

---

[1]) See VIII, 90 ff.

[2]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, ERE II, 749, 752 f.

[3]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mém. Ac. Belg. 1898, p. 109 ff.

Or objects of hatred? And greed, and non-greed,
Seek where you will, you will never find them.

After this excursion into the metaphysics of silence,— for that is really the true essence of the doctrine of unreality— namely that the answer to any question can only be a silence —the poet comes back to the earth in the concluding chapter (X), and the work ends with an earnest prayer for the welfare of all beings, even for the beings in the hells, and with entreaties to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[1]

The fact that there are no less than eleven commentaries on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, speaks eloquently for the popularity of the work, though these commentaries have come down only in Tibetan translations.[2]

In the 8th century Śāntarakṣita wrote a large philosophical work Tattva-Saṃgraha,[3] in which, from the standpoint of the Svātantrika Yogācāra school, he criticises numerous other philosophical systems of his day, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. He himself does not mention the names of the teachers whom he attacks, but we learn them from the commentary which his pupil Kamalaśīla wrote on the work. Among Buddhist teachers we find there Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Buddhadeva, Saṅghabhadra, Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. Besides these, teachers of the Lokāyata, the Jain philosophy, and of Sāṃkhya, Nyāya and

---

[1]) In the days of Tāranātha there were doubts as to the authenticity of this chapter, and the commentator Prajñākaramati did not explain the chapter, though it was known to him. However, all the MSS. and the other commentaries have it, and it certainly seems to me to be a far better conclusion to the work, than if it ended with Chapter IX. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin*, Bodhicaryāvatāra traduit p. 143 f.

[2]) The titles of the commentaries are given by P. L. *Vaidya*, Études sur Āryadeva, p. 56 f.

[3]) Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the Commentary of Kamalaśīla. Edited by *Embar Krishnamacharya* in GOS Nos. XXX, XXXI, Baroda 1926. The General Editor Dr. Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya* deals in detail, in the Foreword, with the life and works of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, and the authors cited in the commentary; *cf. Winternitz* in Indologica Pragensia I, 1929, p. 73 ff.

Mīmāṃsā are also named. The Madhyamakālaṃkāra-Kārikās, with the author's own commentary, are a shorter work of Śāntarakṣita. The work has come down only in the Tibetan translation.[1] Tibetan sources also allow us to glean something as to the life of Śāntarakṣita. He came from Nālandā to Tibet, where he founded the monastery of Sam-ye in the year 749 A.D., the first proper Buddhist monastery in Tibet. He lived there for thirteen years, and died in 762 A.D. Padmasambhava, who is usually mentioned as the founder of Lamaism, is said to have been the brother-in-law and collaborator of Śāntarakṣita.[2]

Lastly, among the later Buddhist writers, we may mention Advayavajra, who lived in the 11th or at the beginning of the 12th century, and wrote a large number of short didactic poems on the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna.[3]

Māhātmya, Stotras, Dhāraṇīs and Tantras.

Repeated reference has already been made to the great similarity between the Mahāyāna-Sūtras and the Purāṇas. We have seen that in the ancient Purāṇas, many texts which were connected with the cult of the Hindu gods, were included or appended, such as Māhātmyas, Stotras and Kalpas.[4] In the same way there is also a Buddhistic "Purāṇa," the Svayambhū-Purāṇa, which is not really a Purāṇa, but a Māhātmya. It is a glorification of the holy places in Nepal, especially the Svayambhū-Caitya near Kaṭhmandu. The work is a manual for pilgrims, and therefore also contains descriptions of ceremonies (*e.g.*, for the worship of Nāgas so as to obtain rain) and many a legend attaching to the various

[1]) See P. L. *Vaidya*, l. c., p. 57 f.

[2]) See B. *Bhattacharyya*, GOS No. XXX, pp. x ff., xvi ff.

[3]) Advayavajrasaṃgraha, edited with an Introduction by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in GOS No. XL, Baroda, 1927.

[4]) See above, Vol. I, p. 533.

holy places. Thus for instance in Chapter IV the Maṇicūḍāvadāna [1] is told by way of glorifying the river Maṇirohiṇī. In the Svayambhū-Purāṇa, Svayambhū, "the Self-Existent," which is in Hinduism one of the names of the god Brahman, appears as the king and teacher of the world, seated on a wondrous lotus, the root of which had been planted in bygone ages by an earlier Buddha. There are five different recensions of the work, which differ from one another more in their external form than in contents.[2] None of the recensions can, however, lay claim to very great antiquity. Perhaps the work was not written earlier than the 16th century.

Just as this Māhātmya is composed in the true manner of the Viṣṇuite and Śivaite Māhātmyas, similarly the sole difference between the Buddhistic Stotras or hymns, and those which are dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva, lies in the names of the divine beings which are the objects of adoration. Some of these Stotras are the works of well known poets in the ornate style of poetry and in elaborate metres, others are litanies after the manner of those which we find in the Purāṇas. A few of such Stotras also gained admittance to earlier texts, such as the Mahāvastu, Lalita-Vistara and others. The hymns of Mātṛceta have already been mentioned. We have a collection of four hymns (Catuḥstava) of Nāgārjuna

---

[1]) Translated by L. *de La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS 1894, p. 297 ff. This self-sacrifice legend is also to be found in one manuscript as an independent Avadāna, as well as in one manuscript of the Divyāvadānamālā (s. Rajendralala *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., pp. 162 ff., 314) and in Kṣemendra's Avadāna-Kalpalatā (s. JBTS, Vol. I, part 3, 1893).

[2]) According to S. *Lévi*, the "Svāyambhuva-Mahā-Purāṇa" which has come down in a Paris MS., contains the best recension. It is written in prose and verse in various metres. S. *Lévi* gives a detailed analysis of the work in Vol. I, p. 208 ff., of his book Le Népal (AMG, Bibliothèque d'études, t. 17-19, Paris 1905). The "Bṛhat-Svayambhū-Purāṇa" edited by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in Bibl. Ind. (1894-1900) is written entirely in Ślokas and in execrable Sanskrit. Book X has been edited by *La Vallée Poussin* (Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la faculté de phil. et lett. 9e fasc., Gand & Louvain 1893). Cf. also Raj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 249 ff.; Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in JBTS II, 1894, part 2, p. 33 ff.; and *Hodgson*, Essays, p. 115 ff.

in the Tibetan translation.[1] King Harṣavardhana (600-647 A.D.), who, under the influence of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang, leaned more and more strongly towards Buddhism during the last years of his life, composed a Suprabhāta-Stotra,[2] a morning hymn in praise of Buddha, in 24 verses, and an Aṣṭa-Mahā-Śrīcaitya-Stotra,[3] a "hymn in praise of the eight great shrines," in 5 stanzas. The poet Vajradatta, who lived under King Devapāla in the 9th century, is the author of the Lokeśvara-Śataka, the "Hundred (stanzas) in praise of Lokeśvara."[4] Legend has it, that the poet became a leper owing to a curse. He implored Lokeśvara, *i.e.*, Avalokiteśvara, to help him, and each day he composed an elaborate Sragdharā stanza in praise of him. When three months had gone by, and he had completed the hundredth stanza, the Bodhisattva appeared to him, and he was healed.[5] In this very elaborate poem Avalokiteśvara is described in the greatest detail from his fingers to his toes, his fifty names are enumerated, and his qualities, his love and his mercy glorified.

The Paramārthanāma-Saṃgīti[6] is a hymn of the type which occurs as early as in the Yajurveda, the Mahābhārata and very frequently in the Purāṇas,[7] that is to say, a litany consisting of an enumeration of names and laudatory epithets of the deity. Another work which is composed mainly for

---

[1]) The French translation by *La Vallée Poussin* was printed in Le Muséon in 1914, but all the copies were destroyed at the time of the burning of Louvain; s. P. L. *Vaidya*, Études sur Āryadeva, p. 49.

[2]) Edited by *Minayeff* in Sapiski de la Société Archéologique, t. II, fasc. III, 236 f.

[3]) Translated into Sanskrit by S. *Lévi* (OC, Genève, 1894, II, 189 ff.) on the basis of a Chinese transcription.

[4]) Edited and translated into French by Suzanne *Karpelès* in JA, 1919, s. 11, t. XIV, pp. 357-465.

[5]) A similar legend is told about Mayūra, the poet of the Sūryaśataka.

[6]) Raj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 175.

[7]) *Cf.* above, Vol. I, pp. 185, 397, note 1.

devotional purposes, is a poem in 9 stanzas, the Sapta-Buddha-Stotra, "Praise of the Seven Buddhas," in which the six Buddhas of previous ages, from Vipaśyin down to Kāśyapa, and then Śākyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya are worshipped and invoked one after the other; likewise the Naipālīya-Devatā-Kalyāṇa-Pañcaviṃśatikā, by an otherwise unknown "poet" Amṛtānanda, a litany of 25 stanzas, in which the "Nepalese deities," *i.e.*, a motley list of Buddhas, beginning with Svayambhū, Bodhisattvas, Hindu gods and goddesses, Buddhist personifications, Tīrthas and Caityas, are invoked, amid praises, to send down blessings (kalyāṇa).[1]

A large number of Stotras are dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā, "the Rescuer," the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara. A poem in praise of Tārā, composed in polished Kāvya style by the Kashmiri poet Sarvajñamitra is the Sragdharā-Stotra or Ārya-Tārā-Sragdharā-Stotra in 37 verses. Sragdharā, "(female) wearer of the wreath," is an epithet of Tārā as well as the name of the metre in which the poem is written. The poet lived in the first half of the 8th century. According to the legend, he was a man widely famed for his generosity (according to Tāranātha,[2] a son-in-law of the King of Kashmir), who finally, after he had given away all his treasures, went forth into the world as a mendicant monk. Once he met an old Brahman on the way, who complained to him that he was poor and needed money for his daughter's marriage. In order to procure the money for this man, Sarvajñamitra sold himself to a king who was just

---

[1]) The two Stotras have been translated by H. H. *Wilson*, Works, II, pp. 5 ff., 11 ff. *Cf. Winternitz* and *Keith*, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, p. 257; Raj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 99.

[2]) Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 168 ff. In Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 210, there is mention of the monk Sarvajñamitra, who appeared as a second Jina, and lived in the Kayya-Vihāra built by Kayya. Kayya was a king of Lāṭa, and was subject to King Lalitāditya, who reigned in Kashmir in the 8th century. *Cf.* S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* in JASB 1, 1905, p. 156 ff.

preparing a great human sacrifice for which he needed a hundred persons. When the poet heard the lamentations of his fellow-sufferers with whom he was to be sacrificed, he sang the hymn to Tārā, and the goddess came and rescued the hundred victims. Whilst the Sragdharā-Stotra has some poetical value, the Ārya-Tārā-Nāmāṣṭottaraśataka-Stotra, " the Song of praise consisting of 108 names of the noble Tārā," is a mere litany of names and titles of the goddess ; and the Ekaviṃśati-Stotra, " the song of praise in 21 verses," is only a loose stringing together of invocations to the goddess Tārā.[1]

The Bhakti-Śataka, " the Hundred (stanzas) on Bhakti," [2] by Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, a Brahman of Bengal, who came to Ceylon under King Parākramabāhu (about 1245 A.D.) and was converted to Buddhism, affords an example of how the Brahmanical-Indian idea of Bhakti or the love for God, was transferred to Buddha. In this work the Buddha is worshipped and praised, in the ornate style of poetry and in elaborate metres, as the only teacher, redeemer and dispenser of mercies, in precisely the same fashion as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or Śiva in Brahmanical Bhakti poems. The work might just as

---

[1]) These three Stotras have been edited and translated by G. *de Blonay*, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Buddhique Tārā (Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, fasc. 107), Paris, 1895. The Sragdharā-Stotra (with commentary and two Tibetan versions) is also edited in Bauddha-Stotra-Saṃgraha, Vol. I, edited by Satis Chandra *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, Bibl. Ind., 1908. In the introduction, the editor enumerates no fewer than 96 texts relating to Tārā. 62 of these have come down only in Tibetan translations. A great devotee of this goddess was Candragomin who has been mentioned above (p. 365), and to whom a Tārā-Sādhana-Śataka is ascribed (*Blonay*, l.c., p. 17 f.). The cult of Tārā was introduced in about the 6th century A.D. Hsüan-Tsang mentions statues of " Tārā-Bodhisattva," which he had seen in India. In the year 778 A.D. Ārya-Tārā was already worshipped in Java, where she has a gorgeous shrine. *Cf. Waddell* in JRAS, 1894, p. 63 ff. and OZ I, 178 ff.; *Blonay*, l.c., pp 3, 5, 17; H. *Kern* in OZ II, 1914, p. 481, note 1.

[2]) Edited by *Śīlaskandha* in Ceylon in 1885, and published by the Buddhist Text Society of India, Darjeeling 1896, and by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* with an English translation in JBTS I, 1893, part 2, pp 21-43; translated into German by Rudolf *Otto*, Texte zur indischen Gottesmystik II, Jena 1917, pp. 141-160. *Cf.* Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in JASB Proceedings, 1890, p. 125 ff. and JBTS I, 1893, part III, p. iv ff.

well belong to the Mahāyāna as to the Hīnayāna, for it is essentially a Hindu poem as far as ideas are concerned. By way of example, I give a few verses (31-34) in translation:

" Be gracious, O Lord, ruler of the gods, ruler of the world, conqueror, O Buddha, who deservest to be worshipped by the world, to be worshipped by me, to be worshipped by the good, O enemy of sin, enemy of mundane existence, enemy of lust, enemy of darkness! To thee verily am I devoted (bhakta) with body, speech, and thought.

He is a son of thy family, he is devoted to thee, he bears the burden of thy teaching, he is a disciple, he takes refuge with thee, he is thy slave,—he who never on any account swerves from thy command.

Doing good to the world, O Buddha, is worship to thee, doing evil to it, O Lord of the world, is pain to thee. O Jina, how should I, when doing evil to the world, not be ashamed of saying that I am devoted to thy lotus-feet!

Where is my mercy, where my sympathy, where my love, as I am doing evil, and not good, to that very world for whose benefit thou hast, in a hundred ways, given away wealth, men, power, life, body and kingdom? "

The Dhāraṇīs [1] or "Protective Spells" [2] constitute a large and important part of Mahāyānist literature. The need for incantations, benedictions, and magic spells, which was supplied in the very earliest times by the Vedic mantras, especially those of the Atharvaveda,[3] played far too great a part in the mind of the Indian people, for Buddhism to have been able to dispense with them. We have already seen how

---

[1]) *Cf. Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 466, 482 ff.; *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, pp. 153 ff., 193 ff., 217; *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mémoires Acad. Belg. 1898, p. 119 ff.; L. A. *Waddell* in OZ I, 1912, 155 ff.; Ind. Ant. 43, 1914, 37 ff., 49 ff., 92 ff.; J. *Hauer*, Die Dhāraṇī im nördlichen Buddhismus, Tübingen 1927, and G. *Tucci* in Ind. Hist. Q. IV, 1928, 553 ff.

[2]) Dhāraṇī is a synonym of rakṣā and the Pāli parittā, "protecting magic formula," "talisman." *Cf. Kern* in OZ II, p. 481, note 2. According to the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, p. 399, the Dhāraṇīs are taught "for the protection, safety and shelter of the preachers." Dhāraṇīs are also used as amulets.

[3]) Above, Vol. I, pp. 109 ff., 119 ff. The tale in the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna (Divyāvadāna, p. 613) is characteristic of the need for magic formulas, s. above, p. 286 f.

the Buddhists of Ceylon used some of their most beautiful Suttas as Parittās or Pirits.[1] In a similar manner the Mahāyāna Buddhists in India also transformed some of the Sūtras themselves into magic formulas. In addition to these, there were also endless invocations to the divine beings of Buddhist and Hindu origin, so numerous in the Mahāyāna, and—last, but not least—the mysterious words and syllables already so popular in the sacrificial mysticism of the Yajurveda.[2] The protective and salutary magical power of a Dhāraṇī is primarily due to its containing some piece of wisdom *in nuce*, and not to any occult mystical significance of the words and syllables, though it is true that the Dhāraṇīs do also include "magic words" (mantrapadāni) of this kind.

For instance, the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtras in their shortest form were used as Dhāraṇīs: thus the Alpākṣarā Prajñā-Pāramitā, etc.[3] Special mention should here be made of the Prajñā-Pāramitā-hṛdaya-Sūtras, the shorter text of which we have in the ancient palm leaves, which have been kept since the year 609 A. D. in the monastery of Hôriuzi in Japan. These Sūtras teach the "heart" (hṛdaya) of the Prajñā-Pāramitā, *i.e.*, the "Mantra which alleviates all pain," which contains the perfection of wisdom, and says: "O Enlightenment, which hast gone, gone, gone to the other shore, completely gone to the other shore,[4] hail!" Even though this saying is, to a certain extent, supposed to present the essence of the negativist doctrine of the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtras, its spiritual level is no higher than that of the Uṣṇīṣa-Vijaya-Dhāraṇī, which has also come down on the palm leaves of Hôriuzi, and only consists of a series of senseless

---

[1]) See above, p. 80.

[2]) See above, Vol. I, p. 185 ff.

[3]) See above, p. 316.

[4]) This is nothing but a false etymology of *pāramitā*.

invocations.[1] Many Prajñā-Pāramitā texts appear amongst the Dhāraṇīs in the Tibetan Kanjur.[2] There are also Dhāraṇīs in the Kanjur, whose function is to help people to understand the Śatasāhasrī Prajñā-Pāramitā and other long Prajñā-Pāramitās.[3]

There is not always a clear line of demarcation between Dhāraṇīs and Sūtras. There are Mahāyāna-Sūtras which are nothing but recommendations of Dhāraṇīs. Thus the Aparimitāyuḥ-Sūtra,[4] which we have not only in Sanskrit and Old Khotanese, but also in Chinese and Tibetan translations, is nothing more than the glorification of a Dhāraṇī. The Ratnolkā-Dhāraṇī, which is quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, might just as well be classed as a Mahāyāna-Sūtra. It is a long work, in which Mahāyāna doctrines are expounded, among other things the doctrine that a Bodhisattva should not aspire to salvation immediately, but is to be reborn again and again in various professions and sects, for the sake of the

---

[1]) *Cf.* The Ancient Palm Leaves containing the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra and the Uṣṇīṣa-vijayadhāraṇī edited by F. *Max Müller* and Bunyiu *Nanjio* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Vol. I, Part III), Oxford 1884 and SBE, Vol. 49, part II, p. 145 ff. Prajñā-Pāramitā-Hṛdaya-Sūtra translated from the Tibetan into French by L. *Feer* in AMG V, 176 ff. *Cf.* Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in Ind. Hist. Q. I, 1925, p. 469.

[2]) *Cf. Körös* in AMG II, 305, 307, 312, 314.

[3]) In a MS. of Dhāraṇīs (Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 292) there is also a Pañcaviṃśatikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-hṛdaya. Another Dhāraṇī of this kind, is the Prajñā-Pāramitā-naya-Śata-Pañcāśatikā (or Adhyardha-Śatikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā) fragments of which have been found in the neighbourhood of Khotan, in Sanskrit, interspersed with sections in Khotanese. These fragments have been edited by E. *Leumann*, Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur, Strassburg 1912, p. 84 ff.; reprinted and compared with the Tibetan and Chinese texts, by *Shōun Toganoo*, Kyoto 1917. There is also a Pratītya-Samutpāda-Dhāraṇī (*Körös*, AMG II, p. 321) which is intended to help one to understand the doctrine of causally dependent origination.

[4]) The Old Khotanese Version together with the Sanskrit Text and the Tibetan Translation ed. by *Sten Konow* in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, 1, pp. 289-329 (with English translation); Aparimitāyur-Jñāna-Nāma-Mahāyāna-Sūtram nach einer nepalesischen Sanskrit HS. mit der tibetischen und chinesischen Version herausgegeben und übersetzt von *Max Walleser* Heidelberg (Sitzungsber. der Akademie) 1916. According to the Chinese Version, the title reads : Ārya-Aparimitāyuḥsuviniścita-tejo-rāja-dhāraṇī-sūtra. Cf. *Hoernle* in JRAS 1910, 834 ff., 1293; 1911, 468 ff., and E. *Leumann*, Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur, pp. 75, 82 f.

welfare of the beings: a long list of these professions and sects is enumerated.[1]

The Megha-Sūtra [2] is a good example of a Sūtra with Dhāraṇīs, written for the purposes of magic. It begins, like other Mahāyāna-Sūtras, with the words: "Thus have I heard; once the Lord sojourned in the palace of the serpent princes Nanda and Upananda," etc. It then relates how the snake deities offer adoration to the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, whereupon one of the snake princes asks the Exalted One the following question:—

"How, Lord, can all the pains of all snakes be alleviated, and how can the snakes be so pleased and delighted, that they may send down torrents of rain over India in due season and may thereby cause all grasses, shrubs, herbs and trees to grow, all seeds to sprout and all juices to flow forth, so that the people of India be blessed with happiness?" Pleased with the question, the Buddha replies: "By *one* religious exercise (Dharma), O snake-prince, all the pains of all snakes can be alleviated altogether, and they be blessed with happiness." "Which is this one religious exercise?" "It is friendliness (maitrī). The gods and men, O snake-prince, who thus live in friendliness, are not burnt by fire, not injured by the sword, not carried away by water, not killed by poison, not overcome by the enemy's host. They sleep calmly and calmly they waken, they are protected by their own virtue.....Therefore, O snake-prince, you must act in friendliness with your body, in friendliness in your speech, in friendliness with your mind. And further, O snake-prince, you must use the Dhāraṇī called Sarvasukhandadā ('the all-hail-bringing'). This alleviates all the pains of all the snakes, brings all salvation, then brings the torrents of rain down over India here in due season, and causes all grasses, shrubs, herbs and

---

[1]) See C. *Bendall* in JRAS 1901, p. 122 ff. The Nārāyaṇa-Paripṛcchā, too, which is several times quoted in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, is described as a Dhāraṇī in the colophon of a MS. (Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. MSS. in Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, I, p. 16 f.). On an Āryācala-Mahākrodharāja-Guhya-Dhāraṇī-Sūtra in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese, s. C. *Puini* in GSAI 3, 1889, p. 38 ff.

[2]) *Cf.* C. *Bendall*, JRAS 1880, p. 286 ff. A Mahā-Megha-Sūtra was translated into Chinese as early as between 397 and 439 A.D., other translations were made between 589 and 618, and 746-771. *Cf.* B. *Nanjio*, Catalogue, Nos. 186-188, 244, 970. In the Tibetan Kanjur it is translated among the Sūtras (Mdo), s. *Körös*, AMG II, 264 ff.

trees to grow, all seeds to sprout and all juices to flow forth. And how goes this Dhāraṇī ? "

Then follow the actual Dhāraṇīs, which consist of numerous invocations to female deities (as "holder," "supporter," etc.), to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, between which sentences (such as "Shake off the evil," "Cleanse the paths") and exorcisms against snakes (such as "Come, O great snakes...rain in India") are inserted, and lastly, of syllables scattered here and there (such as "sara sire sire suru suru nāgānāṃ java java jivi jivi juvu juvu," etc.). A description of the magic rites which are performed with these Dhāraṇīs is added, and it ends with the assurance that, in times of drought, there are no better means of inducing rain to fall, than the use of this Sūtra.[1]

Similarly, the Dhāraṇīs often appear as parts of Sūtras which relate the circumstances under which they were proclaimed. There are, however, also numerous Dhāraṇīs which have come down singly in manuscripts, and on the other hand, large collections of Dhāraṇīs.[2] We find there exorcism formulas against the influence of ill-omened constellations, against poison, snakes and demons, spells for the healing of diseases and the lengthening of life, magic spells for bringing luck in war, others which cause a person to be reborn in

[1]) A much simpler form of a snake charm, which, however, is to serve as a means of warding off snake-bite, is already to be found in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Culla-Vagga V, 6, where the snakes are appeased by the Buddhist friendliness (metta, maitrī). *Cf.* also Jātaka 203, Dīgha-Nikāya 32, and Aṅguttara-Nikāya IV, 67 (Vol. II, p. 72). A Sūtra, similar to the Megha-Sūtra, is the Diśa-Svāstika-Sūtra, which has come down to us in the Uiguric language in a fragment from Turfan (Ṭiśastvustik by W. *Radloff* and Baron A. von *Staël-Holstein*, Bibl. Buddhica XII, St. Petersburg, 1910).

[2]) *E.g.* Dhāraṇī-(mantra)-saṃgraha, Raj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 80 f. Other single Dhāraṇīs and collections of Dhāraṇīs, l.c., pp. 93 f., 174, 176, 267 f., 283, 291 f. Numerous MSS. of Dhāraṇīs are also included in *Bendall's* Catalogue. *La Vallée Poussin*, JRAS 1895, p. 433 f., assumes that a "Vidyādhara-Piṭaka" quoted in the Ādikarma-Pradīpa and in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, p. 142, is the same as a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka. According to Hsüan-Tsang, a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka of this kind was contained in the Canon of the Mahā-Sāṅghikas (*Kern*, Manual, p. 4)

the Sukhāvatī paradise, to ensure against a bad rebirth, and to secure release from sin; there are also such by which a person can conjure up a Bodhisattva or protect himself from unbelief. It is not only the elements which can be influenced by Dhāraṇīs, but they bring about the birth of a son or a daughter according to the wish of the expectant mother. The collection of five Dhāraṇīs entitled "*Pañcarakṣā*" is extremely popular in Nepal. These "Five Protecting Spells" are as follows: (1) Mahā-Pratisarā, for protection against sin, disease and other evils, (2) Mahā-Sahasrapramardinī, against evil spirits, (3) Mahā-Māyūrī, against snake-poison, (4) Mahā-Śītavatī, against hostile planets, wild animals and poisonous insects, and (5) Mahā(rakṣā)mantrānusāriṇī against diseases.[1] The Mahā-Māyūrī, frequently entitled Vidyārājñī, "Queen of Secret Sciences,"[2] takes its name from the notorious hostility of the peacocks (mayūra) towards the snakes, but it was also used as a general remedy for diseases. In Chapter V of the Harṣacarita, Bāṇa tells us how Harṣavardhana entered the palace of his father who was lying sick unto death, and that all kinds of sacrifices and ceremonies were performed, and that among other things, the Mahā-Māyūrī was recited.[3] Most probably this Dhāraṇī can be traced back to the same sources as the verses in the Mora-Jātaka (No. 159) and the

---

[1]) *Cf.* Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., pp. 164 ff., 173 f. *Winternitz* and *Keith*, Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, p 257 ff. In the Nepalese courts of justice, the Buddhists are sworn on the Pañcarakṣā (*Hodgson*, Essays, p. 18).

[2]) *Cf.* J. *Przyluski* in BEFEO 23, 1923, p. 308 f.

[3]) Harṣacarita, transl. by E. B. *Cowell* and F. W. *Thomas*, p. 137. Furthermore, a verse by Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī contains an allusion to the Māyūrī vidyā:

darpaṃ kavibhujaṅgānāṃ gatā śravaṇagocaram |
viṣavidyeva māyūrī Māyūrī vāg nikṛntati ||

"The speech of (the poet) Mayūra destroys the pride of the poets, when it comes within reach of their ears, just as the peacock science against poison (destroys the pride) of the snakes (when it comes within reach of their ears)"; Cf. G. P. *Quackenbos*, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, CUIS 1917, Intron., p. 5.

similar incantations in the snake-charms which we have in the Bower manuscript.[1]

Moreover, the Dhāraṇīs penetrated to a great extent into the ancient Mahāyāna-Sūtras. We have found them in Chapters XXI and XXVI, *i.e.* those chapters which were added at a later time, of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, and also in the last two chapters of the Laṅkāvatāra, chapters which are missing in the earliest Chinese translation of 443 A.D. Thus we see that they are a later element in the Mahāyāna-Sūtras. Nevertheless we should not regard them as a very modern product of Buddhist literature, for we already find them in Chinese translations made as early as in the 4th century A.D.[2] And if the passage in the longer Sukhāvatī-Vyūha (VIII, 33) where it says that the beings in Sukhāvatī receive Dhāraṇīs, was already included in the text which was translated into Chinese in the 2nd century A.D., we should be compelled to assume that there were Dhāraṇīs as early as that period. It is not possible, however, to trace the Dhāraṇīs back to the early days of Buddhism, much less to Buddha himself.[3] It is true that Buddha lived in an environment of people who believed in the power of magic spells: but if

---

[1]) *Cf. Waddell* in OZ I, 166 ff. The Mahā-Māyūrī (in a longer and a shorter form) has been translated into Chinese repeatedly, by Śrīmitra (307-342 A.D.), by Saṅghapāla (516 A.D.), I-tsing (705 A.D.) and Amoghavajra (746-771 A.D.). *Cf.* K. *Watanabe* in JRAS 1907, p. 261 ff., *Lévi* in JA 1915, s. 11, t. V, pp. 19 ff., 26; and *Bagchi*, I, pp. 320, 417.

[2]) Śrīmitra (307-342 A.D.) translated more Dhāraṇīs than anything else. s. *Bagchi*, I, 319 f.

[3]) Thus *Waddell* in OZ I, 155 ff. The expression Dhāraṇī first occurs in the Lalita-Vistara and Saddarma-Puṇḍarīka. *Waddell* (Asiatic Quart. Review, N.S., 1,1913, p. 293 ff.) compares the Dhāraṇīs with the magic formulas of the Nestorian Christians, and is of opinion that these formulas are derived from Chaldean ones, and that even the Buddhist magic formulas came to India from Chaldea and Iran. This is very unlikely, when we take the universality of protecting magic formulas into consideration; we need only compare, for instance, ERE III, 392-472, and VIII, 245-321. J. W. *Hauer* (Die Dhāraṇī, etc. 1927) has pointed out the similarity between the Dhāraṇīs and the Mithras liturgy, but he is right in not assuming anything beyond a parallel development.

there is one thing which we *do* know of Buddha, it is that he desired to bear a new message to his compatriots, a message which was at variance with the old Brahmanical cult of sacrifices and magic. The Dhāraṇīs belong to a period at which Buddhism in India began to be more and more assimilated to Hinduism,[1] while outside India it tended to make compromises and to become contaminated by the popular religions of the countries in question. In the course of time the difference between the Dhāraṇīs, and the Mantras belonging to the Tantras, became more and more obliterated, and finally the Dhāraṇīs were completely supplanted by the Mantras. In the Tibetan Kanjur the Dhāraṇīs are to be found both among the Sūtras (Mdo) and the Tantras (Rgyut).[2] The numerous fragments of Dhāraṇīs in various languages of Central Asia, which have been found in Eastern Turkestan,[3] and also the large amount of space which the Dhāraṇīs occupy in the Tibetan Kanjur and the Chinese Tripiṭaka, are evidence of the great popularity and wide propagation of this literature in all Buddhist countries.

Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna are branches of the Mahāyāna, from which they are not separated by any hard and fast line of demarcation. Mantrayāna is the "vehicle" in which

---

[1]) It is significant that there is a Gaṇapati-Dhāraṇī, addressed to the Śivaite god Gaṇapati, in spite of the fact that it is "proclaimed by Buddha"; s. Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep Buddh. Lit., pp. 89 f., 292.

[2]) *Körös* in AMG II, 249, 318 ff., 561 ff.

[3]) A fragment of a Nīlakāṇṭha-Dhāraṇī, brought from Central Asia by M. A. *Stein*, Sanskrit text in Brāhmī script and in Sogdienne transcription, has been edited by *La Vallée Poussin* and R. *Gauthiot* in JRAS 1912, 629 ff. This Dhāraṇī was already very popular in China between 650 and 750 A.D., s. *Lévi* in JRAS 1912, 1063 ff. Dhāraṇīs in Uigurio language (Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā, Sitātapatrā) have been edited from Central Asian block prints, by F. W. K. *Müller*, Uigurica II, in ABA 1911, pp. 27 ff., 50 ff. A Jñānolka-Dhāraṇī in the Khotanese language, has been edited by E. *Leumann*, Buddhistische Literatur Nordarisch und Deutsch, Leipzig 1920 (AKM XV, 2), p. 151 ff. A Central Asian fragment of a Mahā-Pratyaṅgirā-Dhāraṇī in Sanskrit, containing invocations to Tārā, has been edited by *Hoernle*, in Hoernle Manuscript Remains, I, p. 52 ff.

the Mantras, words and syllables of mysterious power, are the chief means of attaining salvation. Vajrayāna is the "vehicle" which leads men to salvation not only by using Mantras, but by means of all things which are denoted by the word vajra. Now vajra is a word with many meanings. It means "diamond," and denotes everything which is hard and impermeable, which cannot be cleft, nor burnt, nor destroyed. Vajra also means the "thunderbolt," the weapon of the god Indra, who appears in Buddhist mythology as Vajrapāṇi, "he who holds the Vajra in his hand." It is also the name for the weapon of the ascetics and monks when fighting against hostile powers. Then again, the Śūnya, the indescribable absolute, which is taught by the Mādhyamikas to be the sole reality, and also the Vijñāna or consciousness, which according to the Yogācāryas is the sole reality,—both of these are described as being indestructible as a Vajra. Lastly, in the mystic language of some of the adherents of the Vajrayāna, and that of the Śāktas, Vajra also means the male organ, just as Padma, "the lotus," serves as a term to describe the female sexual organ. Furthermore the Vajrayāna teaches a monistic (Advaita) philosophy. All beings are Vajra beings (vajrasattva), and the one and only Vajrasattva is immanent in all beings. In addition to the "three bodies" (Trikāya) of a Buddha, the Śāktas have a fourth body, the "body of happiness" (sukhakāya), with which the eternal Buddha embraces his Śakti, Tārā or Bhagavatī. This "highest bliss" (mahāsukha) is attained by the adepts of the Buddhist Śākta religion, in like manner as the non-Buddhist Śāktas,[1] by a ritual connected with the enjoyment of meat, intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse. Thus the Vajrayāna is a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas.

[1] See above, Vol. I, 594.

We have seen that there is no rigid boundary-line between the Mahāyāna and the Mantrayāna-Vajrayāna : and the same may be said of the Mahāyāna-Sūtras and the Tantras,[1] the literature of the Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. As we have already seen, there are some Mahāyāna-Sūtras which contain Tantric sections,[2] and the Tantras treat not only of the rites of the Vajrayāna, but also of the ritual of the Mahāyānist cult (the erection of Stūpas, construction and setting up of images, Stotras and daily sacrifices), as well as sections on the philosophical doctrines of the Mahāyāna. The only thing which distinguishes the Buddhist Tantras from the Tantras of the Śāktas,[3] is the sparse element of Buddhism which is still to be found in them. There are four classes of Buddhist Tantras : Kriyā-Tantras, which treat of ceremonies at the building of temples, erection of images of gods, etc.; Caryā-Tantras, which teach the practical cult ; Yoga-Tantras, which deal with the practice of Yoga, and Anuttarayoga-Tantras, which deal with higher mysticism.[4]

Among the first class of Tantras we have the Ādikarma-Pradīpa.[5] This is a work which, in the style of the

---

[1]) Cf. *Burnouf*, Introduction, pp. 465 ff., 486 ff., 578 f.; *Wassiljew*, Der Buddhismus, p. 201 ff.; *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mém. Acad. Belg., t. 55, 1898, pp. 72 ff., 130 ff., 162 ff.; Bouddhisme, pp. 343 ff., 378 ff.; OC Paris 1899, I, 241 ff.; ERE XII. 193 ff.; J. *Woodroffe*, Shakti and Shâkta, 2nd Ed., Madras, 1920, pp. 30, 116 ff.; J. N. *Farquhar*, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 209 ff., 272 f.; Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya* in Ind. Hist. Qu. III, 1927, p. 733 ff., and Sādhanamālā, II, Introduction. Extracts from texts of Tantras are contained in the anthology Subhāṣita-Saṃgraha, edited by C. *Bendall* in Le Muséon, N. S. IV, 1903, and V, 1904.

[2]) See above, pp. 309, 339.

[3]) See above, Vol. I, 591 ff.

[4]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin* in JRAS, 1901, p. 900 f.

[5]) Edited with Introduction and analysis of contents, by *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mém. Acad. Belg. 1898, pp. 177-232. The Kriyā-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā by Kuladatta, in which detailed prescriptions are given for the erection of monasteries (Vihāras) is most probably also a ritual work of similar nature. (Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 105 ff.), and Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in As. Soc. of Bengal, I, 119 ff.

Brahmanical manuals of ritual (Gṛhya-Sūtras, Karma-Pradīpas) describes the ceremonies and religious acts which the "Ādikarmika-Bodhisattva," *i.e.* the adherent of the Mahāyāna and candidate for enlightenment, has to perform. The work consists of a Sūtra text (Mūla-Sūtra) with a running commentary, and contains precepts on the initiation ceremonies for the disciple (who can be a layman or a monk), sprinklings, washings and prayers, rules for rinsing the mouth, cleaning the teeth, morning and evening devotions, offerings of water for the departed (Pretas), almsgiving, meals, worshipping of the Buddhas and other sacred beings, reading of the Prajñā-Pāramitā, meditations, and so on, as they are to be performed at the various times of the day by the candidate (the beginner as opposed to the accomplished Yogin).

The Aṣṭamīvrata-Vidhāna, too, which contains the rules for the ceremonies to be performed on every eighth day of every half month, belongs to the Kriyā-Tantra texts. Mystical diagrams and intertwinings of the fingers are employed, and sacrificial gifts and prayers (with mysterious syllables such as "hrum hrum hrum phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā") are addressed not only to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but to Śivaite deities also.[1]

In the Tantric ritual literature we have also the Sādhanas or works on magic ritual. These teach the methods by which a person can attain to Siddhi, *i.e.* "perfection" or mysterious powers, and become a Siddha, "an accomplished one." The virtue of these Siddhis is that the Siddha has the power of making himself small, large or light, at his own will, can penetrate into other bodies, can rise and move about in the air can converse with heavenly beings, can obtain everything he desires, can have gods and goddesses, men and women in his

[1] *Cf.* H. H. *Wilson*, Works, II, p. 31 ff.

power, has the power of healing diseases by merely looking at the sufferer, and also of attaining omniscience and Nirvāṇa at will. The methods taught in the Sādhanas consist of using the Mantras according to very detailed instructions, the use of certain positions of the fingers (Mudrās) ; and most specially is it emphasized that the Sādhaka is to become absorbed in meditation (Dhyāna) on some deity, and is to bring that deity before his mind in so intensive a fashion that he becomes entirely identified with it.[1] For the purposes of this identification it is essential that the deity be accurately described in every detail. These descriptions were utilised by the sculptors and painters in the construction of images of the gods. It is for this reason that the Sādhanas, which are collected in such works as the Sādhanamālā or Sādhana-Samuccaya,[2] are of the very greatest importance from the point of view of Buddhist iconography. The deities which are worshipped in these Sādhanas, are the Dhyāni-Buddhas and their " families," and also numerous forms of Tārā and other female deities. There is also a Buddhist god of love, Vajrānaṅga, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, who is invoked in Sādhanas (Nos. 59 and 60) where it is taught how a man can get a woman into his power. The essential content of the Sādhanas is magic. It is true that the preparations for the magic ritual also include Yoga exercises, meditations, devotion (pūjā), confession of sins, love (maitrī) and mercy (karuṇā). For this reason we find, for instance, in the very long

---

[1]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 406.

[2]) Sādhanamālā, ed. by Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya* in GOS, Nos. XXVI, XLI, Baroda 1925, 1928. *Cf.* F. W. *Thomas*, Deux collections Sanscrites et Tibétaines de Sādhanas, Muséon IV, 1903, No. 1; Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharyya* and K. S. Ramaswami *Sastri* in Ind. Hist. Qu. II, 1926, 626 ff. and III, 161 ff.; A. *Foucher*, Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique (Bibl. de l'école des hautes études 13, II, 1905); Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya*, The Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the Sādhanamālā and other cognate Tantric Texts and Rituals, Oxford, 1924.

Tārā-Sādhana,[1] not only meditations and Mantras, but also a confession of sins, the confession of faith in the "three jewels," the vow to walk in the path of the Buddhas, the Brahmavihāra absorptions, *i.e.* the yielding to the feelings of love, pity, sympathy in joy, and equanimity, together with detailed definitions of these qualities. The language of the Sādhanas is a very frequently defective Sanskrit, and the metre of the verses is very irregular. Of the 312 Sādhanas contained in the Sādhanamālā, some are in prose and are quite short, others are longer, with verse Mantras, and a few are entirely in verse. Every single Sādhana is an independent work. Most of them are anonymous, whilst in a number of cases, the name of the author of the Sādhana is mentioned. The authors mentioned in them belong to the 7th-11th centuries A.D., as far as their period can be determined. As a manuscript of the Sādhanamālā was written in the year 1165, the collection must have been compiled in the 11th century.

The authors mentioned in the Sādhanamālā also appear in other places as authors of Tantras. One Sādhana (No. 159 which is dedicated to the worship of the Prajñā-Pāramitā, is attributed to Asaṅga. It is scarcely feasible, however, that Asaṅga himself should already have written Tantric works, though there seems to be a historical connection between the Yogācāra school and the rise of the Vajrayāna.[2] The Nāgārjuna who is mentioned as the author of Sādhanas and

---

[1]) No. 98. Text and English translation by B. *Bhattacharyya*, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 169 ff.

[2]) Tāranātha (Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 201) says that Tantrism was handed down by secret means from the time of Asaṅga until the time of Dharmakīrti, and Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya* (Ind. Hist. Q. III, 736 f. and Sādhanamālā, III, pp. xxiii ff., xxvii f.) believes that Asaṅga actually had something to do with the rise of the Vajrayāna. It seems to me that Tāranātha's statement is accounted for by the mere fact that the adherents of the Vajrayāna had an interest in ascribing a greater antiquity to their doctrines. S. *Lévi* thought he could detect an allusion to Tantric rites in Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra IX, 46 (which he attributed to Asaṅga). I am unable to see this allusion.

numerous Tantric works, is not the founder of the Mādhyamika system, but a teacher, who probably lived about the middle of the 7th century. It is said of him that he brought a Sādhana from the land of Bhoṭa (Tibet ?). Many of his Tantric works are to be found in the Tanjur.[1] A great Tantra teacher, to whom a Sādhana is also attributed, is Indrabhūti (about 687-717 A.D.), the author of Jñānasiddhi and numerous other Tantric works.[2] He was a king of Uḍḍiyāna (Orissa ?) and father of Padmasambhava, the founder of Lamaism. Padmavajra,[3] whose Guhyasiddhi has come down to us in Sanskrit, was a contemporary of Indrabhūti. In this work, which is written in the "Sandhā-language,"[4] all the secret rites of the Vajrayāna are described and recommended. Lakṣmīṃkarā, who, in her Advayasiddhi, proclaimed novel, monistic doctrines, which were called Sahajayāna, and which are even at the present day prevalent among the Bāuls in Bengal, was a sister of Indrabhūti. She refutes asceticism, ceremonies and the worship of images, and recommends only meditation on the body in which all the gods dwell.[5] Another prominent Tantra authoress is Sahajayoginī Cintā (about 761 A.D.), and indeed it is no rare thing to find women among the writers of Tantric works.[6]

---

[1]) *Cf.* B. *Bhattacharyya*, Sādhanamālā II, pp. xlvi, cvi ff.

[2]) B. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., pp. xli ff., li ff., xcviii f. (23 of his works are translated in the Tanjur. In Sanskrit only the Kurukullā-Sādhana (Sādhanamālā No. 174) and the Jñānasiddhi have come down. On the latter (an edition is to appear in GOS) s. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., p. lii f.

[3]) B. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., pp. xxvii, xlvii ff.

[4]) Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* called this language Sandhyā-bhāṣā or "twilight-language," Panchcowrie *Banerjee* (Visva Bharati Quarterly, 1924, p. 265) called it the language of the borderland between the ancient Āryāvarta and the actual Bengal. Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya* (Ind. Hist. Q. IV, 1928, p. 287 ff.) has, however, shown that the correct name is Sandhā-bhāṣā, and means "intentional speech," *i.e.*, enigmatical speech in which a secret meaning is intended.

[5]) B. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., p. liv f.

[6]) B. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., pp. liv ff., lviii f.

The earliest Tantras are difficult to distinguish from the Mahāyāna-Sūtras. It may be that Mahāyāna doctrines mingled with Tantric rites, or perhaps works which were originally Sūtras, were remodelled into Tantras. Among the earlier Tantras we have the Tathāgata-Guhyaka or Guhya-samāja, which was a very authoritative work as early as in the 7th century. It was an authority for Indrabhūti,[1] and even in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya a Tathāgata-Guhya-Sūtra is quoted several times.[2] The passages quoted, however, teach a pure Mahāyāna morality, and appear to have been culled from a Mahāyāna-Sūtra rather than from a Tantra, for instance :

" In whom does the Will to Enlightenment arise, O Lord ? " He said : " In that one, O great king, who has formed the immutable resolve to obtain it." He said : " O Lord, and who has this immutable resolve ? " He said : " He, O great king, in whom the great pity has arisen." He said : " In whom, O Lord, has the great pity arisen ? " He said : " In him, O great king, who does not desert any living being." He said : " In what way, Lord, is no living being deserted ? " He said : " O great king, it is by renouncing one's own welfare."

In another passage it is explained : All beings are released from everything evil and from all ills by the contact of a Bodhisattva who is permeated with the Dharmakāya. This is illustrated by the parable of the " medicine girl : " [3]). Jīvaka the king of physicians, had taken all the medicaments and formed them into a girl. All the sick people who came to him, were then united with this girl, after which they were immediately healed.

---

[1]) According to one tradition, Asaṅga is even supposed to have written an introduction to the work. *Cf.* B. *Bhattacharyya*, l.c., pp. xxvii f., xxxv.

[2]) According to *Watters* (s. Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. O. *Bandell*, p. 274, note), the work cited by Śāntideva corresponds to the Chinese translation made in about the year 1000 A.D. [*Nanjio*, Nos. 23 (3), 1043], in which the title corresponds to a Tathāgatacintya-guhya-nirdeśa, and which is a Mahāyāna-Sūtra entirely different from the Tantra described by Rāj. *Mitra*. K. *Watanabe* (JRAS 1907, p. 664) says that Nanjio No. 1027 corresponds to the Śrīguhyasamāja-Tantrarāja, and adds : " Some parts of the original text which are not fit for publication as Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra indicates...are omitted in the Chinese."

[3]) A counterpart to the " poison girl " well known in narrative literature.

Then, in another quotation, the ten things are enumerated, by means of which a Bodhisattva acquires power : " Here, O great king, a Bodhisattva gives up his body and his life, but he does not give up the good religion. He bows his head before all beings, and does not allow his pride to rise. He has patience with the feeble beings and does not put any difficulties in their way. He gives the best, excellent food to those beings who are suffering from hunger. He gives security to those beings who fear. He is full of zeal for the complete healing of the sick. He satisfies the poor with riches. He repairs the shrines of the Tathāgata by lumps of plaster. He brings glad tidings to the beings. He shares his possessions with the poor and the unfortunate. He bears the burden of those who are weary and exhausted."[1])

It is true that the Tantra described by Rājendralāla Mitra[2]) also begins with instructions as to various kinds of meditation, but, for the most part, it merely teaches Mantras and Yantras, and as a means to the highest perfection the enjoyment of meat, as well as daily sexual intercourse with young and beautiful Caṇḍāla girls. Whether this Tantra is a later variant of an earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtra, or whether it is entirely different from the work cited in the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, can only be decided by a comparison of the Chinese translation with the Sanskrit manuscripts.[3])

The Pañcakrama[4]) is said to be an extract from the Guhyasamāja. It is an Anuttarayoga-Tantra, and deals more

---

[1]) Śikṣā-Samucccya, pp. 7 f., 158 f., 274.

[2]) Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 261 ff.

[3]) Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the...As. Soc. of Bengal, I, 1917, pp. 17-21 and 72) describes 3 MSS. of the work, in which the Vajrapāṇi-Guhyakādhipati and the Bodhisattva Śāntimati appear in conversation. Śāntimati is also addressed in a quotation in Śikṣā-Samuccaya, p. 242. H. *Śāstrī* assumes that the earliest of the three parts of the work is a Mahāyāna-Vaipulya-Sūtra, whilst the later parts belong to the Vajrayāna. *Cf.* also B. *Bhattacharyya* in Ind. Hist. Q. III, pp. 737, 742 f. and Sādhanamālā II, pp. xxvii f., xxxv.

[4]) Edited, with an Introduction, by *La Vallée Poussin*, Études et Textes Tantriques (Recueil de Travaux publiés par la faculté de philosophie et lettres, Université de Gand, fasc. 16), Gand et Louvain 1896. *Cf. Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 497 ff. *La Vallée Poussin* in OC Genève 1894, I, pp. 137-146. and Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mém.

with Yoga than with the actual Tantric usages. As the name implies, the Pañcakrama is a presentation of the "five stages," the last of which is the final possession of the highest Yoga. The preliminary stages consist of the purification of body, speech and mind, so that these receive the "diamond nature" [1] of the body, the speech and the mind of the Buddhas. However, the means for attaining the five stages are magic circles, magic formulas, mysterious syllables and the worshipping of Mahāyānist and Tantric deities. In this manner, the Yogin reaches the highest stage of all, where all differences cease and where no duality of any kind exists. Of this Yogin it is said (VI, 30 ff.):

"He feels towards his enemy as towards himself; his mother is to him as his wife; a harlot is to him as his mother; a Brahman woman is to him as a Ḍombī (a female musician of the lowest caste); the skin of an animal is to him as a garment; a blade of straw is like a precious stone, wine is like urine, food is like mud, an insult like a hymn of praise, Indra like Rudra, day like night, what he has seen is like a dream, things which exist are like things which have been destroyed, pain is like pleasure, his son is like a rascal, heaven is like hell—and thus even good and evil are one and the same to him."

Śākyamitra is mentioned as the author of Section III of the work, which consists of five sections: the other four sections are attributed to Nāgārjuna, which probably means the Tantra writer of this name (see above, pp. 392 f.). Śākyamitra is mentioned by Tāranātha as a contemporary of Devapāla of Bengal (about 850 A.D.).[2]

A work which describes itself as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Mahāyāna-Sūtra and as belonging to the Avataṃsaka, is the

---

Ac. Belg. 1898, p. 146: "manuel qui se présente comme un extrait ou résumé du Guhya samāja-Tantra."

[1] For the nature of Vajra, see above p. 388.

[2] A Pañcakramopadeśa Śrīghaṇṭa is mentioned in the Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society, by E. B. *Cowell* and J. *Eggeling* (JRAS, 1876, reprint p. 28).

Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa.[1] Nevertheless, as far as its contents are concerned, the work is entirely in the spirit of the Mantrayāna. In the major portion of the work, Śākyamuni speaks in a large assembly, but addresses himself only to Mañjuśrī. In the first three chapters Mañjuśrī himself speaks, and in the last two chapters the goddess Vijayā. Śākyamuni gives Mañjuśrī instructions as to magic rites with Mantras, Mudrās, Maṇḍalas, etc. In Chap. IX, for instance, the "great king of sciences," the Mantra of Mañjuśrī, is taught, which includes all sciences within itself, by means of which one can attain all things, which destroys all the Mantras of evil-doers, blots out all sins, etc.—this is the "kllhuṃ" Mantra. In Chapter XIV the same powers are claimed for the "bhrūṃ" Mantra. There is very little trace of Buddhism in this manual of magic, though the worship of the "three jewels" is mentioned in Chap. 47. The work was translated into Chinese as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Sūtra between 980 and 1000 A.D. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century.[2]

The (Ekallavīra-) Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-Tantra[3] explains on the one hand (in Chapt. XVI) the Pratītya-Samutpāda according to the philosophical doctrines of the Mahāyāna,[4] whilst on the other hand, the cult of Yoginīs, such as

---

[1]) Edited by T. Gaṇapati *Śāstrī* in TSS, Nos. LXX and LXXVI, 1920, 1922. *Cf.* J. *Przyluski* in BEFEO, t. XXIII, 1923, p. 301 ff. and B. *Bhattacharyya*, Sādhanamālā II, p. xxxivf.

[2]) *Körös* in AMG II, 313 f. It is frequently cited by Tibetan scholars. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī also occurs in the titles of other Tantra works. The Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti (edited by *Minayeff* in his Russian work on Buddhism, Petrograd 1887) admits of a double interpretation, one purely philosophical and the other Tantric with allusions to Śākta rites. Thus according to *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE XII, 194.

[3]) Considerable extracts from MSS. of the work, are given by Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. in...the As. Soc. of Bengal, I, pp. 131-141. Caṇḍa-roṣaṇa is an emanation of Akṣobhya. On his secret cult see B. *Bhattacharyya*, Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 60 ff.

[4]) See *La Vallée Poussin*, Théorie des douze causes, 1913, p. 125 ff.; JRAS, 1897, 466 ff.; OC XI, Paris, I, 244; ERE XII, 196.

Mohavajrī, Piśunavajrī, Rājavajrī, etc., and that of female deities with sexual actions, are recommended.

It is shown how the six perfections can be attained by means of sexual union. In one passage Bhagavatī asks : [1]) " O Lord, can the dwelling of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa be attained without a woman, or is that not possible ? " The Lord said : " That is not possible, O goddess."..." Enlightenment is attained by means of bliss, and there is no bliss without a woman "....." I am the son of Māyā, and I have assumed the form of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa; you are the exalted Gopā, [2]) who are one with the Prajñā-Pāramitā. And all women in the universe, are regarded as incarnations of her, and all men as incarnations of myself."

The ritual of the " great bliss " (mahāsukha) is described in the Śrīcakrasambhāra-Tantra,[3]) which we have only in Tibetan. The book teaches the Mantras, the meditations, the pictures of the divine couples which one has to present to one's mind, the sacrificial ritual and the symbolical significance of the Mantras connected with the Mahāsukha.

As regards the immoral character of this literature and these cults, we should neither exaggerate it, nor should we seek to deny it. There is no doubt that the ritual of the Vajrayāna has led to gross abuses; on the other hand, we must admit that it has a mystic, philosophical background. The Vajrayāna teaches a monistic philosophy. Just as Śiva and Pārvatī are one, Buddha and his Śakti, Tārā or Bhagavatī or Prajñā-Pāramitā, are one. This unity is symbolised figuratively by the intimate embrace (yuganaddha, Tibetan

---

[1]) " The Exalted One (feminine)" is the personified Prajñā-Pāramitā, wisdom conceived as a goddess. On strīpūjā, *cf.* Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* in JASB, Vol. 67, 1898, p. 175.

[2]) Gopā is the consort of Gotama. Because the accomplished Buddha, before he withdrew from the world in order to attain to Bodhi, was happy in the harem united to Gopā, sexual union is also recommended to his adherents as a means of attaining to Bodhi.

[3]) Ed. by *Kazi Dawa-Samdup* in Tantrik Texts, Vols. VII (Introduction and English translation) and XI (Tibetan text). *Cf.* H. *Zimmer*, Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild, Berlin 1926, 67 f., 74 ff.

yabyum) of the gods and goddesses, who, for the most part, are merely male and female personifications of abstract ideas. The sexual union, in which the man is regarded as the incarnation of Buddha, and the woman as that of Bhagavatī, in reality serves the same symbolical purpose as those pictures in the cult.[1]

In his "History of Buddhism in India," Tāranātha[2] gives us a good idea of the spirit of the Tantra Buddhism. Though he also speaks of Mahāyāna and Tripiṭaka, of Buddhist science and Buddhist self-sacrifice, it is nevertheless Siddhi, the magic art acquired by means of Mantras and Tantra rites, which plays by far the more prominent part. Just as the contents of the Tantras present a medley of Buddhism and Hinduism, of religion, philosophy, occultism and magic, popular belief and hair-splitting, erudite argumentation, truly Indian cults and cults savouring of foreign influence, thus, the history of Buddhist Tantra literature too, is a very complex one. When Tāranātha says that at the time of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, that is to say, from the 9th to the 11th century, Yoga and magic were paramount in Buddhism, his statement is probably not far from the truth. Most likely the Buddhist Tantras did not come into being until the 7th or 8th century under the influence of the Śivaite Tantras, and belong to the period at which Buddhism was almost entirely assimilated to Hinduism. The very names of the deities in the Buddhist Tantras betray their dependence upon the Śivaite Tantras. The Mahākāla-Tantra is in the form of a dialogue between Śākyamuni and a goddess, and it is said that it was "proclaimed by Buddha." However, it contains

---

[1]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin,* Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Mém. 1898, p. 141 ff.

[2]) Tāranātha was born in 1573, and completed his work, which was written on the basis of Indian and Tibetan sources, in the year 1608. Translated into German by A. *Schiefner.* He describes regular competitions in magic (*e.g.*, on p. 189 ff.).

explanations as to the mystical significance of the letters of which the name Mahākāla, *i.e.*, Śiva, is composed, and on the means of finding hidden treasures, gaining a kingdom, obtaining the desired wife, and even Mantras and magic rites, by which one can make people insane, enslave them, and kill them.[1] The Saṃvarodaya-Tantra, again, in spite of the form of a dialogue between Buddha and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, is more of a Śivaite than a Buddhist work. The Liṅga cult and the worshipping of Śivaite gods are expressly recommended in it.[2]

The lands where Tantrism was the most widespread, and perhaps where it originated, are Assam and Bengal.[3] From the 8th century onwārds it proceeded from this territory in a veritable triumph to Tibet and China, where it mingled with native cults. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra went to China in about 720 A.D., and contributed largely towards the propagation of the Tantras.[4] In Japan, where only the Mantrayāna, and not the Vajrayāna, obtained a footing, the Shin-go sect takes its stand upon the Tantras.[5] In the later Tantras we again find traces of Tibetan and Chinese influences, and in the case of some cults, it is expressly stated that they were brought from Cīna (China) or Mahācīna (Tibet). In the Tārā-Tantra Buddha and Vasiṣṭha are described as great Bhairavas. Buddha was a form of Viṣṇu, and obtained the position of a creator, after his initiation into the Mantras of Ugra-Tārā. Tārā is Buddha's Śakti, and a

---

[1] *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 480; Rāj. *Mitra*, Nep. Buddh. Lit., p. 172 f.; E. B. *Cowell* and J. *Eggeling*, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS., p. 37 f.

[2]) *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 479 ff.

[3]) *Cf.* B. *Bhattacharyya* in Ind. Hist. Q. III, 744; Buddhist Iconography, p. xxvii; Proceedings of Madras Or. Conf. p. 133; Sādhanamālā II, p. xxxvi ff.

[4]) *Cf.* L. *Wieger*, Histoire des croyances religieuses et des opinions philosophiqes en Chine, 1922, p. 535 ff. The most important text of Mantra-Buddhism in China, namely the Mahā-Vairocana-Abhi-Sambodhi, was brought to China by Śubhakarasiṃha (died in 735 A.D.); s. *Anesaki* in ERE IV, 840.

[5]) B. *Nanjio*, Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, p. 78 ff.

form a wisdom (Prajñā). Vasiṣṭha, however, is said to have learned the knowledge of Tārā in Cīna from the lips of Buddha. The Tantric manual Tārā-rahasya by Brahmānanda also teaches the cult of Tārā in agreement with the usages of Mahācīna.[1] At this late period it also occasionally happened that the Hindu Tantras were influenced by the Buddhist ones.[2] It is related in the Hindu Tantras Rudrayāmala and Brahmayāmala that Vasiṣṭha, in spite of all his ascetic endeavours, did not succeed in causing the goddess Pārvatī to appear to him. In the end his Guru tells him that he should go to Mahācīna, the land of the Buddhas. He follows this advice, and seeks the help of Mahādeva Buddharūpa, who teaches him the Pañcatattva ritual.[3] Tantras still continued to be written even in very late times. Thus for instance there is a Kālacakra,[4] which already mentions Mecca and Islam.

The Sanskrit in which the Tantras are written, is, as a rule, just as barbarous as their contents. Inferior as they may be from the literary point of view, they are nevertheless extremely important owing to their great popularity over a wide area, and the great influence which they exerted over the spiritual life of Western India and of considerable portions of Asia.

---

[1]) On Tārā-Tantra and Tārā-Rahasya, s. Haraprasāda *Śāstrī*, Notes of Sanskrit MSS., 2nd Series, I, 1900, pp. xxix f., xxxii f. Thus the cult of Mañjuśrī was taken from India to China, but became so oppular there, that people in India said Mañjuśrī lived in China, and his cult was then again taken from China to Nepal. I-tsing (Record, transl. by J. *Takakusu*, p. 169) calls attention to an Indian book, probably a Tantra, in which China is praised because it is the home of Mañjuśrī. Cf. *La Vallée Poussin* in ERE VIII, 405 f.

[2]) It is, however, quite contrary to the facts, when B. *Bhattacharyya* (Sādhanamālā II, pp. lxvi ff., lxxviii) assumes that the Tantras first came into existence in Buddhism, and went over into Hinduism afterwards.

[3]) Cf. *Woodroffe*, Shakti and Shâkta, p. 104 ff.

[4]) Only extant in Tibetan, s. *Burnouf*, Introduction, p. 480 f.

Buddhist Literature and Universal Literature.

Just as Buddhism became one of the great religions of the world, a great part of Buddhist literature belongs to universal literature. We have already seen, on various occasions, that Buddhist fables, anecdotes, fairy tales and legends not only migrated to the Far East with Buddhism, but also frequently have their parallels in European literatures, though it is not always certain that the Buddhist narratives migrated to Europe, for the reverse may sometimes have been the case.[1] We have also seen that the Buddha legend has some features in common with the legend of Christ,[2] and that certain speeches and parables in the Suttas of the Tipiṭaka and the Mahāyāna Sūtras are, more or less strikingly, reminiscent of passages in the Christian gospels.[3]

The question as to how far these points of agreement between Buddhist and Christian literature actually exist, and what significance is due to them, is sufficiently important to warrant our treating of them once more as a whole. Are they more or less accidental similarities, resemblances which may be explained by the fact that the respective legends, similes and utterances have arisen out of the same situations and religious moods, or is it a question of the actual dependence of the one literature upon the other? Were the Christian gospels influenced by the Buddhist sacred texts, which date from pre-Christian times? Or were later Buddhist texts, like the Lalita-Vistara and the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, influenced by the Christian gospels? These questions have repeatedly been the subject of research and have been answered in most varying ways.

---

[1]) See above, pp. 64 note 2, 109 note 2, 126 f., 130 f., 132 note 2, 134 ff., 150, notes 2, 3, 4, 193 f., 200 f., 214 f.

[2]) See above, pp. 97 notes 1 and 2, 252 note 1, 286 note 4.

[3]) See above, pp. 29 note 1, 74 note 1, 299 note 1.

Rudolf Seydel,[1] in particular, thought he could prove such numerous coincidences between the Buddha legend and the life of Jesus according to the gospels, that he framed the hypothesis that the Evangelists, besides using an "original text" of St. Matthew and an "original text" of St. Mark, had also made use of a poetical gospel, Christian though influenced by Buddhism, and had taken from this all those legends, parables and utterances which have parallels in the Buddhist texts. He considered this hypothesis to be necessary, because the points of agreement (in his opinion) do not appear singly but massed together, and actually form groups, indeed, a connected whole. A single stick, he says, can easily be broken, but it is more difficult to break a bundle, or indeed a bundle of bundles. This is well said! But if the stick is no stick, but only the phantom of a stick, then even a bundle, or a bundle of bundles of such "sticks" is of no use to us. In reality it is not difficult to show, and has repeatedly been shown, that the majority of the "parallels" indicated by Seydel will not bear closer examination.

The Dutch scholar *G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga*[2] has approached the problem of the Indian influences on the Christian gospels far more cautiously than Seydel. He begins by eliminating everything which could easily be explained by the similarity of circumstances under which the texts originated, similarity of religious development, and finally on general human grounds. Nevertheless, even according to this scholar there still remain actual parallels which can only be explained as loans. He is, however, of opinion that we are

[1]) Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre, Leipzig 1882; Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien, erneute Prüfung ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses, 2. Aufl. mit ergänzenden Anmerkungen von Martin Seydel, Weimar 1897.

[2]) Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen, Göttingen 1904, 2. Aufl. 1909. (I quote from this edition.)

not justified in assuming that there was any dependence upon written texts, but by mere oral transmission at the time of the Roman Empire, Indian subjects, themes and ideas reached the West, and certain of these features were borrowed in the formation of the legends of the earliest Christianity. Of the 51 parallels which Seydel believed to have found, Bergh van Eysinga regards only nine as worthy of discussion, and only six as more or less important.

What Seydel undertook to produce with inadequate material, for Buddhist literature was but very incompletely known in his day, namely, a "Buddhist-Christian Gospel Concordance," was once again attempted later, on the basis of a far more accurate knowledge of the Pāli and Sanskrit texts, by the American scholar *Albert J. Edmunds*.[1] He expressly states that he is not out to prove the dependence of the Christian sacred scriptures upon the Buddhist texts, but only to compare the two religions, "as such a comparison will finally have the effect of making them respect each other." Nevertheless he inclines to the view that Christianity, as the more eclectic religion, borrowed from Buddhism, and that St. Luke, in particular, was acquainted with a Buddha-epic. On the other hand, it is precisely Edmunds' comprehensive collection of all the passages in both literatures which can possibly be dragged in, as it were, for comparison, which shows most clearly, firstly, that there is no instance in which a loan on the part of the four gospels must necessarily be assumed, secondly, that in most instances there is only a similarity of ideas, which does not presuppose a literary connection, and thirdly, that in the best cases, only a possibility of mutual influence can be admitted, and that this *possibility* amounts

[1]) Buddhist and Christian Gospels now first compared from the Originals by A. J. *Edmunds*, edited by M. *Anesaki*, 4th Ed., Philadelphia 1908-9; A. J. *Edmunds*, Buddhist Texts quoted as Scripture by the Gospel of John, 2nd Ed., Philadelphia-London 1911; and Buddhist Loans to Christianity in The Monist, January 1912, p. 129 ff.

to *probability* only in very few cases. Very frequently, indeed, Edmunds' comparison of the texts shows how very much greater the differences are than the points of contact.

We need only to read the texts, compared by Edmunds,[1] on the miraculous conception and birth of Christ and of Buddha, and the differences become obvious. It is true that there are miracles in both cases ; but as the history of religion, mythology and folk-lore teach us, the birth of great men is attended by miracles everywhere. Greek mythology affords far closer parallels to the virgin birth than does the Buddhist legend.[2] As a matter of fact, Buddha is conceived and born of a married queen, and not of a virgin at all. Again, the texts about the temptation of Buddha by Māra and of Christ by Satan[3] show more differences than points of agreement, and the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahriman proves that it cannot be a question of the mere borrowing of texts, but at most a matter of connections in religious history, harking back to far earlier times. Likewise in the legend of the transfiguration of Jesus, as compared with the account in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta of the radiance of the Buddha's body, I can see only a striking parallel, of great interest from the point of view of the history of religion, but not a loan from Buddhist literature.[4]

---

[1]) 1, 107 f., 167 ff.; St. Luke I, 35; Majjhimanikāya 38 and 123.

[2]) *Cf.* H. *Gunkel*, Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen 1903, p. 65 ff.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 31 f.; *Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende ? 194 ff.; *Haas*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende ? 17 ff.; W. *Printz* in ZDMG 78, 1925, 119 ff.

[3]) *Edmunds*, I, 198 ff.; also *Pischel*, Leben und Lehre des Buddha, p. 26 f., denies the connection in this instance. Similarly *Götz*, "Der Katholik" 1912 (IV, 9), 435 ff.; *Beth*, Theolog. Studien und Kritiken 1916, 202 ff.; *Carpenter*, Buddhism and Christianity, p. 180; and E. *Leumann*, Buddha und Mahāvīra, reprinted from ZB 1921, p. 60 ff. On the other hand, *Garbe*, loc. cit., 50 ff., regards the points of agreement as so striking, that he deems it necessary to trace the Gospel narrative back to the Buddhist temptation stories, "for a devil in the flesh does not appear anywhere else in the Bible, but occurs constantly in the Buddhist Canon." *Cf.* J. *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 1915, 441 f.

[4]) *Edmunds*, II, 123 ff.; Mark IX, 2 ff.; Luke IX, 30 f.; *Rhys Davids*, Dialogues

In his comprehensive work[1] on Indian influences on Christianity and Christian influences on the Indian religions, *Richard Garbe* assumes a loan from Buddhist tradition on the part of Gospel narratives, in four cases only : the story of Simeon in the temple, the legend of the temptation, St. Peter walking on the sea, and the miracle of the loaves. With regard to the parallel to the "widow's mite," Garbe assumes that the Christian legend is the original one, and that it was taken over by the Buddhists.

It will never be possible to give a conclusive answer to these questions. Any decision in this matter is more or less subjective, for parallels are never equations. In each instance there are both resemblances and divergences. In the vast mass of literature which has accumulated on this problem and which is well-nigh overwhelming,[2] some scholars

---

of the Buddha, II, p. 146 ; *Dutoit*, Leben des Buddha, p. 283 f. *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 73, alludes to the transfiguration of Moses (Exodus XXXIV, 29 ff.).

[1]) Indien und das Christentum, Tübingen 1914. In his earlier studies (Deutsche Rundschau, Vol. 144, 1910, 73 ff., Vol. 149, 1911, 122 ff., and Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity, Chicago 1911), *Garbe* had taken up a more sceptical attitude. Joh. B. *Aufhauser*, Buddha und Jesus in ihren Paralleltexten, Bonn 1926, has confronted the parallel texts, giving the Gospel legends in the Greek text and the Indian legends in German translations, for the cases treated by *Garbe*.

[2]) *Cf.* Hans *Haas*, Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus und Christentum (Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinst. f. vergl. Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig No. 6) and *Aufhauser*, Buddha und Jesus, Introduction. Besides *Seydel*, *Bergh van Eysinga*, *Edmunds* and *Garbe*, other supporters of the theory of the dependence of the canonical Gospels upon the Buddhist texts or traditions, are H. *Kern* (DLZ 1882, col. 1276) and R.O. *Franke* (DLZ 1901, col. 2757 ff.), who have a prehistoric ("Aryan") connection in mind; also : O. *Pfleiderer*, Die Entstehung des Christentums, 2 Aufl., München 1907, p. 198 f., Ernst *Kuhn* in the Appendix to Bergh van Eysinga's work (p. 102 ff.) and R. *Pischel* (DLZ 1904, col. 2938 ff.) who confidently asserts: "The question as to whether Indian influences are at all to be found in the narrative literature of the Gospels can no longer be denied at the present day"; also K. E. *Neumann*, Reden Gotamo Buddho's III, 112, 256 note, 258 note, 259 note, 260 note, 334 note and elsewhere (cf. the criticism of *Günter*, Buddha, 259 ff.); K. *Seidenstücker* in his German translation of Udāna II, 8; VII, 9; VIII 5; 9; 10 and introduction p. xxii; in a few cases also H. *Haas*, "Das Scherflein der Witwe" and seine Entsprechuug in Tripiṭaka, Leipzig 1922 (Veröffentlichungen etc. No. 5) and Buddha in der abandländischen Legende? Leipzig 1923 (Veröffentlichungen etc. No. 9). A. *Weber* (Griechen in Indien, SBA 1890,

emphasize above all, the divergences, whilst others lay stress upon the resemblances. The question of chronology, moreover, can rarely be decided in such a way as to exclude all doubt. All that can be said with certainty [1] is that, centuries before the birth of Christ, numerous trade connections and manifold intellectual relations were already in existence between India and the West, and that there is a possibility of Christianity's having been influenced by Buddhism. We also know that, from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., representatives of various religions, Syrian Christians, Zoroastrians and Buddhists, met one another, especially in Eastern Turkestan. At this period it was just as much possible for Christian themes to find their way into Buddhist tales, as for Buddhist ideas to

---

p. 928 f.) and H. *Oldenberg* (Theolog. Litztg. 1905, col. 65 ff., Aus dem alten Indien, p. 47 f.) regard it as an open question. An entirely or almost entirely negative attitude is taken up by T. W. *Rhys Davids*, SBE XI, 165 f.; J. Estlin *Carpenter*, The first three Gospels, their Origin and Relations, 2nd Ed., London 1890, pp. 136 ff., 161 ff., 174 ff., 203 ff., 237 f.; "Buddhist and Christian Parallels" in "Studies in the History of Religions" presented to Crawford Howell Toy, New York, 1912 (not accessible to me) and Buddhism and Christianity (Londen 1923), p. 179 f.; E. *Hardy*, Der Buddhismus, new ed. by Rich. *Schmidt*, Münster i. W. 1919, p. 175 ff.; E. W. *Hopkins*, India Old and New, New York and London 1902, p. 120 ff.; E. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, pp. 60 ff., 214 ff., 312 and Buddha's Geburt, p. 195 ff.; *La Vallée Poussin*, Revue biblique 1906, p. 353 ff., Bouddhisme, p. 5 ff.; L'histoire des religions de l'Inde et l'Apologétique, London 1912 (not accessible to me); S. *Lévi* in Revue critique 1908, N. S. 65, p. 382; A.B. *Keith* in JRAS 1910, 213 f.; History of Sanskrit Lit., 501 ff.; Edv. *Lehmann*, Der Buddhismus als indische Sekte als Weltreligion, Tübingen 1911, p. 78 ff.; G. *Faber*, Buddhistische und Neutestamentliche Erzählungen, Leipzig 1913; A. *Götz* in "Der Katholik" 1912 (IV, 9), 74 ff., 254 ff.; (IV 10), 16 ff.; 1915, 363 ff.; Karl *Beth* in DLZ 1915, 893 ff., 957 ff. and Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1916, 169 ff.; Carl *Clemen* in Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wiss. 1916, 128 ff.; DLZ 1917, 668 ff.; OZ IX, 185 ff. and RGG I, 1332 ff.; Joh. B. *Aufhauser*, Christentum und Buddhismus im Ringen um Fernasien, Bonn and Leipzig 1922, p. 349 ff.; Edward J. *Thomas*, The Life of Buddha, 1927, p. 237 ff. J. *Kennedy* (JRAS 1917, 209 ff., 469 ff.) seeks the origin of all legends in the West. H. *Günter* (Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? Leipzig 1922) is inclined to explain all the Buddhist-Christian parallels on the grounds of the "relationship of life," *i.e.* the similarity of religious moods and experiences in the two religions; R. *Fick* in GGA 1924, p. 172 ff. agrees with him, but is more in favour of a "non liquet."

[1]) *Cf. Bergh van Eysinga*, loc. cit., 88 ff.; *Edmunds*, Buddhist and Christian Gospels, I, pp. 111-164, and R. *Stübe* "Indien und der Westen," in M. Kern's "Das Licht des Ostens," p. 242 ff.

be incorporated in Christian legends. On the other hand, it is very improbable that Christian ideas penetrated to India as early as in the 1st century A.D. It is true that J. *Dahlmann* [1] was at pains to prove that there is an historical basis for the Acts of St. Thomas, that a Christian mission was at work in Northern India as early as the 1st century A.D., and that Mahāyāna Buddhism developed under Christian influence—but his arguments are by no means convincing. The mention of historical names, such as Gundaphorus and Gad only proves that the background of the legend is historical, but not that the nucleus of the legend itself is necessarily so. There is not the least proof of Christian missions in India in the 1st century, and it is highly improbable that Christianity influenced the origin of the Mahāyāna.[2] It is not likely that anything much about Christians was known in India prior to the 3rd century.[3] It must be admitted, however, that the Buddhist texts can scarcely ever be dated with any degree of certainty. Moreover we have always to reckon with the possibility that a legend might have originated at an early period, even though it was not written down until later. We see, then, that these are very complex questions, and each case must be decided on its own merits. It is only such elaborate monographs as those of *Hans Haas* [4] on the "widow's mite" and *William Norman Brown* [5] on the miracle of walking on the sea, which can pave the way for a tolerably satisfactory result.

---

[1]) Indische Fahrten, Freiburg i.B. 1908, II, 100, 129 ff., 152 ff.; Die Thomas-Legende, Freiburg i.B. 1912; cf. Alfons *Väth*, Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens, Aachen 1925, and J. *Charpentier*, The Apostle of India, in Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift 1927, 21 ff.

[2]) *Cf. Winternitz* in DLZ 1913, 1750 ff. and *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, 128 ff., 159 ff.

[3]) *Cf.* A. *Harnack*, Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, 4. Aufl. Leipzig 1924, p. 698.

[4]) " Das Scherflein der Witwe " (s. above p. 406 note 2).

[5]) The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water, The Open Court Company, Chicago, London 1928.

The Buddhist parallel to the story of the "widow's mite" is the legend of the poor girl who gives the monks the whole of her possessions, two copper coins which she has found in the dust-heap, and is praised for it by Buddha, her gift being valued as highly as that of the rich man who gives all his estates and treasures as alms. She does not go without a reward for her good deed, for soon afterwards she is discovered by a passing king, who immediately falls in love with her and makes her his queen. There is no doubt that the Buddhist narrative, in the form in which we know it from the Chinese translation of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā,[1] is far inferior to the Gospel story, so beautiful in its simplicity, of the widow's two mites. As the Buddhist tale is first attested by the Chinese translation of 402 A.D., and can scarcely be earlier than 200 A.D., it is not impossible that the Buddhists learned it from Christians, and made it end like a fairy tale. It is also possible, however, that an earlier and better form of the Buddhist legend has been lost. The agreement with regard to so small a detail as the "*two* mites" makes it highly probable, nevertheless, that the Buddhist and Christian stories did not originate independently of each other.

Similarly, the parallel to St. Peter's walking on the sea, is not found until the time of the later Buddhist literature: we have it in the Jātaka commentary. Just as in Matth. XIV, 28 ff. St. Peter walks on the sea, and begins to sink as soon as his faith wavers, similarly, in the "Story of the present" of Jātaka No. 190, a believing layman walks across the river as long as he thinks joyfully of Buddha, and begins to sink as soon as this joyful mindfulness of Buddha diminishes at the sight of the waves. In this instance the details

[1]) Sūtrālaṃkāra, trad. Huber, p. 119 ff.; Mark XII, 41 ff.; Luke XXI, 1 ff.; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 50 ff.; *Lehmann*, loc. cit., p. 88 ff.; *Götz* in "Der Katholik" 1912 (IV, 10), 18 f.; *Clemen* in OZ IX, 186 f., 199 f.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum 33 f.; *Haas*, l. c.

coincide so strikingly, that it is highly improbable that the two legends originated independently of each other. As the Indian legend is not an isolated one, whilst as far as the New Testament is concerned, it occurs only in St. Matthew, it is very likely that the Christian legend was derived from an Indian source. We must assume, it is true, that the narrative which has come down to us in the Jātaka commentary, is based upon a much earlier tradition.[1]

Again, the parallel to the miracle of the feeding of the multitude, does not occur earlier than in the Jātaka commentary. Just as Jesus feeds 5,000 people with five loaves and two fishes, the Buddhist narrative tells us that 500 monks were fed with a cake which increased of itself. There is, however, a considerable difference between the two. In the Gospel we have a miracle which Jesus performs in order to feed a multitude of poor people, and in which he raises his eyes to heaven, and blesses, whilst in the Jātaka commentary we have a comical, not to say silly, fairy-tale, in which the miracle is performed by a saint in order to convert a miser. Indeed, the miracle of Jesus has more in common with the miraculous feeding of the children of Israel with quails and manna (Exodus XVI, cf. Numbers XI, 31 f.) than with the Buddhist fairy-tale.[2] There is also an account of a miracle of feeding in

---

[1]) *Cf.* W. N. *Brown*, loc. cit.; *Edmunds* II, 257 f.; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 52 ff.; *Carpenter*, First Three Gospels, p. 203 ff.; Buddhism and Christianity, p. 180; *Garbe*, Contributions, p. 12 f.; Indien und das Christentum, 56 ff.; *Götz*, l. c., 19 ff.; *Beth* in DLZ 1915, col. 1900; Theolog. Studien 1916, 214 ff.; *Clemen* in Zeitschr. für die neutestamentliche Forschung 1916, 137; *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 441; *Günter*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? 218 f.; *Haas*, Buddha in der abendländ. Legende? 25 f.

[2]) Matth. XIV, 16 ff.; XV, 32 ff.; Jātaka, No. 78. *Cf. Edmunds* II, 253 ff.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, 59 f.; *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 441; *Carpenter*, Buddhism and Christianity, p. 180; *Clemen* in OZ IX, 185 f.; Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wiss. 1916, 137 f.; *Beth* in DLZ 1915, 900 f.; Theolog. Studien 1916, 219 ff.; *Günter*, l.c., p. 214; *Haas*, "Scherflein der Witwe," 37 f. The Rasavāhinī, in which similar legends occur (*Lehmann*, l.c., p. 90 ff.) is quite a late work (see above, p. 224 f.). In his book "Unter Brahmanen und Parias," Leipzig 1923, p. 68 f., J. A. *Sauter* tells of a miracle

the Mahāyāna-Sūtra Vimala-Kīrti-Nirdeśa.[1] Many Bodhisattvas have assembled for a pious conversation. It is time for the meal, and by his miraculous power, Vimalakīrti causes a being from the world of sweet perfumes to produce a tiny fragment of food, which satisfies the whole assembly, and yet does not grow smaller. This miraculous feeding differs as widely from that of the Jātaka as it does from that of the Gospel. Finally, if we remind ourselves of the fairy-tale motif of "Table, fill thyself!", which has its counterpart even in the Mahābhārata[2] in the self-filling pot which was the gift of the sun-god, we shall come to the conclusion that all these miracles of feeding are but variations of a motif which could quite well crop up afresh as a new invention at different times and in different places.

There is a far more striking similarity between the legend of Asita and that of Simeon in St. Luke. In spite of some differences, which, here too, are undeniable, I regard it as fairly probable that the author of the Christian narrative was acquainted with the Buddhist legend.[3] It is possible, too, that there is a connection between the legend of Buddha who, as a boy, goes apart from his companions, and after being missed by his family, is found absorbed in deep meditation, and the story of the twelve-year old Jesus who, instead of returning to Nazareth with his parents, remains behind in the temple in Jerusalem and converses with the teachers.[4] I

---

of feeding which he says he witnessed himself, on the part of Dayanandi Svami, who fed and satisfied twenty guests with two handfuls of rice.

[1]) Communicated by *Haas*, "Das Scherflein der Witwe," p. 89 ff.

[2]) See above, Vol. I, p. 346 f.

[3]) See above, p. 96 f. *Cf. Bergh van Eysinga*, 28 ff.; *Edmunds* I, 181 ff.; *Pischel* in DLZ 1904, 2938 ff.; *Garbe*, l.c., 48 ff.; *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 441. The divergences between the two legends are emphasized by *Götz* in "Der Katholik" 1912 (IV, 9), 429 ff.; *Beth* in DLZ 1915, 898 f.; Theolog. Studien 1916, 192 ff.; *Clemen* in Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wiss. 1916, 134 f.; *Carpenter*, Buddhism and Christianity, 179 f.; and by *Günter*, l. c., p. 203 f. (on the other hand, cf. *Haas*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? 24).

[4]) St. Luke II, 41 ff.; Lalita-Vistara XI; Nidāna-Kathā, Jātaka Ed., p. 58; *Rhys*

also consider it within the realm of possibility that the beatification of the mother of the Lord by a woman in St. Luke XI, 27f. is connected with that in the Nidāna-Kathā.[1]

It is less probable that the parable of the "prodigal son" in the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka is connected with that in St. Luke. Even Seydel[2] says: "The parable of the 'Lotus' has in reality nothing in common with the Christian parable, except that a wandering son returns in poverty, and above all, the tendency of the comparison is entirely different in the two parallels." Also the similarity between the legend of Jesus and the woman of Samaria in the Gospel of St. John, and that of Ānanda and the pariah girl in the Divyāvadāna is none too great.[3] Besides, in both cases they are Buddhist texts of post-Christian times.

Even the death of Christ has been compared with Buddha's entrance into Nirvāṇa. Seydel has pointed out that both events are accompanied by an earthquake, while Edmunds goes so far as to emphasize the fact that Jesus and Buddha both die in the open-air![4] And yet the difference between the two religious texts is nowhere shown so clearly

---

Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 75; *Kern*, Der Buddhismus I, 39 f. *Cf. Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 33 f.

[1]) Jātaka I, p. 60; *Rhys Davids*, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 79 f.; *Seydel*, Die Buddhalegende, p. 26 f.; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 48 ff. It is true enough that such beatitudes also occur elsewhere in poetry (*Neumann*, Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen, p. 309 note; *Lehmann*, Der Buddhismus, p. 85); nevertheless, it is a remarkable coincidence that both Buddha and Jesus append to the benedictions a remark concerning that whereof true blessedness consists. The connection is denied by *Götz* in "Der Katholik" 1912 (IV, 10), 16 f., and doubted by *Garbe*, l. c., p. 32 f.

[2]) Das Evangelium von Jesu, p. 230; cf. above, p. 298 f.; J. M. *Carter*, JRAS 1893, p. 393 f.; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 67 ff.; *Edmunds* II, 260 f. *Seydel*, l. c., p. 232 f., has, however, compared the allegory of the man who was born blind (John IX) with Saddharma-P. V. (see above, p. 299), though the Indian *parable* has nothing in common with the Christian *legend*, except that a man who was born blind occurs in both.

[3]) See above, p. 286 f.; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 57 ff.

[4]) *Seydel*, l. c., p. 280 ff.; *Edmunds* II, 169 f.; cf. *Windisch*, Māra und Buddha, p. 60 ff.

as here. What a vast difference between the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta and the 27th chapter of St. Matthew! Here the heart-rending tragedy of a martyr and a victim of fanaticism, there the calm passing of a sage—a glorious Euthanasia. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, the earth opens and quakes, and the graves yawn in horror at the crime which was being committed; in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta the earth quakes in token of her jubilation that the complete Nirvāṇa of the Lord, a beautiful event, has taken place.

When we come to the single utterances and parables of Jesus and Buddha, it is still more difficult to prove a probable connection than it is in the instance of the legends. It is mostly only a question of resemblances,[1] or of such general ideas that they could easily occur and actually do occur, in the sacred books of all religions; when, for instance, Majjhima-nikāya 110, where there is talk of the sowing and reaping of good works, is compared with the parable of the sower (St. Matth. XIII, 18 ff.), or when, in the Sutta of the "real treasure,"[2] a similar idea is expressed as in Matth. VI, 19 f.: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt," etc.

When we sum up all that has been brought to light by the comparison of the four gospels with the Buddhist texts, it is seen that the differences greatly outweigh the points of agreement. There is a great difference to be seen in the whole character of even those legends which bear comparison. Whilst in Buddhism all the miracles are explained by

---

[1]) For instance, above, pp. 29 note 1, 74 note 1, 109 note 2; *cf. Neumann*, Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen, p. 359 note. There is greater similarity between St. Matth. XVII, 19, where there is talk of removing the mountain by faith, and Aṅguttaranikāya VI, 24, where it is said that the monk could cleave the Himalaya by meditation (*Edmunds* II, 40). Nevertheless, even this agreement is most probably only an accidental one. Cf. also *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 39 ff.

[2]) Khuddakapāṭha VIII, translated by *Winternitz*, Der ältere Buddhismus (Religionsgesch. Lesebuch, 2, Aufl.) 1929, p. 105 f. *Cf.* Edmunds I, 222.

the Karman, the act working through the rebirths, the Christian miracles are only the outcome of God's mercy and omnipotence. Edv. Lehmann[1] says very aptly: "For the taste of Indians the events in the Christian narratives will always seem to be insufficiently justified by reason and for us Christians the Indian narratives, even from the purely aesthetic point of view, will appear to have an almost unbearably efficient sequence of cause and effect."

Whilst we have thus seen that doubts as to an historical connection on the strength of any of the parallels cited from the canonical gospels are more than justifiable, and whilst we can at the very most speak of the possibility of such a connection, we find in the apocryphal gospels which originated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., a whole series of legends, the loan of which from Buddhist literature may be asserted with as great a degree of probability as is at all possible in questions of this kind. The tales of the Bodhisattva, who is taken to the temple in his boyhood, and before whom the statues of the gods arise, so as to fall down at his feet, and that of the Bodhisattva's first day at school, coincide so exatly with the stories of the childhood of Jesus as related in the pseudo-St.Matthew's gospel, Chapter XXIII and in St. Thomas's gospel, Chapts. VI-VIII and XIV, that the dependence of the Christian legend upon the Buddhist one, could only be doubted by persons who refute any such dependence on principle. Or take such legends as the following: in Pseudo-Matth., Chapt. XIII, it is said of the child Jesus that, while still in his mother's womb, a light shone forth from him, so that the dark cavern into which Mary entered, was illuminated and became bright as day, and that the Saviour's mother was in no wise stained with blood through the

[1]) Der Buddhismus, p. 92.

birth of the child, and felt no pain: in the proto-gospel of St. James, Chapt. VI, it is told of the six-months old Mary, that she walked towards her mother with seven steps; in the same gospel, Chapt. XVIII, it is related that the forces of nature and the activities of mankind came to a sudden standstill at the birth of Jesus; in Pseudo-Matth., Chapt. XX, a palm-tree inclines its branches down to the ground at the command of the infant Jesus, in order to offer its fruits to Mary, who is thirsty and exhausted. It is so very obvious to anyone acquainted with the legend of Buddha, that these wonder-tales must be assumed to be of Indian origin, that even among Christian theologians, there are only few who doubt an historical connection.[1]

It has also been attempted to trace some of the mediæval legends of the Christian saints back to Indian sources. Māra appears in the form of Buddha in two different Buddhist legends, on one occasion it is in order to seduce a pious man, in which he does not succeed; and the other time, Upagupta causes Māra, whom he has converted, to appear in the form of Buddha.[2] Christian legends tell of several monks to whom the devil appeared in the guise of the Saviour. The Christian legend of the

---

[1]) See above, p. 251; *Bergh van Eysinga*, p. 75 ff.; *Garbe*, Contributions, p. 19 ff.; Indien und das Christentum, p. 70 ff.; *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 442; E. *Hennecke*, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, 2. Aufl., Tübingen 1924, p. 95 f. Even *Götz* in "Der Katholik," 1912 (IV, 9), 271, says: "An influence on the part of Indian and presumably also Buddhist traditions on the apocryphal writings of semi-Christian elements of the West is, then, an historical fact." J. *Kennedy* in JRAS 1917, 508 ff., explains the undeniable resemblances between the apocryphal stories of the childhood of Jesus and the Buddhist legends, by the hypothesis of Christian-Gnostic influences on Buddhism. Among those who make it their principle to deny any connection whatsoever, even in this case, we may mention *Clemen* in Zeitschr. f. neutestament. Wiss. 1916, 131 ff. and *Günter*, l.c., 74 ff., 78 f., 91 f.; see, however, *Haas*, Buddha etc., pp. 12 f., 22 f. As early as in 1762 the Augustine hermit Georgius pointed out that a similar story to that told of the five-year old Jesus and Zakchaios in the Gospel of St. Thomas, was told in Tibet about Buddha, see L. *Conrady*, Das Thomasevangelium (Thelog. Studien und Kritiken, Gotha 1903), p. 403 ff.

[2]) See above, pp. 201 and 288.

presumptuous monk Valens, to whom the devil appeared in the shape of Christ, whereupon the monk worshipped the devil and related that Christ had appeared to him, is traced by Garbe [1] to the Buddhist narratives, especially as "the monstrous idea of the apparition of the devil in the shape of the Saviour is not to be found anywhere in Christian literature except in this one isolated instance." Günter [2] has shown, however, that "the monstrous idea" occurs frequently enough in Christian legendary literature. For this reason it is just as much possible for the legends to have originated independently of each other in Christianity and in Buddhism, as for the theme to have migrated to the West from India, where a legend of this nature was translated into Chinese as early as in the year 401 A. D.[3]

Garbe and others before him have also traced the legends of St. Eustace and St. Christopher back to Buddhist Jātakas. Nevertheless, in spite of Garbe's arguments, I cannot bring myself to believe that this is a case of an actual connection.[4]

On the other hand, it is a fully established fact that one of the favourite books of the whole of Christendom in the Middle Ages, the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, was composed by a devout Christian on the basis of the Buddha legend, with which he might have become acquainted from the Lalita-Vistara.[5] This story, which is otherwise

---

[1]) Indien und das Christentum, p. 111 ff.

[2]) Loc. cit., p. 234 ff.; cf. *Haas*, Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? p. 32.

[3]) *Chavannes*, Cinq cents contes et apologues, t. II, p. 86 (No. 206).

[4]) *Cf.* above, pp. 132 ntoe 2,150 note 2, and *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 86 ff.; 101 ff.; *Haas*, l.c., p. 9.; *Günter*, l.c., p. 7 ff.; *Charpentier* in ZDMG 69, 442 f.; *Beth*, Theolog. Studien 1916, 197 f.

[5]) *Max Müller*, Essays III, p. 538 f. (cf. *Foucaux*, Lalita Vistara trad. II, 43 ff.) quotes a few passages from which it seems evident that the author "heard the story not only, as he says, from the lips of people who had brought it to him from India, but that he even had the text of the Lalita-Vistara before him."

entirely imbued with the spirit of Christianity, has a Buddhist setting: the main features of the Buddha legend, the three excursions, at which the Bodhisattva becomes acquainted with age, disease and death, recur in it, a few of the interpolated parables (*e.g.* that of the "man in the well") are familiar from Indian literature, and references to India occur in the story itself.[1] In Eastern Iran or in Central Asia, where, as we know through the finds of Sir Aurel Stein, Grünwedel and v. Le Coq in Khotan and Turfan, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Christians and Manicheans lived together in closest proximity, a Christian monk[2] could easily become acquainted with the Buddha legend, and be stimulated by it to compose a work which was to impart Christian doctrines. This work was presumably written in the 6th or 7th century, first in the Pahlavi language and afterwards translated into Arabic and Syriac. The Georgian and Greek translation might be traced back to the Syriac text. The Greek text gave rise to Arabian, Hebrew, Aethiopian, Armenian, Ecclesiastical-Russian and Rumanian versions, which came into being in

[1]) As early as in the year 1612 the Portuguese Diogodo Conto compared the Barlaam-Josaphat legend with that of Buddha (Ind. Ant. XII, p. 288 f.). It was, however, Laboulaye who first asserted the Buddhist origin of the legend, in Journal des Débats of the 26th July 1859. The proof was then furnished by Felix Liebrecht (in Jahrbuch für romanische und englishe Literatur II, 1860, p. 314 ff. and in his book "Zur Volkskunde", Heilbronn 1879, p. 441 ff.). The whole history of the story bas been traced throughout universal literature, by E. *Kuhn* ("Barlaam und Joasaph, eine bibliographisch-litterargeschichtliche Studie," ABayA XX, München 1897). Kuhn (p. 39) believes, however, tbat the author "made very free use of the entire Buddbist tradition, and not of one particular text like the Lalita Vistara." Cf. also the literature cited in V. *Chauvin*, Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes III, 1893, p. 83 ff., and H. G. *Rawlinson* in JBRAS 24, 1915, p. 96 ff. Even *Günter*, l.c., p. 92 ff., cannot but admit that Josaphat is the Bodhisattva, though he is very anxious to minimize the influence of the Buddhist legend over the Christian one, and prefers to assume nothing more than a "distant indirect influence" (p. 41).

[2]) It has been supposed by A. v. *Le Coq* (SBA 1909, p. 1205) that the Buddha legend was first brought to Europe, not by Christians, but by Manicheans. The actual author of the story, however, can only bave been a Christian, as the doctrines contained in the book are specially Christian. It was just as possible for Christians to become acquainted with the subject as it was for Manicheans.

later times. The numerous European translations and recensions (Lope de Vega has even dramatised the story) can be traced back to the Latin text translated from the Greek. German recensions have been in existence since 1220 A.D. In course of centuries the characters in this work had grown so familiar to the Christian peoples, that they were regarded as pious Christian men who had really lived and taught, so that the Catholic Church finally made the two heroes of the story, Barlaam and Josaphat, into saints. Josaphat, however, is none other than the Bodhisattva.[1]

It is not only pious narratives such as that of Kisā-Gotamī[2] which wandered from India to the West, but also many secular fables, and narrative motifs as are to be found in the Jātaka, the Dhammapada commentary and Buddhaghosa's commentaries.[3] Even down to our own day, the Indian legend of Buddha has so well preserved its ever youthful freshness and vitality, that again and again it has inspired poets, including Western poets, to compose epic and dramatic renderings of this immortal theme.[4] Thus *Edwin Arnold's* epic "The Light of Asia" was in the 19th century, still capable of inspiring such enthusiasm that it saw over sixty editions in England and over a hundred in America, and really

---

[1]) In Greek the prince is called Jōasaph, the Arabic Jūdāsaf, which is derived from Būdāsaf, *i.e.*, Bodhisattva. In Arabic, Syriac and Pahlavi, "f" and "b" are easily confused in the script. The sage Barlaam is called Balauhar in Arabic, which might be derived from Bhagavān. (Kuhn, loc. cit., pp. 17, 19, 31 f.) Barlaam and Josaphat already appear as saints in the "Catalogus Sanctorum" of Petrus de Natalibus, who died in about 1370. Even in more recent times, the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat has been made the subject of a romance for children and also of a drama in Germany; s. *Slepčević*, Buddhismus in der deutschen Litteratur, p. 33 ff.

[2]) See above, p. 58 f.

[3]) See above, p. 200 f.; also *Günter*, l. c., 107 ff., admits that a steady stream of Indian motifs, including such as we find in the Jātaka-Book, poured into the European literatures from the 12th century onwards.

[4]) On the influence of Buddhism on German literature, see Pero *Slepčević* Buddhismus in der deutschen Litteratur (Diss. der Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz), Wien 1920.

laid the foundation for this poet's fame.[1] Whilst Edwin Arnold kept closely to the Indian legend, the German poet *Joseph Viktor Widmann*, in his "Buddha,"[2] has left little of the ancient Indian legend. On the other hand, much of the spirit and mentality of Buddhism is embodied in the beautiful epic poem "The Saint and the Animals" by the same poet. The Buddha legend was made the theme of a drama in Germany by *Ferdinand Hornstein*, whose "Buddha"[3] was produced at the Hoftheater in Munich in 1900.

Under the influence of the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Richard Wagner felt strongly attracted towards the Buddhist doctrine of salvation and morality of pity. "You know that I have become a Buddhist in spite of myself," he wrote to Mathilde Wesendonk on the 22nd February, 1859; and on the 9th July of the same year, he wrote to the same friend, full of enthusiasm about Buddhism: "Yes, child, this is a philosophy compared with which all other dogmas must appear petty, narrow and inadequate!"[4] Three years prior to that, he had already sketched out a Buddhist musical drama "The Victors," in which he intended to dramatise the legend of Ānanda and the Caṇḍāla girl Prakṛti. A year later he embodied the ideas of this sketch, which was never completed, in "Parsifal." Not only here, but in others of Wagner's works, too, we have sufficiently frequent instances of a perfectly clear expression of the Buddhist view of life.

---

[1]) *Cf.* E. F. *Oaten*, Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature, London, 1908, p. 84 ff.; Leon *Kellner*, Die englische Literatur im Zeitalter der Königin Viktoria, Leipzig 1909, p. 404 ff., and Beil. Allg. Zeitung 1889, Nos. 30 ff.; Artur *Pfungst* translated "The Light of Asia" into German (Leipzig 1887).

[2]) Epische Dichtung in 20 Gesängen, Bern 1869. As the poet himself wrote to me (in a letter of the 27th August 1905), this poem of Buddha was "really only modern free-thinking views disguised in that Oriental garb." *Cf.* also *Slepčević*, l.c., p. 55 ff.

[3]) Legende in 3 Akten, Musik von Robert v. Hornstein, München 1899. See *Slepc'evic'*, l.c., p. 69 ff. Angelo de *Gabernatis* and A. *Obolonsky* (Le Prince Siddhartha, drama en 5 actes et 22 tableaux, Tours 1899) have also dramatised on life of Buddha.

[4]) See Richard Wagner und Mathilde Wesendonk, 21. Aufl., Berlin 1904, p. 59 f., 77 f., 105, 161 f.

In the "Götterdämmerung" ("The Twilight of the Gods,") Brunhilde says :

"Wisst ihr, wohin ich fahre?
Aus Wunschheim zieh'ich fort,
Wahnheim flieh'ich auf immer ;
Des ew'gn Werdens offne Thore
Schliess' ich hinter mir zu...
Von Wiedergeburt erlöst,
Zieht nun die Wissende hin." [1])

These thoughts are Buddhist through and through.

During the last years of his life, Wagner's mind was occupied with the personality of the Buddha, though there is no sufficient evidence to justify the rumour, spread abroad after his death, that he had worked at a musical drama "Buddha." [2])

Like Richard Wagner, the Danish poet Karl Gjellerup found Buddha by way of the philosophy of Schopenhauer. He drew upon K. E. Neumann's translations, but also made himself acquainted with Buddhism through his own independent study. Though his beautiful prose poem "The Pilgrim Kamanita" [3]) is entirely an invention of the poet's own, the figure of Buddha himself has been sketched lovingly according to the sources, and, what is more important, the whole poem

---

[1]) "Do you know whither I go?
I bid farewell to the land of desires.
I flee for ever from the land of illusions ;
I close behind me the open portals
Of never-ending existence...
Released from re-birth,
She who has gained knowledge now departs."

[2]) See above, p. 287, note 1; H. *Lichtenberger*, Richard Wagner, Dresden und Leipzig 1899, pp. 357 f., 499 f.; Max *Koch* in Studien zur vergleichenden Literatur geschichte 3, 1903, 412 ff.; *Slepčevic*, l.c., p. 40 ff.

[3]) "Pilgrimen Kamanita," Kopenhagen 1906; Der Pilger Kamanita, ein Legendenroman, 7-10. Tausend, Frankfurt a. M. 1917. Also translated into English.

is instinct with the true spirit of Buddhism. The delicate poetical description of the Buddhist paradise Sukhāvatī is full of charm, and there is no harm in the poet's having woven this picture, which is a part of the Mahāyāna, into his poem, which is mainly based upon the Pāli sources. In the drama "The Wife of the Perfect One," [1] Gjellerrup has endowed Buddha, who first appears in the play as Prince Siddhārtha, but later on as the Enlightened One, with more worldly traits, and above all, more attachment to his family, than the Buddha of the legend really possessed. It would scarcely be possible to find in Buddhist texts a counterpart to the scene in which Buddha yields the sovereignty to his half-brother Nanda. The Buddha of the texts never troubled about such matters. Neither could we find in any Buddhist text such words as Buddha is made to speak, in the last scene in the drama, when he hands his weapons to Nanda, and passes him the swords, with the words:

> "Draw it in a just cause only! But then
> Wield it well, and win, so that wrong may not triumph!"

The true Buddha had no dealings with the sword. For him there is no "just cause," for the sake of which we are justified in doing violence, for he knew, what we have learned but yesterday, that the "just cause" is always merely another name for our own cause, however unjust that cause may be.

Fritz Mauthner, too, in his prose work "The Last Death of Gautama Buddha," [2] has made Buddha utter many a very un-Buddhistic speech.

Among the works which serve Buddhist propaganda, "The Gospel of Buddha" by *Paul Carus* may be mentioned.

---

[1] "Den fuldendtes Husfru," Kopenhagen 1907; "Das Weib des Vollendeten, ein Legendendrama, Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig. This drama was also staged in Germany.

[2] "Der letzte Tod des Gautama Buddha," München und Leipzig 1913. The poem is based upon the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta in K. E. *Neumann*'s translation.

In this work, edifying passages from the most varied sources, from earlier and later Pāli texts, from the various biographies of Buddha and European works on Buddhism have been combined to form a mosaic which, from a scholarly point of view, is not always faultless, but is eminently suited to affect people's minds in the religious sense. Since its publication in the English language in America in 1894, this work has seen numerous editions, and it has been translated into many languages. In Ceylon and Japan the work is read in Buddhist schools and temples for purposes of edification.[1]

Whilst Paul Carus lays no claim to erudition, the Italian indologist *Luigi Suali* has recently (1924) retold the Buddha legend in beautiful, poetical language, in his book "Il Illuminato,"[2] on the basis of an accurate knowledge of the original sources. Without the slightest thought of propaganda, he has allowed himself to become absorbed in the very spirit of the legend, and with a loving hand, has portrayed the Buddha with all his human, super-human and super-divine qualities, such as he has lived for over two thousand years, and still lives to-day, in the faith of devout Buddhists.

We may also mention *Lafcadio Hearn*,[3] who has brought us into closer contact with Japanese Buddhism, in many of his sketches and tales. Free from any propagandist intentions, he has with love and sympathy, and with consummate art, given us an insight into Buddhist thought and sentiment as they still exist, even to-day, in the hearts of the devout Buddhists of Japan.

---

[1]) See Das Evangelium des Buddha nach alten Quellen erzählt von Paul *Carus*, illustriert von O. *Kopetzky*, 2. deutsche Auflage von Karl *Seideastücker*, Chicago und London, The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919. The translation was made according to the 13th English edition. Paul *Carus* died on 2nd Febr. 1919.

[2]) I only know the German translation : "Der Erleuchtete, das Leben des Buddha" (aus dem Italienischen übersetzt von Dora *Mitzky*), Frankfurt a. M. 1928.

[3]) " Gleanings in Buddha Fields," " Out of the East," and others, which are well known in German translations also.

There is not much of importance to be found in the propaganda literature which serves the Neo-Buddhist movement. Translations of Pāli texts are the best thing which we owe to it. *Paul Dahlke*'s "Buddhist Stories"[1] may be mentioned, and also the lyric poems of *Hans Much*.[2] But though the latter are Buddhist in sentiment, this European monastic poetry is very feeble when compared to the Thera-Gāthās and Therī-Gāthās, the songs of the ancient Buddhist monks and nuns.

Nevertheless, whatever our views of the new Buddhist movement may be, we cannot but admire the vitality of Buddhism and of the works of Buddhist literature, which have ever and again inspired the minds of thinkers and poets of all nations, and still continue to do so. I hope, too, that I have succeeded in showing in the above chapters, that there is still much in Buddhist literature which well merits being introduced into European literatures and made the common property of universal literature.

[1]) "Buddhistische Erzählungen," Dresden 1904.

[2]) "Ich nahm meine Zuflucht...Flugsamen aus einem abendländischen Buddhagarten," Leipzig 1920; "An Buddhas Hand, Leider der Erweckung im Felde," 1917, in "Buddhistische Weisheit" von Georg *Grimm* und Hans *Much*, 1920.

SECTION IV.

JAINA LITERATURE.

JINISM AND ITS LITERATURE.

Buddhist texts frequently mention Niganṭha Nātaputta as a rival and opponent of Gotama Buddha. This is none other than the saint known and venerated by the name of Mahāvīra, *i.e.*, "the great hero," the founder or reformer of the sect of the Jainas, which had developed out of the far older sect of the Niganṭhas (*i.e.*, the Fetter-less), under the leadership of Vardhāmāna Mahāvīra, probably not long before the appearance of Gotama.[1] The religion of the Jainas, Jinism,[2] has so much in common with Buddhism that, for a long time, it was

---

[1]) On the strength of the unanimous tradition of both Buddhists and Jainas, we may take it as certain that Mahāvīra was a senior contemporary of Buddha, and that both were contemporaries of Kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. The year of Mahāvīra's death is, however, at least as uncertain as that of Buddha's. Appendix VI. H. *Jacobi* (Ind. Ant. 9, 1880, 158 ff.; SBE 45, p. xx ff.) has made it seem very probable that Mahāvīra was not the founder but only the reformer of an earlier sect of the Niganṭhas founded by Pārśva. Nevertheless, when the tradition says that Pārśva lived exactly 250 years before Mahāvīra, we are not by any means justified in taking this as a certain historical fact.

[2]) The epithets "Enlightened One" (Buddha) and "Victor" (Jina) were applied to Gotama as well as to Mahāvīra (and other founders of religions). However, whilst "Buddha" came to be the name of Gotama, "Jina" came to be the usual name of Mahāvīra, and his adherents called themselves "Jainas", *i.e.*, disciples of the Jina." It has grown customary to use the expressions "Jainism" and "Jainistic." However, as we never say "Bauddhism" and "Bauddhistic," we ought by rights to say "Jinism" and "Jinistic" just as we say "Buddhism" and "Buddhistic." Scholars like A. *Weber* and Th. *Benfey* still considered the Jainas as a Buddhist sect. It has been proved by *Jacobi* (SBE 22, Introd., and in the introduction to his edition of the Kalpa-Sūtra) that this view is erroneous.

considered merely as a Buddhist sect. Nevertheless, it presents a marked divergence from the Buddhist religion in such essential points, that it must be regarded as an independent creed. Jinism [1] lays far more stress than Buddhism on asceticism and all manner of cult exercises, and in contrast to the Buddha, Mahāvīra taught a very elaborate belief in the soul. All that the two religions have in common, is the ancient Indian "ascetic morality" which we have already characterised more than once; the points of contact, too, between Buddhist and Jaina literature, are precisely those which they both share with the whole of Indian ascetic poetry. It is the Jainas, however, who far more than any other Indian religion, emphasize the commandment of Ahiṃsā, non-violence.

An essential difference between the two religions is, however, that Jinism has always remained a national Indian religion, whilst Buddhism developed into a world religion. It is true that, according to the belief of the Jainas, their religion is a "world religion" in the sense that it is a religion not only for human beings of all races and classes, but even for animals, gods and denizens of hell. Notwithstanding, the Jainas have retained the Indian system of castes and classes in its entirety,[2] and Jinism has a much stronger tendency than Buddhism to adapt itself to Brahmanism and

[1]) *Cf.* G *Bühler*, Ueber die indische Sekte der Jainas (Almanach der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1887); translated into English by J. *Burgess*, On the Indian Sect of the Jainas, with an Outline of Jaina Mythology, London 1903; H. *Jacobi* in ERE VII. 1914, 465 ff.; Mrs. Sinclair *Stevenson*, The Heart of Jainism, Oxford and London 1915; Puran Chand *Nahar* and Krishnachandra *Ghosh*, An Epitome of Jainism, Calcutta 1917; Helmuth v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, Berlin 1925. A. *Guérinot*, La religion Djaina, histoire, doctrine, culte, coutumes, institutions, Paris 1926. A presentation of the Jaina religion from the view-point of an enthusiastic European is given by Herbert *Warren*, Jainism in Western Garb as a Solution to Life's Great Problems, Arrah 1912, second ed. 1916. On the history of the Jainas, see also A. *Guérinot*, Répertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina précédé d'une esquisse de l'histoire du Jainisme d'après les inscriptions, Paris (Publ. de l'E'cole française d'Extrême-Orient) 1908, and J. *Charpentier* in Cambridge History I, 150 ff.

[2]) H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, pp. 314 ff., 316 ff.

Hinduism, and also it is confined within the frontiers of India. The Jainas themselves explain the close relations of their religion with Brahmanism by asserting that their religion is the oldest of all religions, and the religion of the Brahmins is merely a degenerate form of it. Although, as has already been mentioned, Jinism is older than Buddhism, the canonical literature of the Jainas has not come down to us in its earliest form. Unfortunately only parts of it have been preserved, and in its present form it only dates back to a comparatively recent period. It is solely for this reason that we deal with it here *after* Buddhist literature.

With rare exceptions, the sacred books of the Jainas are written in a dry-as-dust, matter of fact, didactic tone, and as far as we know them hitherto, are seldom instinct with that general human interest which so many Buddhist texts possess. Hence, important as they are for the specialist, they cannot claim the interest of the general reader to anything approaching so great an extent. If, for these reasons, the following treatment of Jinist literature [1] occupies a comparatively small space, we shall be giving only a faint idea of the exceedingly wide range of literary activity of the Jaina monks, to which the catalogues of Jaina manuscripts [2] and the very numerous

[1] The first to open up the rich treasures of the Jaina libraries was G. *Bühler*, who in the years 1873-1878 acquired a large collection of Jaina manuscripts for the royal library at Berlin. This collection formed the basis of the first comprehensive and epoch-making accounts of the literature of the Jainas, by Albrecht *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 1883, pp. 211-479; 17, 1885, pp. 1-90 (translated into English by H. W. *Smyth* in Ind. Ant., vols. 17-21, 1888-1892) and HSS. Verz. II, 1888-1891. *Cf.* E. *Windisch*, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie (Grundriss I, 1 B), p. 346 ff.; A. *Guérinot*, Essai de bibliographie Jaina, Paris 1906 (AMG, bibl. d'études, t. 22); Addenda to it JA 1909, s. 10, t. XIV, 47-148; 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, 373 ff., and B. *Geiger* in GGA 1908, 124 ff.; *Guérinot*, La religion Djaina, pp. 69-90; H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, pp. 81-134 and Die Literaturen Indiens (in "Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft"), p. 118 ff. For important data on Jain authors, see J. *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 1882, pp. 245-256 and Specimen of a Literary-Bibliographical Jaina-Onomasticon, Leipzig 1892. The little book by U. D. *Barodia*, History and Literature of Jainism, Bombay 1909, has no scientific value.

[2] The following accounts of Jaina MSS. are of great importance :— those by R. G.

editions of texts that have appeared during the last decades in various collections, bear testimony.[1]

The literature of the Jainas is also very important from the point of view of the history of the Indian languages: for the Jainas always took care that their writings were accessible to considerable masses of the people. Hence the canonical writings and the earliest commentaries are written in Prākrit dialects (Māgadhī and Māhārāṣṭrī).[2] It was not until a later period that the Jainas—the Śvetāmbaras from the 8th century, and the Digambaras somewhat earlier—used Sanskrit for commentaries and learned works as well as for poetry. Some of these authors write a simple, lucid Sanskrit, others compete with the classical Sanskrit poets in their use of an elaborate Sanskrit in the Kāvya style, whilst yet others affect a Sanskrit shot with Prākritisms, approaching the vernacular.[3]

Bhandarkar, Report 1883-4; P. *Peterson*, 3 Reports, Report IV and Rep. V; by *Jacobi*, *Klatt* and *Leumann*. ZDMG 33, 693 ff., 478 ff.; 45, 454 ff.; 47, 308 ff.; WZKM 11, 1897, 297 ff.; F. L. *Pullé*, Catalogo dei manoscritti giainici della Bibliotheca n.c.di Firence 1894 and OC X, 1894, II, p. 15 ff.; A. B. *Keith*, Catalogue of Prākrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 1911, col. 1-45; *Rai Bahadur Hiralal*, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. published under the Orders of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur 1926; H. D. *Velankar*, A Descriptive Catalogue of Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vols. III-IV, Jain and Varnacular Literatures, Bombay 1930.

[1]) A collection of the canonical writings, "Āgama-Saṃgraha," was printed between 1875 and 1885 in Calcutta, Bombay, Benares and Ahmedabad in 45 volumes. Numerous texts have appeared in the Śrī-Jaina-Jaso-Vijaya-Granthamālā published by the great Jaṁācarya Vijaya Dharma Sūri; learned societies, such as the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā in Bhavnagar, the Jaina Vidyā Prasāraka Varga in Palitana, the Jaina Jñāna Prasāraka Varga in Bombay, the Jaina Vidyā Śālā in Ahmedabad, the Āgamodaya Samiti in Mehsana, and others, and wealthy patrons such as Sheṭh Devchand Lalbhai Jhaveri in Bombay, Sheṭh Bhagabāi Mansukkhāi in Ahmedabad, and others, have assisted towards the publication of Jain texts. See E. *Hultzsch* in Ind. Ant., Vol. 39, 1910. p. 228; *Jacobi* in AR 13. 1910, 615 ff., and 18, 1915, 275 f. We are indebted to the Digambara Jainas also, for such valuable publications as the "Sacred Books of the Jainas" and "The Library of Jaina Literature," both of which are appearing in Arrah.

[2]) See above I, p. 48, and W. *Denecke*, in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 160 ff.

[3]) See M. *Bloomfield*, Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit, in Festschrift Wackernagel, 1923, p. 220 ff.

At a later time, from the 10th to the 12th century, there is a return of poetry to the Apabhraṃśa dialects adapted to the vernacular.[1] Lastly, in quite recent times, the Jainas also use various modern Indian languages, and they have enriched more especially Gujarati and Hindi literatures, as well as Tamil and Kanarese literatures in the south.

The Canons (Siddhānta) of the Jainas.[2]

The most important schism within the Jaina religion, namely, into the two great sects of the Śvetāmbaras, *i.e.*, " those clad in white ", and the Digambaras, *i.e.*, " those clad in air " or " naked ", occurred as early as in the first century A.D. The collective term given by the Jainas to their sacred books, is Siddhānta or Āgama. Both sects are unanimous in calling the twelve Aṅgas, *i.e.*, " limbs " (of the body of the religion) the first and most important part of their Canon. Hitherto, however, we have a detailed knowledge only of the Siddhānta of the Śvetāmbaras. It consists of the following texts :—

I. The twelve Aṅgas : 1. Āyāraṃga-Sutta[3] (Ācārāṅga-Sūtra) ; 2. Sūyagaḍaṃga (Sūtrakṛtāṅga) ; 3. Ṭhāṇaṃga

---

[1]) See above I, p. 49, and *Jacobi*, Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Apabhraṃśa, in Festschrift Wackernagel, p. 124 ff.

[2]) On the Canon and its history see *Jacobi* in the introductions to his edition of the Kalpa-Sūtra, p. 14 ff. and to SBE, Vols. 22 and 45, and ZDMG 28, 1 ff.; *Hoernle* in the introduction to his translation of the Uvāsagadasāo, p. vii ff. and Proceedings ASB 1898, p. 39 ff. (French Le Muséon, N.S., VII, 1906, 109 ff.); G. *Buhler*, WZKM I, 1887, 165 ff.; 2, 1888, 141 ff.; 3, 1889, 233 ff.; 4, 1890, 313 ff; A. *Barth*, RHR 3, 1881, 89 ff; 11, 1885, 185; 19, 1889, 280 ff.; 20, 332; 29, 1894, 25 ff.; 45, 1902, 178; Oeuvres I, 306 ff., 344 ff, 397; II, 59 ff., 192 ff., 378 ff.; P. C. *Nahar* and K. C. *Ghosh*, An Epitome of Jainism, Calcutta 1917, Appendix C; J. *Charpentier* in the introduction to his edition of the Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra (Upsala 1921) and W. *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, Göttingen 1927, p. VIII f. and 1 ff. Selected passages from canonical texts translated into German by W. *Schubring*, Die Jainas (in Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch von A. Bertholet, 2. Aufl., Nr. 7) Tübingen 1927.

[3]) The titles are given in their Prākrit form, with the traditional Sanskrit translation beside them in brackets.

(Sthānāṅga) ; 4. Samavāyaṃga ; 5. Bhagavatī Viyāhapannatti (Vyākhyā-Prajñapti) ; 6. Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātādharmakathāḥ) ; 7. Uvāsagadasāo (Upāsakadaśāḥ) ; 8. Aṃtagaḍadasāo (Antakṛddaśāḥ) ; 9. Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo (Anuttaraupapātikadaśāḥ) ; 10. Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ (Praśna-Vyākaraṇāni); 11. Vivāgasuyaṃ (Vipāka-Śrutam) ; 12. Diṭṭhivāya (Dṛṣṭivāda).

II. The twelve Uvaṃgas (Upāṅgas) or "secondary limbs" : 1. Uvavāiya (Aupapātika) ; 2. Rāyapaseṇaijja or Rāyapasenaiya (Rājapraśnīya) ; 3. Jīvābhigama ; 4. Pannavaṇā (Prajñāpanā) ; 5. Sūrapannatti or Sūriyapannatti ; 6. Jaṃbuddīvapannatti (Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti) ; 7. Caṃdapannatti (Candraprajñapti) ; 8. Nirayāvalī ; 9. Kappāvadaṃsiāo (Kalpāvataṃsikāḥ) ; 10. Pupphiāo (Puṣpikāḥ) ; 11. Pupphacūliāo (Puṣpacūlikāḥ); 12. Vaṇhidasāo (Vṛṣṇidaśāḥ).

III. The ten Païṇṇas (Prakīrṇas, *i. e.*, "scattered pieces") : 1. Caüsaraṇa (Catuḥśaraṇa) by Vīrabhadra ; 2. Āurapaccakkhāṇa (Āturapratyākhyāna) ; 3. Bhattaparinnā (Bhakta-Parijñā) ; 4. Saṃthāra (Saṃstāra) ; 5. Taṃdulaveyāliya (Tandulavaitālika) ; 6. Caṃdāvijjhaya ; 7. Deviṃdatthaa (Devendrastava) ; 8. Gaṇivijjā (Gaṇi-Vidyā) ; 9. Mahāpaccakkhāṇa (Mahā-Pratyākhāyāna) ; 10. Vīratthaa (Vīrastava).

IV. The six Cheya-Suttas (Cheda-Sūtras); 1. Nisīha (Niśītha) ; 2. Mahānisīha (Mahā-Niśītha) ; 3. Vavahāra (Vyavahāra) ; 4. Āyāradasāo (Ācāradaśāḥ) or Dasāsuyakkhandha (Daśāśrutaskandha), also called briefly Dasāo (Daśāḥ) ; 5. Kappa (Bṛhat-Kalpa) ; and 6. Paṃcakappa (Pañca-Kalpa). Instead of the last-named the Jīyakappa (Jita-Kalpa) by Jinabhadra is also mentioned.

V. Individual texts : 1. Nandī or Nandi-Sutta (Nāndī-Sūtra) ; 2. Aṇuogadāra (Anuyogadvāra).

VI. The four Mūla-Suttas (Mūla-Sūtras) : 1. Uttarajjhāyā (Uttarādhyāyāḥ) or Uttarajjhayaṇa (Uttarādhyayana) ; 2. Āvassaya (Āvaśyaka) ; 3. Dasaveyāliya (Daśavaikālika); 4. Piṃḍanijjutti (Piṇḍa-Niryukti). The third and fourth

Mūla-Suttas are also sometimes given as Ohanijjutti (Ogha-Niryukti) and Pakkhi (Pākṣika-Sūtra), and sometimes the Piṃḍanijjutti and Ohanijjuti appear in the list of the Cheya-Suttas. [1]

Indeed, with the exception of the Aṅgas, the lists and titles of the canonical texts are not always mentioned in the same way. The list of the Païṇṇas, in particular, is very indefinite. Sometimes Nandī, Aṇuogadārā and Paṃcakappa are placed at the head of the Païṇṇas. The traditional number of books in the Siddhānta is 45, but the number of texts mentioned in various places varies between 45 and 50. In the Canon itself, *viz.*, in the Thāṇaṃga, in the Nandī and in the Pakkhi-Sutta, we find lists of canonical works, in which the only distinction made is either between Aṅgas and Aṅgabāhiriyas (" texts standing outside the Aṅgas ") or between Aṅgapaviṭṭha (" belonging to the Aṅgas ") and Aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha (" not belonging to the Aṅgas"). The last-mentioned include the names of works which occur in the Siddhānta either as independent texts or as sections of well-known texts, but also works which no longer exist in the Siddhānta.[2]

The language of this Canon is a Prākrit which is known as Ārṣa (*i. e.*, " the language of the Ṛṣis ") or Ardha-Māgadhī (*i. e.*, " half-Māgadhī "). Mahāvīra himself is said to have preached in this language. There is, however, a difference between the language of prose and that of verses. As was the case with the Pāli verses in the

[1]) See *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 85.

[2]) See *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 222 ff., 369 f., 372 f.; 17, 10 ff. Some texts which *Weber* still thought were lost, have come to light since. In a few cases, too, gaps have been filled by other texts. *Cf. Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 13. A list which is strikingly different from the traditional one, is that by Rajendralala *Mitra*, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts III, Calcutta 1874, p. 67. *Nahar* and *Ghosh*, Epitome of Jainism, Appendix C, p. xxxvii, describe the Nandī and the Anuogadāra as " Cūlikā Sūtras," and enumerate, in addition to the 45 " Āgamas " another 86 works, otherwise unknown, as " Jain Nigamas or Upaniṣads."

Buddhist Canon, here too, the verses present more archaic forms. The most archaic language is to be found in the Āyāraṃga-Sutta, and next to this, in the Sūyagaḍaṃga-Sutta and the Uttarajjhayaṇa. Ardha-Māgadhī is quite different from Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, the dialect of the non-canonical Jaina texts.[1]

Regarding the antiquity and the authority of the Canon, the Śvetāmbara Jainas themselves have the following tradition :

The original doctrine was contained in the 14 Puvvas (Sansk. Pūrvas, *i. e.*, " old texts"), which Mahāvīra himself had taught to his disciples, the Gaṇadharas or " heads of schools. " The knowledge of the " old texts " was, however, soon lost. Only one of Mahāvīra's disciples handed them down, and they were only preserved during six generations more. Now in the second century after Mahāvīra's death, there was a terrible famine in the land of Magadha, which lasted for twelve years. At that time the Maurya Candragupta was king of Magadha, and the Thera Bhadrabāhu was the head of the Jaina community. Owing to the famine Bhadrabāhu emigrated with a host of his adherents to Karṇāṭa in South India, and Sthūlabhadra—the last one who had a knowledge of all the 14 Puvvas—became head of the community which remained behind in Magadha. During the absence of Bhadrabāhu it was evident that the knowledge of the sacred texts was threatening to lapse into oblivion. A Council was therefore convened at Pāṭaliputra,[2] at

[1]) R. *Pischel*, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (Grundriss I, 8) paragraphs 16-21. *Cf. Jacobi.* Kalpasūtra, p. 17 ff.; *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 232 ff. According to the belief of pious Jainas, Mahāvīra was understood by all creatures, whatever their language was.

[2]) If *Sten Konow* (Acta Or. 1, 1922, p. 20 ff.) is right in his explanation of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, then this inscription would furnish a confirmation of the Jaina tradition regarding the Council of Pāṭaliputra and the Diṭṭhivāya, and King Khāravela (170 B.C.?) would in that case have compiled a recension of the Aṅgas in 64 sections. Konow's explanation is ingenious, but very much open to doubt.

which the 11 Aṅgas were compiled, and the remnants of the 14 Puvvas were united to form a twelfth Aṅga, the Diṭṭhivāya. When the adherents of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, there was a great gulf fixed between those who had emigrated and those who had stayed at home. The latter had grown accustomed to wearing white garments, whereas the former, in pursuance of the strict requirement of Mahāvīra, still persisted in going naked. And this is how the great schism between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras came about.[1] Consequently the Digambaras also refused to acknowledge the Canon, as they declared that, in their eyes, the Puvvas and the Aṅgas were lost. In the course of time the Canon of the Śvetāmbaras was reduced to a state of disorder, and was even in danger of being lost altogether. Hence, in the year 980 (or 993) after the death of Mahāvīra (*i.e.*, about the middle of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D.) a Council was held at Vallabhi in Gujarat, presided over by Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa, the head of a school, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The twelfth Aṅga, containing the remnants of the Puvuas, had already gone astray at that time. This is why we find only eleven Aṅgas in the recension which has come down to us, and which is supposed to be identical with that of Devarddhi.

Thus we see that, according to the tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jainas themselves, the authority of their sacred texts does not go beyond the 5th century A.D. It is true that they assume that the texts which were written down at the Council of Vallabhi, are based on those old texts that had been compiled at the Council of Pāṭaliputra, and which can be traced back to Māhavīra and his disciples. The Gaṇadharas or heads of schools, who were still pupils of Mahāvīra, especially

[1] The Digambaras relate a legend about the origin of the schism, which differs from the legend told by the Śvetāmbaras. *Cf.* H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 347 ff.

Ajja Suhamma (Ārya Sudharman), are said to have compiled the Master's words in the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. Certain individual texts are, however, ascribed to later authors even by tradition, for instance the fourth Upāṅga is ascribed to Ajja Sāma (Ārya Śyāma), who is said to have lived 376 or 386 years after Mahāvīra's death,[1] the fourth Cheda-Sūtra, the Piṃḍanijjutti and the Ohanijjutti to Bhadrabāhu (2nd century after Mahāvīra's death), the third Mūla-Sūtra to Sejjaṃbhava (Śayyambhava), who counts as the fourth head of the school after Mahāvīra,[2] and the Nandī, which is actually attributed to so late a writer as Devarddhi, the president of the Council of Vallabhi, in the 10th century after the death of Mahāvīra.[3] Even the Digambaras admit that the first disciples of Mahāvīra knew 14 Puvvas and 11 Aṅgas. They relate, however, that not only was the knowledge of the 14 Puvvas lost at an early period, but that, as early as 436 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, the last who knew all the 11 Aṅgas died, and the teachers who succeeded him knew less and less Aṅgas as time went on, until the knowledge of these works was completely lost 683 years after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa.

Even though the tradition of the Jainas themselves would not appear to be in favour of investing their sacred texts with a very great antiquity, there are nevertheless good reasons for attributing their first origin, at least in part, to an earlier age, and for assuming that Devarddhi's labours consisted merely of compiling a Canon of sacred writings partly with

---

[1]) He is reckoned as the 23rd head of a school after Mahāvīra, and is said to be identical with the teacher Kālaka famous in legend, who lived at the time of Gardabhila (74-61 B.C.). *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 392 f. and J. *Charpentier*, Uttarādhyayanasūtra, Introd., p. 27, and Cambridge History, I, 167 f. In the Commentary on the Kalpa-Sūtra, however, a distinction is made between 3 Kālakācāryas; s. *Jacobi* in ZDMG 34, 1880, 250 ff.

[2]) The year 98 after the death of Mahāvīra is mentioned as the date when the Dasaveyāliya was written. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 77.

[3]) *Cf.* also *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 99 f.

the help of old manuscripts, and partly on the basis of oral tradition. As a matter of fact, there are inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. which prove that, even at that early period, the Jainas were split into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, and that there were schools (gaṇa) where the successive teachers were enumerated just as in our texts. As the same inscriptions also mention monks with the title of Vācaka, *i.e.*, "reader," there must have been sacred texts at any rate in those days. Inscriptions and bas-reliefs prove that the legend of Mahāvīra as known in the first century A.D. was very similar to that found in our texts. The fact that the Śvetāmbaras did not alter in their Siddhānta those rules which require that Jaina monks shall go naked, shows that they did not venture to make any arbitrary alterations in the texts, but handed them down as faithfully as they could.[1] Lastly, it is also an eloquent argument in favour of the trustworthiness of the Jaina tradition, that it should coincide exactly with the Buddhist tradition in many remarkable details.[2]

So much is certain: the works of the Siddhānta cannot have originated at one period. The Canon which Devarddhi compiled, and which has come down to us, is the final result of a literary activity that must have begun as soon as the organisation of the Order and the monastic life were firmly established. This was in all probability the case not long after the death of Mahāvīra. The earliest portions of the Canon may therefore quite possibly belong to the period of the first disciples of Mahāvīra himself, or at the latest to the 2nd century after Mahāvīra's death—the period of the Maurya Candragupta, in which tradition places the Council of

[1]) *Jacobi*, ZDMG 40, 97; SBE 22, xxxvii ff.; *Charpentier*. Uttarādhyayanasūtra, Introd., 25 ff.

[2]) *Jacobi*, SBE 45, XV ff.; *Oldenberg*, Buddha, 5. Aufl., p. 95 f. *Bhandarkar* (Report 1883-4, 124 ff.), relying on the tradition of the Digambaras, believes that the Jainas did not receive any written sacred books until 683 years after the death of Mahāvīra (that

Pāṭaliputra—whilst the latest portions should probably be dated nearer the time of Devarddhi.[1] Scholars have only just begun to distinguish between the earlier and the later strata of the Canon.[2]

As is usual in India in the compilation of collections of texts, here also the principle followed in the compilation and arrangement of the Canon is often, not the contents, but something purely external. It is numbers which play a particularly prominent part. Thus, to correspond to the 12 Aṅgas there had to be 12 Upāṅgas,[3] or texts were grouped according to the number of sections they contained. Groups of ten (Dasāo, "decades") are special favourites, and the compilers of the Canon tried all possible methods of achieving the number 10.

We now proceed to examine the individual works in the Canon, and shall deal more fully with those which are of greater importance from a *literary* point of view.

The first Aṅga is the Āyāraṃga-Sutta.[4] In two lengthy sections (śruta-skandha) it treats of the way of life (āyāra, Sansk. ācāra) of a monk. The first section, which makes a very archaic impression, is most decidedly earlier than

---

would be 216 A.D., but according to Bhandarkar 139 A.D.), when the last of the teachers who knew any portion of the sacred writings from memory, was dead. On the other hand, *Jacobi* (SBE 22, xxxvii ff.) thinks that we might place the writing of the works of the Jaina Canon towards the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C.

[1]) As the commentaries mention variants and books which have got lost, not even the redaction of Devarddhigaṇi has come down to us unchanged, and some additions were surely made later. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 229 ff.

[2]) In this connection the investigations of W. *Schubring* (Ācārāṅga-Sūtra Erster Śrutaskandha 1910, and Worte Mahāvīras, 1926, p. 2 ff.) are valuable.

[3]) *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 8, assumes that there were originally only 5 Upāṅgas.

[4]) Edited by H. *Jacobi*, London PTS 1882 and translated by the same scholar in SBE, Vol. 22. The first Śrutaskandha, the Bambhacerāiṃ (brahmacaryāṇi, "Rules for the holy life") has been newly edited by W. *Schubring* in AKM XII, 4, Leipzig 1910, and translated into German by him in "Worte Mahāvīras," pp. 66-121. Edition with commentary in the AUS series.

the second, and yet even the first is a mosaic pieced together from heterogeneous elements. Here again we meet with the mixture of prose and verse which we so frequently encountered in Buddhist literature. Now we have long series of stanzas, now long prose passages without verse, then again a rapid change between prose and verse, and often it is only fragments of verses, some long, some short, which are inserted into the prose passages.[1]

These sermons consist mainly of exhortations and warnings, *e.g.*, the warning against any kind of killing or injury of living creatures, for instance :

" I speak thus. All Saints (Arhats) and Lords (Bhagavats) in the past, in the present and in the future, they all say thus, speak thus, announce thus and declare thus : One may not kill, nor ill-use, nor insult, nor torment, nor persecute any kind of living being, any kind of creature, any kind of thing having a soul, any kind of beings. That is the pure, eternal, enduring commandment of religion, which has been proclaimed by the sages who comprehend the world."

" You yourself are the (being) which you intend to kill ; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to ill-use ; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to insult ; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to torment ; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to persecute.[2] Therefore the righteous one, who has awakened to this knowledge, and lives according to it, will neither kill nor cause to kill." [3]

The essential difference between the monastic rules of the Jainas and the Buddhists is, that those of the Jainas lay much

---

[1]) *Schubring* in his edition and his translation of the Bambhacerāiṃ, has made an attempt to separate out the mosaic-like portions of the work, metrical and prose passages, and to throw light on the very entangled assortment of texts. Though he has brought much ingeniousness to bear on his task, he has only succeeded in part. *Cf. Jacobi* in AR 18, 1915, 283 ff.

[2]) The intended meaning is : The consequences of the action return to yourself.

[3]) I, 4, 11 ; 5, 5, 4. This kind of repetition and accumulation of synonymous or almost synonymous expressions is just as popular in the Jinistic sermons as in the Buddhist ones.

more stress on severe asceticism, and even go as far as to recommend religious suicide. If a monk suffers from cold, he should rather freeze to death than break his vow. However ill and weak he may be, he should rather die than break his vow of fasting. He is to go naked, so as to expose himself to the pricking of the blades of grass, to the inclemency of the weather and the bites of the flies and mosquitoes. A long verse passage (I, 7, 8) includes, it is true, the famous ascetic rule, which is known to the Brahmins and Buddhists also, *viz.*, "He should not desire life, he should not long for death": this is, however, immediately followed by the characteristic rules on the various methods by which the accomplished sage is to starve himself to death by slow degrees. This passage is followed by a long narrative poem—really a mosaic of verses, in which it is often doubtful whether they *are* verses—the Ohāṇasuyaṃ (I, 8),[1] describing in a very graphic manner the ascetic life of the "Great Hero:"

He wandered naked and homeless. People struck him and mocked at him—unconcerned, he continued in his meditations. In Lāḍha the inhabitants persecuted him and set the dogs on him. They beat him with sticks and with their fists, and threw fruits, clods of earth and potsherds at him. They disturbed him in his meditations by all sorts of torments. But "like a hero in the forefront of the battle," Mahāvīra withstood it all. Whether he was wounded or not, he never sought medical aid. He took no kind of medicaments, he never washed, did not bathe and never cleaned his teeth. In winter he meditated in the shade, in the heat of summer he seated himself in the scorching sun. Often he drank no water for months. Sometimes he took only every sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth meal, and pursued his meditations without craving.

Section II of the Āyāraṃga is a much later work, as can be seen by the mere fact of the sub-divisions being described as Cūḷās, *i.e.*, "appendices." The subject-matter of the first

[1] Translated in its entirety by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 22, p. 79 ff., and *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 115 ff.

two Cūḷās is dry rules for begging and wandering, and the daily life of the monks and nuns. In the rules as regards begging, and in the dietary regulations, the main point is that only such food is to be taken as does not in any way entail the destruction of life. In the rules for speaking (II, 4) the essential point is that the monk shall utter no falsehood, nor anything which may hurt. The third Cūḷā contains the materials for a biography of Mahāvīra, which have been utilised in Bhadrabāhu's Kalpa-Sūtra, and which recur there in part. The book ends with twelve verses, the contents of which are somewhat reminiscent of the Buddhist Theragāthās.

The second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṃga,[1] treats of the pious life of the monks, and is mainly devoted to the confutation of heretical opinions. This Aṅga, too, consists of two books, the second of which is probably only an appendix, added later, to the old Aṅga which we have in the first book. This is composed in verses, Ślokas and also more artificial metres;[2] the similes, too, show that the author was desirous of proving himself to be a poet. Some of these similes are turned quite prettily, as for instance, when it says: As birds of prey swoop down upon young, unfledged birds and carry them off, thus unscrupulous people seek to entice young monks (I, 14, 2 ff.) The explicit purpose of the book is to keep young

---

[1]) Published with various commentaries in the Āgama-Saṃgraha, Vol. 2, Bombay 1880; with Śīlāṅkācārya's commentary, Bombay 1917 for AUS. Translated into English by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, and selected sections into German by *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras. Sūtrakṛtāṅga is a false Sanskritisation; for, as *Schubring* (Worte Mahāvīras, p. 12) has rightly observed, *sūtra*, "text," is *sutta* in Prākrit, and not *sūya*. He therefore explains sūyagaḍaṅga as the Aṅga of the Sūcākṛt or "philosophers," and is thinking of the meaning *dṛṣṭi* which is given by lexicographers both for *sūcā* and *ṣūci*. It is true that neither *sūcikṛt* nor *dṛṣṭikṛt* occurs anywhere else in the sense of "philosopher." The Nijjutti says that there are three names of the Aṅga: sūtagaḍaṃ, suttakaḍam and sūyagaḍam. The last is explained thus by Śīlāṅka: *sūcākṛtam iti svaparasamayārthasūcanaṃ sūcā sāsmin kṛteti*. This is right. The title means: "The Aṅga in which the distinction (between the true and the false doctrines) is made."

[2]) Vaitālīya stanzas and Yamakas occur, cf. *Jacobi*, ZDMG 38, 593; 40 101.

monks away from the heretical doctrines of other teachers, to warn them of all dangers and temptations, to confirm them in their faith and thus lead them to the highest goal. The work begins with a condemnation of the doctrines of the Buddhists and other heretics, and the principal teachings of Mahāvīra are set forth in opposition to these. It is true, nevertheless, that what is here said about Karman and Saṃsāra does not differ greatly from the " heretical " doctrines. For instance, such sentences as the following (I, 2, 1, 13) might be found equally well in a Buddhist text :

" It is not myself alone who suffers, all creatures in the world suffer; this a wise man should consider, and he should patiently bear (such calamities) as befall him, without giving way to his passions." [1]

There is a graphic description of the cares and dangers with which the monastic life is fraught, but by which the novice should not allow himself to be repelled. His friends and relatives seek to hold him back, and paint the joys of family life to him in attractive colours. Kings and ministers, Brahmins and warriors endeavour to entice him to return to the world, but he is to withstand all these temptations. Critics and heretics attack him, and he should stand up to them courageously. Most especially, however, the young monk should beware of the blandishments of women, who use their utmost endeavours to fascinate him in every manner imaginable. By way of warning, there is a description, not devoid of humour, of the plight of men who have been caught in the web of women.

" And then they make him do what they like, even as a wheelwright gradually turns the felly of a wheel. As an antelope caught in a snare, so he does not get out of it, however he struggles.

" Afterwards he will feel remorse like one who has drunk milk mixed

[1]) I, 2, 1, 13, translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 251.

with poison; considering the consequences a worthy monk should have no intercourse with women."...

..." Now hear the pleasures of Śramaṇas which some monks enjoy.

" When a monk breaks the law, dotes (on a woman), and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head."...

" But when they have captured him, they send him on all sorts of errands: 'Look (for the bodkin to) carve the bottle-gourd, fetch some nice fruit.

' (Bring) wood to cook the vegetables, or that we may light a fire at night; paint my feet, come and meanwhile rub my back !...

' Reach me the lip-salve, fetch the umbrella and slippers, the knife to cut the string, have my robe dyed bluish !...

' Fetch me the pincers, the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair, reach me the looking-glass, put the tooth-brush near me "...

..." Pregnant women order their husbands about like slaves to fulfil their craving.

" When a son, the reward (of their wedded life), is born, (the mother bids the father) to hold the baby, or to give it to her. Thus some supporters of their sons have to carry burdens like camels.

" Getting up in the night they lull the baby asleep like nurses; and though they are ashamed of themselves, they wash the clothes like washermen." [1]

Like the authors of so many of the texts of the Purāṇas and Buddhist Suttas, a section of this Jaina Aṅga, too, dwells with truly Sadistic complacency on the fantastic description of the hells and the most gruesome torments of hell (I, 5, 1 f.). However, the author invariably reverts to polemics. Thus, for instance, he assails Brahmanical ritual, in the following terms (I, 7): If it were true that perfection can be attained by ablutions with cold water, then fishes, tortoises and snakes would attain the highest perfection; and if water really washed away the evil deed, then it must needs wash away the good deed also. Brahmins assert that perfection is to be

[1]) I, 4, 1, 9 f.; 2, 1 ff., translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, pp. 272 f., 275 ff.

attained by the daily lighting of the fire; if this were true, smiths and artisans of a similar nature would attain the highest sanctity.

It is possible that this book is the work of a single author. It is more probable, however, that a compiler united various poems and sermons on the same theme, to form one book. On the other hand, Book II, written in prose, is merely a somewhat clumsy conglomeration of appendices. These, too, are for the most part polemical in content and have only been appended because they deal with the same kind of themes as the old Aṅga. Nevertheless, even this book is of importance as contributing to our knowledge of the life of religious sects in India.[1]

In the third Aṅga, the Ṭhāṇaṃga,[2] as in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya of the Buddhists, various themes of the religion are dealt with in numerical order from 1 to 10. These enumerations sometimes contain parables in a nutshell, as for instance: There are four kinds of baskets, and also of teachers; there are four kinds of fishes, and also of mendicants; there are four kinds of balls, and also of men, etc. Occasionally, too, enumerations occur which are not directly connected with religion, *e.g.*, the ten themes of mathematics (in Sūtra 747). This Aṅga also contains important literary data regarding the Siddhānta, especially a table of contents of the Diṭṭhivāya which has gone astray.[3]

The fourth Aṅga, the Samavāyaṃga,[4] is in a way a

---

[1]) On the heretical doctrines dealt with in the Sūyagaḍaṃga, s. *Jacobi*, SBE 45, p. xxiii ff. Sūyagaḍa II, 1, as has been shown by *Schubring* (Worte Mahāvīras, p. 17 f.) is closely related to Āyāra I (Bambhacerāiṃ) both in wording and mode of expression.

[2]) Edited in the Āgama-Saṃgraha, Vol. 3, Benares 1880, with a Sanskrit and a Prākrit commentary; with Abhayadeva Sūri's commentary, Bombay 1918-1920. The title means "The Aṅga of the items," *i.e.*, of the subjects enumerated under numbers 1-10. *Cf.* E. *Leumann*, GGA 1899, 588, 592.

[3]) *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 267 ff.

[4]) Edited with commentary in the Āgama-Saṃgraha, Vol. 4, Benares 1880; with Abhayadeva Sūri's commentary, by the AUS, Bombay 1918.

continuation of the third, the subject-matter of the first two-thirds of the work being arranged in numerical groups, [1] just like the Ṭhāṇaṃga, except that in this case the numbers do not stop at 10, but go a long way beyond 100, as far as a million.

The work begins with an enumeration of the twelve Aṅgas and a table of contents of the fourteen Puvvas. At the conclusion, however, we find very exact data regarding not only the contents but also the extent of all the twelve Aṅgas, including the Samavāya itself. There is evidence of the fact that the Aṅga in its present form is either a late work or that it contains portions of later date, in such things as the enumeration, under the number 18, of the eighteen kinds of Brāhmī script, the enumeration, under number 36, of the thirty-six sections of the Uttarajjhayaṇa, and the mention of so recent a work as the Nandī. The data in regard to the extent of the Aṅgas do not tally with their present extent, and some of the figures given are very fantastic. [2]

The fifth Aṅga, the Bhagavatī Viyāha-Pannati, "the holy teaching of explanations," usually entitled briefly "Bhagavatī," [3] contains a bulky, circumstantial presentation of the dogmatics of Jinism, partly in the form of questions and answers, Mahāvīra replying to the questions of his principal disciple Goyama Indabhūti, and partly in the form of dialogue-legends (itihāsa-saṃvāda). The contents are a motley mixture of ancient doctrines and traditions, with numerous later additions containing frequent allusions to other works, more especially to the Pannavaṇā, the Jīvābhigama,

[1]) Hence the title samavāya, *i.e.*, "group," "aggregate."

[2]) *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 285 ff.

[3]) Vivāha-Pannatti is only a corrupt form of Viyāha-P. Edition with Abhayadeva's commentary by the AUS, Bombay 1918-1921, 3 Vols. *Cf.* A. *Weber*, Ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, in ABA 1865, 367-444; 1866, 155-352; and W. *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 10, 18 ff. Portions of the Viyāha-Pannatti have been translated into German by *Schubring*, Die Jainas (Religionsgesch. Lesebuch).

the Uvavāiya, the Rāya-Paseṇaijja, the Nandī and the Āyāradasāo. This work gives a more vivid picture than any other work, of the life and work of Mahāvīra, his relationship to his disciples and contemporaries, and his whole personality. Side by side with reports concerning apparitions of deities and the miraculous powers of Mahāvīra, we also find purely human traits, such as in the following account of the meeting of Mahāvīra with his mother :

(The Brahman Usabhadatta and his wife Devāṇandā went on pilgrimage to Mahāvīra.) "Then milk began to flow from the breast of the Brahman woman Devāṇandā, her eyes filled with tears, her arms swelled beside her bangles, her jacket stretched, the hairs of her body stood erect, as when a Kadamba unfolds itself in response to a shower of rain; thus she gazed at the holy monk Mahāvīra without averting her eyes. "Why, Master," said the venerable Goyama to the holy monk Mahāvīra, "does the Brahman woman Devāṇandā gaze...(thus)...without averting her eyes ?" "Hear, Goyama," said Mahāvīra, "the Brahman woman Devāṇandā is my mother, I am the son of the Brahman woman Devāṇandā. That is why the Brahman woman Devāṇandā gazes at me with tender love, the cause of which is that I first originated in her." (It is then related how Devāṇandā was received into the Order by Mahāvīra himself.)

We are probably also justified in regarding many of the doctrines, and particularly the similes and parables contained in this book as traces of the founder's own peculiar manner of expression.

'Numerous parables,' which have been handed down faithfully as such, show Mahāvīra endeavouring to make his meaning comprehensible to his hearers. He must condescend very low to the level of their intelligence, and draw on incidents familiar to them from their daily lives. Thus, for instance, the old man, to whom a blow from an axe causes the same pain as grief causes to an elemental being (19, 3); the immense number of glances fixed upon a dancing girl,

[1]) 9, 33, after the translation by *Schubring*, Die Jainas (Rel. Leseb.), p. 4.

the crowdedness and yet isolation of which corresponds to the kindred qualities of the single points of space (11, 10); the goat-shed, which is as full of the excrements of the goats, as origination and decay are taking place at every point of space (12, 7). Souls and substances permeate one another, as water permeates a sunken ship (1, 6)" etc.[1]

It is quite likely that Mahāvīra delivered the speeches about Saṃsāra and Kamma as they are written down here, *e.g.*:

"As each mesh in a piece of netting, which is set in a row of meshes, without a gap, occupying a regular and co-ordinated position in contact with the other meshes, reacts on the next mesh in regard to heaviness, drag, full-weight and closeness, even so in every single soul in many thousands of reincarnations, each one of many thousands of forms of life reacts in regard to heaviness, drag, full-weight and closeness on the life next to it" (5, 3).

"This soul of yours, Goyama, has already been incarnated as a mother, father, brother, sister, wife, son, daughter and daughter-in-law, as a foe, adversary, murderer, injurer and opponent, as a prince, royal heir, governor, mayor, magistrate, millionaire, master of guild, commander and merchant,— as a slave, messenger, servant, serf, pupil and domestic, in relation to all souls, and all souls have already been incarnated...(as the same)...in relation to your soul, and that more than once or an endless number of times" (12, 7).

"Just as if a man should eat food which tastes delicious, well cooked in a saucepan, and containing the desired quantity of each of the eighteen principal ingredients, but nevertheless mixed with poison, and after having consumed it, though he is in good health, yet changes...(to a condition which is bad in every respect)..., even thus, Kālodāī, souls change...(to a condition which is bad in every respect)...if they take unto themselves the hurting of beings, untrue speech, misappropriation, sexual stimulation, possession, anger, pride, deceit and greed, love and hate, strife, slander, gossip and back-biting, dislike and liking, lying and deception, and that thorn of false belief. Thus it comes about, Kālodāī, that souls perform evil deeds, from which evil fruits ripen. But if a man eats delicious

[1]) *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 21 f.

food...mixed with wholesome substance, and though he is not in good health when he consumes it, but yet changes afterwards...(to a condition which is good in every respect), even so, Kālodāī, souls change, when they incorporate abstinence from hurting...from false belief, that thorn... (to a condition which is good in every respect)...Thus it comes about Kālodāī, that souls perform good deeds, from which good fruits ripen " (7, 10).[1]

The legendary portion of the work also gives an account of the predecessors of Mahāvīra, and of pious ascetics who attained great divine dignity through their severe castigations. Considerable space is also devoted to the descriptions of the heavenly worlds of the gods, which are granted as a reward to the pious, and the hells with their torments, to which the wicked are doomed. Among the legends, those dealing with the predecessors and contemporaries of Mahāvīra are specially important, namely those of the disciples of Pārśva and of Jāmāli and Gosāla Makkhaliputta, the founders of sects, to which Book XV of the Bhagavatī is devoted. This section is a good example of the way in which one sect pre sents the life of the founder of a hostile sect. The nucleus of history in the background of this presentation, appears to be the fact that the two hostile sects, the Niganṭhas, *i.e.*, the adherents of Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and the Ājīvikas, *i.e.*, the adherents of Gosāla, were originally very closely connected, before they came to a parting of the ways.[2] It would seem that this Book XV of the Bhagavatī was originally an independent text, and indeed the whole of the fifth Aṅga has the appearance of a mosaic, into which various texts were inserted little by little.

The sixth Aṅga is entitled Nāyā-Dhammakahāo,[3] which

---

[1]) After the translation by *Schubring*, Die Jainas (Rel. Leseb.), p. 15 f., 19 f.

[2]) In the Appendix to his translation of the Uvāsagadasāo *Hoernle* has translated the story of Gosāla Makkhaliputta from Bhagavatī XV. *Cf.* also *Hoernle*, ERE 1, 261, and B.M. *Barua* in Calcutta Review, June 1927, p. 355 ff.

[3]) Edited with Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, Bombay 1916 by the AUS. *Cf.* P.

probably means "Examples and religious narratives." [1] Book I of this Aṅga consists of 21 chapters, each one of which as a rule presents a complete, independent narrative. Most of these tales are of the type which lays more stress on some parable incorporated in them than on the tale itself; some are, indeed, nothing but parables spun out and enlarged to form narratives. As an instance of this type, there is Chapter 7, in which the following is related:

A merchant had four daughters-in-law. In order to put them to the test, he gives each of them five grains of rice with orders to preserve them carefully until he shall ask for them back again. The first daughter-in-law throws the grains away, and thinks to herself: "There are plenty of grains of rice in the larder, I shall give him others instead." The second thinks in the same way, and eats the grains. The third daughter-in-law preserves them carefully in her jewel-casket. But the fourth one plants the grains, and reaps; she again sows the harvest and reaps again, until at the end of five years she has accumulated a large store of rice. Then the merchant returns and punishes the first two daughters-in-law, assigning them the meanest tasks in the household; he entrusts the third one with the guarding of the entire property; but he gives the entire management of the large household into the hands of the fourth daughter-in-law.— These four women represent the monks some of whom do not keep the five great vows at all, others neglect them, the better ones observe them conscientiously, but the best of whom are not content with observing them, but propagate them also.[2])

Steinthal, Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā, Diss. Leipzig 1881; W. *Hüttemann*, Die Jñāta-Erzählungen im sechsten Aṅga des Kanons der Jinisten, Strassburg 1907.

[1]) This is how the Jainas themselves explain the title. The nāyas (Sansk. jñāta) are a certain kind of stories, "they are to lay such emphasis upon either a certain definite *subject of their action* or a definite *passage in the narrative*, that the hearer will recognise that *everything* depends on *this* point of the narrative" (Hüttemann, loc. cit., p. 47 f.). There is already a classification of the nāyas to be found in the Thāṇaṃga 4, 3 (s. *Leumann* in ZDMG 46, 1892, 602 f.). *Weber* explains the title otherwise: "Stories for the Dharma of Nāya," *i.e.*, of Jñātṛ; according to his descent, Mahāvīra is also called Jñātṛputra or Nāyaputta (in the Buddhist Pāli texts Nātaputta).

[2]) E. *Leumann* (WZKM 3, 1889, 331 f.; GGA 1899, 588) has compared the parable of the talents in St. Matth. 25 and St. Luke 19, 12 ff. It is, however, scarcely feasible to

Side by side with legends and parables of this nature, we also encounter regular novels, tales of travellers' adventures, mariners' fairy-tales, robber tales and the like, in which the parable only appears in the form of a moral clumsily tacked on to the end.[1] In Chapter 8 the legend of Mallī, the only female Tīrthakara[2] is told, with that morality which, though sickly to our taste, is so characteristic of the monastic conception of life:

Mallī, the daughter of the king of Mithilā, is of wondrous, incomparable beauty. Six princes learn of her beauty, each in a different way, and woo her. One of them, the king of the Kuru land, gets to know of Mallī through a portrait which an artist has painted of her, after he had seen only the princess' great toe.[3] Mallī's father refuses all the six princes. They are infuriated, and combine to wage war against the king. Mithilā is besieged, and the king is helpless. Then Mallī advises the king to invite each one of the princes into the city, promising each one her hand. Owing to her power of clairvoyance, she had already foreseen everything long before, and had a "puzzling house"[4] constructed; then she made a figure which bore an exact resemblance to herself, and put it into this house. This figure had an opening on the head, into which she put remnants of

---

assume any historical connection between the Jinistic and the Christian parable. Thus also *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 43 f. Note; and now also *Leumann*, Buddha nnd Mahāvīra, ZB 1921, p. 55 ff.

[1]) In the mariner's fairy tale in the ninth Jñāta story, the winged horse also occnrs, as in the Valāhassa-Jātaka (No. 196). See above, p. 131 f., and *Charpentier*, WZKM 27, 1913, 93.

[2]) According to the hagiology of the Jainas, there are 24 Tīrthakaras, "preparers of the path," also called Jinas, "victors" of whom Ṛṣabha was the first and Mahāvīra the last. All of them possessed perfect knowledge (kevalajñāna), and ever again proclaimed anew the religion which had sunk into corruption. With the Digambaras, the 19th Tīrthakara is a man, Malli, like all the others, but according to the Śvetāmbaras, a woman, Mallī. *Cf.* Mrs. *Stevenson*, Heart of Jainism, p. 50 ff., 56 f.; H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 247 ff., 284 and in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 337.

[3]) This episode reminds us of the Buddhist stories of famous artists, above, p. 136 f., and the entire narrative betrays a highly cultivated art.

[4]) Mohanaghara, "a house intended for confusion," namely a house in which a second house, and in the latter a third house stands, with net-work walls, so that the princes could be led into the house, without knowing of one another, and yet could all see the same figure.

her meals every day. She took care to conceal the opening carfeully with lotus blossoms. The princes were conducted into this "puzzling house." While they are admiring the figure of the princess through a wall of netting, Mallī herself appears. She opens the figure, and a terrible stench is spread about, so that the princes hastily cover their faces and turn away, whereupon the beautiful princess moralises on the fact that the inside of her lovely body is even much more loathsome than the inside of this figure. They should therefore not set any store on the enjoyment of love. She then tells the story of her former births, in which the six princes also played a part, and announces that she has decided to become a nun, whereupon the six princes also renounce the world.

If is a favourite theme in Jinist legends in general, as in this particular instance, to follow up the fate of persons through various rebirths. In Chapter 13, a pious layman who had lapsed into heresy for lack of a suitable teacher, was reborn as a frog, in spite of his many good works. In this existence he is crushed by a horse's hoof, but is just able to summon his remaining strength sufficiently to repeat the formula of worship to Mahāvīra, and is consequently reborn immediately as a god in heaven.[1] Chapter 16 contains the legend of Dovaī, *i.e.*, Draupadī, in the form of a story of rebirth. This is a monkish corruption of the legend from the Mahābhārata of Draupadī's marriage to the five brothers.[2]

Book II of this Aṅga is a complete contrast to Book I both in form and contents, and is more closely associated with the seventh and the ninth Aṅgas. Curiously enough, the

[1] The same legend is also told in the Païnna Bhattaparinnā (cf. K. v. *Kamptz*, Über die vom Sterbefasten handelnden älteren Païnna des Jaina-Kanons, p. 31); similarly in the Visuddhi-Magga, above, p. 203.

[2] E. *Leumann*, OC VI Leiden 1883, 3, 539 ff., believes that an archaic tradition is embodied in the Jinistic form of the legend. That is certainly not the case. See also *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 2, 473 f. Leumann (loc. cit. 551 f.) discusses Chapter 14 of the Aṅga, which he compares, as the Indian "Herod legend," with that part of the Kṛṣṇa legend which is told in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 10, 2-4. There is, however, only a very slight connection between the legend of the massacre of the innocents and the pious Jinistic legend.

story of the goddess Kālī is here told as a Dhammakahā, "sermon," [1] though it is eminently unsuitable for this purpose.

The seventh Aṅga, Uvāsagadasāo,[2] *i.e.*, "the ten (chapters on the duties) of the lay adherent" also contains narratives for the most part. Legends are told of ten pious householders, most of whom are wealthy merchants, who impose on themselves certain forms of self-denial, take the vows enumerated by Mahāvīra, and become pious lay adherents. By dint of their asceticism they actually attain to miraculous powers while they are still lay adherents: finally they die a voluntary death by starvation as genuine Jaina saints, and are reborn as gods in the heaven of the pious. Just as in the Purāṇas and the Buddhist Mahāyāna-Sūtras, ten stories of this kind are included in one and the same frame, being told by the venerable, Suhamma to Jambū. The legends are all told after a stereotyped pattern in the most monotonous manner imaginable, so much so that in the later stories there is often only a catchword given by way of allusion to the earlier stories. The part that has the greatest claim upon our interest, is Chapter VII, in which the story is told of the wealthy potter Saddālaputta, who had been an adherent of Gosāla Makkhaliputta, but seceded from him and went over to Mahāvira. The description of how Mahāvīra convinces the potter of the truth of his doctrine, is in places reminiscent of the best Buddhist dialogues. It is obvious, however, that the whole work was only compiled for devotional purposes.[3]

---

[1]) See *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 6, 13.

[2]) Ed. in the original Prākṛt with the Sanskrit Commentary of Abhayadeva and an English Translation with notes by A. F. R. *Hoernle*, Calcutta, Bibl. Ind. 1885-1888. Edited with Commentary of Abhayadeva Sūri by the AUS, Bombay 1920. *Cf. Leumann*, WZKM 3, 1889, 328 ff.; *Barth*, RHR 19, 1889, 284=Oeuvres II, 61 f. There is a metrical, elaborated version of the contents of this Aṅga, namely the Vardhamānadeśanā in Prākrit-Gāthās (with interlinear version in Sanskrit); s. *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 2, 492.

[3] This is also expressly stated at the conclusion of the book: "The seventh Aṅga,

The next two Aṅgas, composed on the same plan, can lay just as little claim to literary merit. The eighth Aṅga, Aṃtagaḍadasāo,[1] *i.e.*, "the ten (chapters) on the (pious ascetics) who have made an end," originally consisted of ten chapters, but is now divided into eight sections. The ninth Aṅga, too, Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo, *i.e.*, "the ten (chapters) on the (pious ascetics) who have attained to the very highest (regions of heaven)," is now divided into three sections with thirty-three lessons, instead of the original ten lessons. As we learn from Ṭhāṇaṃga 10, the original contents of these two Aṅgas were totally different from the present contents.[2] On the ground of their form, if for no other reason, these works must be denied any claim to literary excellence. Not only are the legends related after a stereotyped pattern, but they often present merely a skeleton, which the reciter is left to fill in with set words and phrases like clichés. For instance, one passage reads: "There was once a city named Campā, a shrine Puṇṇabhadda, a forest. Description."[3] What is meant is, that a complete description of the city, the shrine and the forest is to be inserted here, as it stands in the first Upāṅga. Another instance is the part about the Thera Suhamma, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, where there is a mere indication that a detailed description of this holy man is to be given, which can be found in the sixth Aṅga. In those cases where they

---

Uvāsagadasāo, forms a book of the sacred scripture. Its ten chapters ... are recited in exactly ten days. Thus the whole book is read completely. It is however, permitted to do this with the Aṅga in two days."

[1]) The 8th, 9th and 11th Aṅgas with Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary are edited in one volume by the AUS, Bombay 1920. The Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo translated from the Prākrit by L. D. *Barnett*, London OTF 1907.

[2]) See *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 6 ff.

[3]) We find something similar in the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins; s. above II, 280 f., 284 and *Speyer*, Avadānaśataka II, p. xvi f. The "Varṇakas" occur in all the texts of the Canon.

are given in full, these "descriptions" (vannaa, varṇaka) are composed in an ornate style characterised by the conglomeration of long compound words. In all probability they belong to the earlier poetical portions of the Canon. Even the earliest commentaries read these descriptions as ornate prose. Prof. Jacobi[1] attempted to find in them traces of a long metre not arranged to form stanzas, but himself remarks that, though they are metrical, they are more closely akin to prose than to actual poems. However, even where the descriptions are given in the text itself, *e.g.*, that of the marriage of Prince Goyama, they are very tedious, and mostly consist of nothing but endless enumerations. The only time when the narrative becomes more poetical is, when the prince announces his resolve to become a monk, and his parents endeavour to dissuade him from this course. The words in which Goyama begs for admittance into the monastic order, in the eighth Aṅga—"The world is in flames, the world is being burnt by old-age and death"—put us in mind of the famous "Fire Sermon" of Buddha. This Aṅga is of importance from the point of view of Indian mythology and history of religion, because it embodies the Kṛṣṇa-legend in a corrupted Jaina version, related so as to suit Jaina requirements. The story of the downfall of the city of Dvāravatī and the death of Kṛṣṇa is told as in the Mahābhārata, only Kṛṣṇa is made into a pious Jaina.

---

[1]) Ind. Stud. 17, 389 ff.; *cf. Schubring*, ZII 2, 178 ff. and Worte Mahāvīras, p. 3 ff., who regards this metre (veḍha, veṣṭaka) as a forerunner of the āryā. He too, observes: "The absence of a division into stanzas which is caused by the varying lengths of the Veḍhas, gives a Veḍha text the character of rhythmic prose." It is true that in the Anuogadāra (p. 233 f. of the 1924 Bombay edition) veḍha is mentioned after gāhā (gāthā) and siloga (śloka), but it is not certain whether it here means a metre, because, after veḍhasaṃkhā we find nijjuttisaṃkhā, etc. *Cf. Leumann*, Jītakalpa in SBA 1892, p. 1196. We must bear in mind that, from the Indian point of view, the metre is no criterion of poetry, as prose can just as well be poetry as can verses, so that it really does not make much difference whether we read these passages as verses or rhythmic prose.

The ninth Aṅga gives a hopelessly monotonous account of how the saints again and again attain to the highest perfection by starving themselves to death. To our minds at least, it is not very edifying to have the "beauty of asceticism" illustrated by a minute description of every single part of the body, accompanied by a series of drastic comparisons, in order to show how lean and emaciated it had grown. It is a remarkable contradiction: this exaggerated love of death on the part of the Jaina saint, and on the other hand, the equally exaggerated fear of killing any living thing, even though it might be only a worm or a green herb.

The tenth Aṅga, the Paṇhā-Vāgaraṇāiṃ, "Questions and Explanations,[1] treats in ten "Gates" (dāra) firstly of the five "great vows" (not to hurt any living being, not to lie, not to steal, not to be unchaste, not to be attached to possessions), and then of the five virtues corresponding to these. It is a purely dogmatic presentation, which does not correspond either to the title of the work or to the table of contents in the Ṭhāṇaṃga 10 and in the Nandī Thus a later work took the place of the old Aṅga which had got lost.[2]

The eleventh Aṅga, Vivāgasuyam, *i.e.*, "the text of the ripening (of actions),"[3] contains legends on the retribution of good and evil deeds after the manner of the Buddhist Karman stories in the Avadāna-Śataka and Karma-Śataka. Goyama Indabhūti, the oldest pupil of Mahāvīra, sees various unhappy people, and at his request Mahāvīra explains by what actions in a former birth the person has deserved such mis-

---

[1]) Edited with Abhayadeva Sūri's Commentary, by the AUS, Bombay, 1919.

[2]) *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 326 ff.; *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 13.

[3]) For edition (together with Aṅgas 8 and 9) s. above, p. 450, note 1. According to Ṭhāṇaṃga 10, where this Aṅga is called Kamma-Vivāga-Dasāo, it originally contained only 10 chapters, whilst it contains 20 to-day. "This extension is made for the purpose of setting the reward for previous merits beside the evil consequences of previous guilt" (*Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p 6).

fortune, through what bad rebirths the person has already passed, what is still in store for him, and by what means he may finally attain to a good rebirth again. There is, for instance, a certain Umbaradatta, who is afflicted with all manner of horrible diseases. Why? Because when he was a doctor, in a previous existence, he had prescribed meat diet to a patient, thus causing the killing of numerous living creatures. He will still be born again in worse incarnations, as a dog, etc., but finally he will nevertheless be born again as a merchant.

In regard to the contents of the twelfth Aṅga, the Diṭṭhivāya ("Doctrine of the various views"), which went astray, there is nothing beyond all kinds of information given in other texts.[1] Five divisions of the Diṭṭhivāya are distinguished: (1) Parikammaṃ (Parikarmāṇi); these are said to be 16 "Preparations" for the right understanding of the Sūtras, after the analogy of the 16 arithmetical operations; (2) Suttāi (Sūtrāṇi), 88 (4×22) Sūtras, in which the heretical doctrines are confuted; (3) Puvvagae (Pūrvagatam), the 14 Puvvas; (4) Anuyoga, legends of the Tīrthakaras and other great men; and (5) Cūliyā (Cūlikāḥ or "Addenda."[2] The existence of twelve Upāṅgas is additional evidence of the fact that twelve Aṅgas once existed.

There is an Upāṅga to every Aṅga. Nevertheless the connection is merely external. The subject-matter of the

---

[1]) Thus in the fourth Aṅga, in the Nandī and the Cheda-Sūtras. A short text, after the manner of a Tantra, seems to have stood at the beginning of this Aṅga; s. *Leumann* OC VI, Leiden 1883 III, 2, 558 ff. A Karma-Grantha by Candrarṣi and a work by Śivaśarmasūri called Karma-Prakṛti, old texts in Prākrit Gāthās on the doctrine of Karman, are said to have been taken from the Diṭṭhivāya; s. H. v. *Glasenapp*, Die Lehre vom Karman in der Philosophie der Jains nach den Karmagranthas dargestellt, Leipzig 1915, p. 9 f. The Siddhapañcāśikā by Devendra Sūri, is an extract from the Diṭṭhivāya in 50 Gāthās; see *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 2, 534 ff.

[2]) *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 349 ff.; *Guérinot*, La Religion Djaina, p. 71, and H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 93 ff.

twelve Upāṅgas is purely dogmatic and mythological, and they are not very interesting from a literary point of view.

The first Upāṅga is the Uvavāiya.[1] The first part describes the departure of Mahāvīra for the Puṇṇabhadda shrine, and the pilgrimage of King Kuṇiya Bhiṃbhasāraputta to the same place, in order to hear Mahāvīra's sermon.[2] The sermon deals with the retribution of good and evil deeds in the four forms of existence (as denizens of hell, animals, human beings and gods), and also with the duties of monks and laymen. In the second part, which has no connection whatsoever with the first, Goyama Indabhūti journeys to the Master, in order to question him regarding the various re-births. It is then taught in the form of questions and answers, how every being which has done evil, has to bear the consequences, and the beings which have not sinned so grievously, reappear in a world of the gods under certain circumstances. The various circumstances which lead to the "attainment of an existence" (uvavāya) in one of the twelve worlds of the gods, are enumerated in 16 categories. The last site lies beyond the borders of the universe, and is destined for those who have attained to complete knowledge. These mansions of the blessed are described in great detail:

"The same form which the enlightened one had at the last moment, when leaving this earthly existence, that same form he has yonder, only that it is intensified in its soul-atoms. From the form which was large or small in the last existence, one-third will be lacking in the size and bulk of the enlightened one....They are without a body, densely compact of

---

[1]) Das Aupapātika-Sūtra, erstes Upāṅga der Jaina, 1. Teil. Einleitung, Text und Glossar von E. *Leumann*, AKM VIII, 2 Leipzig 1883. Complete edition in the AUS series. The Sanskritised form "Aupapātika" given by the commentaries is erroneous. Uvavāiya stands for upapādika, "dealing with the upapāda (uvavāya)"; uvavāya means "the attainment of an existence." *Cf.* S. *Lévi* in JA, 1912, sér. 10, t. XX, 502 f. The Digambaras call the 9th Aṅga Anuttaraupapādikāṅga, s. *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-4, p. 107.

[2]) The descriptions (varṇaka) are given completely in the first two Upāṅgas.

soul-atoms, they cherish a right belief and a right knowledge as regards objects in particular as well as in general. By reason of their being able to exercise omniscience, they recognise the nature of all things and their temporal qualities; with a never-ending, penetrating, keen glance of their intellect, they look in every place. Neither among human beings nor among all the gods is there such illimitable bliss as has begun for the enlightened one. The bliss of the gods, multiplied in duration to eternity, even though it were endlessly augmented in its fulness, is not so great as the blissfulness of liberation....As a savage, who becomes acquainted with the manifold beauties of a city, cannot describe them, because he lacks something with which to compare them, so, too, the blissfulness of the enlightened ones is incomparable, there is no comparison, and yet I shall mention something which can be compared with it in a certain sense. As a man, when he has eaten food containing all desirable ingredients, no longer experiences thirst and hunger, as though he had sated himself with the celestial beverage, so the enlightened ones who have come to the unique extinguishing, dwell sated for all time, rapturous in the possession of illimitable blissfulness without end." [1]

As a work of literature, the second Upāṅga, the Rāyapaseṇaijja,[2] is of greater importance. It is true that it begins with a long and tedious story, in the style of the Purāṇas, of the pilgrimage of the god Sūriyābha to Mahāvīra, but the nucleus of the work is really the dialogue, included in this tale, between King Paësi and the monk Kesi, concluding with the conversion of the free-thinking king. This is a splendid, lively dialogue, in which Kesi endeavours to prove to Paësi that there is a soul independent of the body, whilst

[1] 170 f., 178 ff. After the translation of W. *Schubring*, Die Jainas (Rel. Leseb.), p. 29 f.

[2] Rājapraśnīyasūtram, edited with Malayagiri's Commentary by the AUS, Bombay 1925. On the contents s. *Leumann* OC VI, Leiden 1883, III, 2, 490 ff. The Sanskrit translation of the title, Rājapraśnīya, is probably erroneous. Presumably the work originally treated of a king Prasenajit, in whose place Paësa was inserted; see *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 382 ff. On a Buddhist version of the Paësi dialogue in the Dīgha-Nikāya see above II, 44.

Paësi thinks that he has established the contrary by means of experiments. He says, for instance, that he has had a thief sentenced to death, cut up, and hacked to pieces, and found no trace of any soul; whereupon Kesi retorts that he is even simpler than certain people who wanted to make a fire and chopped up the fire-sticks.

The next two Upāṅgas again take the form of questions (by Goyama) and answers (by Mahāvīra). The third Upāṅga, Jīvājīvābhigama, "the doctrine of the living and the lifeless things," [1] gives in 20 sections a comprehensive classification of living creatures and a description of the universe in all its details (oceans, islands, palaces of gods, etc.). The section dealing with the continents (dīva) and the oceans (sāgara) is connected with the Jambuddīva-Pannatti, and is an interpolation.[2]

The fourth Upāṅga, Pannavaṇā,[3] which describes itself as a work of Ayya Sāma,[4] also gives in 36 chapters a classification of the living beings, containing under "human being" a geographical-ethnographic outline, in which the Aryans (ariya, āryа) and the barbarians (milikkha, mleccha) are enumerated with their habitations.

The fifth, sixth and seventh Upāṅgas are "scientific" works, dealing with astronomy, geography, cosmology and the division of time. Curiously enough, the Canda-Pannatti, which is counted as the seventh Upāṅga, according to its title an astronomical theory of the heavens based upon the

---

[1]) Jīvājīvābhigamōpāṅga with Malayagiri's Commentary edited in JPU 50, Bombay 1919. See *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 388 ff. The title is usually given as Jīvābhigama, but Jīvājīvābhigama seems to be more in keeping with the contents of the work.

[2]) *Cf.* W. *Kirfel* in ZII 3, 1925, p. 50 ff. According to the data in the Ṭhāṇaṃga and in the Nandī, there was an independent text Dīvasāgara-Pannatti in the Canon.

[3]) Pannavaṇā Bhagavatī with Malayagiri's Commentary and Sanskrit translation by Nārakacandra, publ. Benares 1884; Śyāmācārya-dṛbdhaṃ śrīman-Malayagiryācārya-vihita-vivaraṇa-yutaṃ śrī-Prajñāpanopāṅgam, Bombay 1918, AUS.

[4]) See above, p. 433, note 1.

moon, is completely identical in all available manuscripts with the Sūra-Pannatti,[1] the description of the heavens based upon the sun. Originally it was most probably a text preceding the Sūra-Pannatti and a work separate from this text. The Sūra-Pannatti contains a systematic presentation of the astronomical views of the Jainas. It deals with the orbits which the sun describes during the year, with the rising and setting of the sun, with the speed of the course of the sun through each of its 184 circuits, the light of the sun and moon, the measure of the shadow at various seasons of the year, the connection of the moon with the lunar mansions (Nakṣatras), the waxing and waning of the moon, the velocity of the five kinds of heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon, planets, Nakṣatras and Tārās), the qualities of the moonlight, the number of suns in Jambudvīpa, etc. As the work deals with the sun as well as with the moon, it almost looks as though the original Canda-Pannatti had been worked into the Sūra-Pannatti.

The sixth Upāṅga, the Jaṃbuddīva-Pannatti, "the description of Jambudvīpa,"[2] the central continent, contains the mythical geography of the Jainas. In the description of Bharatavarṣa (India), however, the legends of King Bharata occupy much space.[3]

Upāṅgas 8-12 are sometimes also comprised as five sections of one text entitled Nirayāvalī-Suttam. Probably they originally formed one text, the five sections of which were

---

[1]) Sūryaprajñapti-Upāṅgam with Malayagiri's Commentary, edited by the AUS, Bombay 1919. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 10, 254 ff.; 16, 401 ff.; HSS. Verz. II, 2, 573 ff.; G. *Thibaut* in JASB 1880, 49, 107 ff., 181 ff.; *Leumann* in OC VI, Leiden 1883, III, 2, 490 ff. and *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 13. In Ṭhāṇaṃga 4, 1 Canda-Pannattī, Sūra-Pannattī, Jaṃbuddīva-Pannattī and Dīvasāgara-Pannattī are enumerated as Aṅgabahiriyas.

[2]) Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti with Śānticandra's Commentary in JPU, Nos. 52 and 54. *Cf.* on the mythical geography of the Jainas, W. *Kirfel*, Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn und Leipzig 1920, p. 208 ff. and H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 225 ff.

[3]) According to *Leumann* (ZDMG 48, 82) these legends "can be called an exactly parallel text to Viṣṇu-Purāṇa II and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa V."

then counted as five different texts, in order to bring the number of Upāṅgas up to twelve. They are all of legendary contents, and deal with life in the beyond. The eighth Upāṅga, Nirayāvaliyāo,[1] " the series of hells," relates how the ten half-brothers of the king of Campā, Kuṇiya or Ajātaśatru, were killed by their grandfather Ceḍaga of Vesāli in the battle against him, and after their death were re-born in the various hells (niraya). The Buddhists relate that Ajātaśatru killed his father Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha, and that he was altogether a bad, cruel ruler. The Jainas endeavour to show him in a better light, obviously because he favoured their order. The ninth Upāṅga, Kappāvaḍaṃsiāu, gives an account of the ten sons of the same princes whose story was told in the eighth Aṅga: like their grandmothers they were converted to the ascetic life, and each one reached a different heaven. The tenth Upāṅga, Pupphiāo, gives an account of ten gods and goddesses, who drove earthwards in their heavenly chariots (puṣpakāḥ) from their heavenly world, in order to pay homage to Mahāvīra, whereupon the latter teils Goyama Indabhūti their previous history. In the eleventh Upāṅga, Pupphacūliāo, ten similar stories are told, or rather they are indicated merely by catchwords. The twelfth Upāṅga, Vaṇhidasāo, deals with the conversion of the twelve princes of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty by the saint Ariṭṭhanemi The first of the legends deals with Nisaḍha, son of Baladeva and nephew of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva, and is thus connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend.

The ten Païṇṇas or " scattered pieces " correspond to the Vedic Pariśiṣṭas, and are, like the latter, mostly metrical, and deal with all kinds of subjects pertaining to the Jaina religion.

---

[1]) Nirayāvaliyāsuttam, een Upāṅga der Jaina's. Met inleiding.....van S. *Warren*, Amsterdam 1879. Nirayāvalikasūtram with Candrasūri's Commentary, publ. by the AUS, Ahmedabad 1922.

The Caüsaraṇa deals in 63 verses with the prayers by means of which one may take the "fourfold refuge," namely, that of the saints (Arhat), the perfected (Siddha), the living pious (Sādhu) and of religion (Dharma). The first verses, however, prescribe the six daily duties (ṣaḍāvaśyakam) essential for the purification of one's mode of life.[1] Virabhadda (Vīrabhadra) is mentioned as the author of the Caüsaraṇa. There is a whole series of Païṇṇas which deal with the voluntary death of the sage:[2] Bhattaparinnā, "the dispensing with food," in 172 verses; Saṃthāra, "the pallet of straw," upon which the sage, sick unto death, stretches himself in order to meditate, in 122 verses; Āura-Paccakkhāna, "the sick one's refusal" (of the pleasures of life), and Mahā-Paccakkhāna, "the great refusal," a formula of confession and renunciation in 143 verses. "The death of the fool" (bālamaraṇa) is the involuntary death from various causes of ordinary people who are strangers to the Jaina doctrine, and also the suicide of such people. The "death of the semi-sage" is that of the lay adherent who, though he does not die by voluntary fasting, dies after making a confession, on a bed known to be his death-bed. In contrast to these the "death of the sage" is the solemn passing of the man who is sick unto death, by means of voluntary fasting, after he has completed his confession and all vows and penances. Though the texts mentioned really contain nothing but the

[1]) These are: (1) sāmāiaṃ (sāmāyikam), "equanimity," obtained by desisting from all evil, (2) caüvīsaïthaa (caturviṃśatistava), "the glorification of the twenty-four" (Tīrthakaras), (3) vaṃdana, "the veneration" (of the Guru), (4) paḍikkamaṇaṃ (pratikramaṇa), "confession," (5) kāussagga (kāyotsarga), penance through certain postures of the body, and (6) paccakkhāṇaṃ (pratyākhyāna), "the refusal" (of certain pleasures), *i. e.*, the vow to renounce certain pleasures.

[2]) *Cf.* Kurt von *Kamptz*, Über die vom Sterbefasten handelnden älteren Païnna des Jaina-Kanons, Diss. Hamburg 1929. The "death of the fool" and the "death of the sage" are also dealt with in Bhagavatī II, 1, 48 in detail; s. *Weber*, Bhagavatī, in ABA 1866, p. 266 f.

rules for attaining death by fasting, they are nevertheless in the form of didactic poems, and mostly in verse, and make use of plays on numbers and all kinds of figures of ornate poetry. They also contain sermons, which are adorned with poetical comparisons, as for instance the following :

" Even as a needle through which a thread has been drawn, cannot get lost in the rubbish heap, so also a soul does not disappear in Saṃsāra. Souls which do not renounce the world, and which are lacking in character and good qualities, plunge into Saṃsāra, just as birds with a broken wing and without tail-feathers fall into the ocean. A dog which licks a bone, does not reach the marrow, and persuades himself that he is happy, whilst in reality he is only keeping his throat dry. Similarly a man takes for bliss intercourse with women, which in reality, serves to exhaust him. A sinner who makes a sincere confession, is like the bearer of a burden, whose burden is taken from him."[1]

In the Bhattaparinnā and the Saṃthāra there are also numerous legends of grievous sinners who did penance and became saints, of martyrs, of strange destinies in the cycle of re-births, etc.[2]

The other Païṇṇas deal with very varied themes : the Taṃdula-Veyāliya,[3] in mixed verse and prose, is a dialogue between Mahāvīra and Goyama on physiology and anatomy, the life of the embryo, the ten ages of man, the measure of length and that of time, the number of bones and sinews,

---

[1]) Bhattaparinnā 86, 141 ff., Mahāpaccākkhāṇa 30, according to the translation of *Kamptz*, loc. cit., p. 23 f.

[2]) K. v. *Kamptz*, loc. cit., p. 24 ff.

[3]) Usually witten Taṃdula°, Tandula°, sometimes also Taṇḍula°. The explanation of the title (in Sanskrit it is both Tandulavaikālika and Tandulavaicārika) is doubtful. Vijaya Vimala explains it as follows : tandulānāṃ varṣaśatāyuṣkapuruṣapratidinabhogyānāṃ saṃkhyāvicāreṇopalakṣitaṃ tandula vaicārikaṃ nāmeti, " an examination of rice grains (tandula=taṇḍula), characterised by the number of rice grains, to be eaten day by day, by a man who lives for a hundred years." Does the title refer to the great number of details, dealt with in the work ? Editions in the AUS, and Pratnapūrvadharanirmitaṃ śrī-Tandulavaicārikaṃ śrīmad-Vijaya-Vimalagaṇi-dṛbdha-vṛtti-yutaṃ sāvacūrikaṃ ca Catuḥśaraṇam, Bombay 1922, JPU 59.

etc. The Caṃdā-Vijjhaya (or Caṃdā-Vejjhagā)[1] deals in 174 verses with teachers and pupils, and with discipline in general. The Devindatthaa in 300 verses contains a classification of the kings of gods according to their groups, residences, etc. The contents of the Gaṇi-vijjā, in 86 verses, are astrological. The Vīrathaa contains an enumeration in 43 verses of the names of Mahāvīra.

In reality, however, as has already been observed above, the list of the Paiṇṇas is quite indefinite. A Gacchāyāra (Gacchācāra), "School rules,"[2] is also enumerated as a seventh or eighth Paiṇṇa, and a Maraṇa-Samāhī (Maraṇa-Samādhi), "Death-Meditation," as a tenth Paiṇṇa. The Gacchāyāra contains rules of life for teachers, monks and nuns, and is an extract from the Cheya-Suttas Mahā-Nisīha and Vavahāra. The Maraṇa-Samāhī, of course, also belongs to the texts which deal with the "death of the sage." Sometimes, however, also 20 or more texts are counted among the Paiṇṇas.[3]

The six Cheda-Sūtras[4] did not, perhaps, form a group in the Canon until a late period, as it is not always the same

---

[1]) After *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 2, note 2: candrakavedhyaka, "the apple of the eye which is to be bored through" = "hitting the mark." (?)

[2]) Gacchācāraprakīrṇakam with Vānararṣi's Commentary, publ. by the AUS, Bombay 1923. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 445 f.; *Schubring*, Das Mahānisīha-Sutta, p. 50 f.

[3]) According to tradition (*cf.* Nandīsūtra 44 and Vijaya Vimala Gaṇi in the Commentary on the Tandulavaicārika) there were no less than 84,000 Prakīrṇakas of each one of the pupils of Ṛṣabha and 14,000 of each one of the 14,000 Sādhus who had still been taught by Mahāvīra himself. One of them is said to have been Vīrabhadra, the author of the Caüsaraṇa. The edition, Catuḥśaraṇādi-Maraṇasamādhy-antaṃ Prakīrṇakadaśakaṃ chāyāyutam, Bombay, saṃvat 1983, AUS 46, contains: Caüsaraṇa, Āurapaccakkhāṇa, Mahāpaccakkhāṇa, Bhattaparinnā, Tandulaveyāliya, Saṃthāra, Gacchāyāra, Gaṇivijjā, Devindatthya and Maraṇasamāhī. An older edition Bhavnagar, saṃvat 1966, contains: Caüsaraṇa, Āurapaccakkhāṇa, Bhattaparinnā and Saṃthāraga. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 426 ff.; *Schubring*, Worte Mahāvīras, p. 2 f.; K. v. *Kamptz*, loc. cit., pp. 5-8.

[4]) The meaning of the word is not clear. Cheda means "cut." As *cheda* and *mūla* in Jaina discipline mean two kinds of penances, *Schubring* (Kalpasūtra, p. 8, and OLZ

texts which are placed in this group. The nucleus of this group, however, Cheda-Sūtras 3-5, belongs to the earliest portion of the Canon. These three texts are treated by tradition as one book (śrutaskandha) and called Dasā-Kappa-Va vahār Side by side with an assortment of legendary material, the contents of the Cheda-Sūtras are what we have met with under the name of Vinaya in Buddhist literature, namely, the rules of life for the monks and nuns and the prescriptions as regards atonements and penances, and in fact the entire discipline of the Order. The fourth Cheda-Sutra, entitled Āyāradasāo ("the ten sections on behaviour"), also known as Dasāo or Daśāśrutaskandha, is ascribed by tradition to Bhadrabāhu, and the eighth section of this Dasāo has long been known by the title "Kalpa-Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu." [1]

Bhadrabāhu is reckoned as one of the earliest teachers and most prominent authors among the Jainas. He is said to have been the sixth Thera after Mahāvīra, and to have died 170 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. Tradition has it that he was the last who knew the Puvvas that had gone astray, and he is said to have extracted the third and fourth Cheda-Sūtras from the ninth Puvva. Besides the Dasāo, the Nijjuttis (Niryuktis), concise metrical explanations of certain parts of the Canon, are also attributed to him.

Three different texts are united to form a whole in the Kalpa-Sūtra, and it does not seem feasible that Bhadrabāhu was the author of all three. Section I contains the Jina-

1924, 484) assumes that the expressions Cheda-Sūtra and Mūla-Sūtra are derived from these. Nevertheless, the Mūla-Sūtras, at least in their present form, have nothing to do with penances.

[1]) A very faulty translation by J. *Stevenson* appeared as early as 1848, a critical edition by H. *Jacobi*, AKM VII, 1, Leipzig 1879, an English translation by the same scholar in SBE, Vol. 22. Edition with the Commentary Subodhikā of Vinayavijaya Gaṇi, pupil of Kīrtivijaya Gaṇi, Bombay 1911, JPU 7.

caritra, "the biographies of the Jinas." [1] The main portion of this section is the biography of Mahāvīra, which is told in great detail, with great diffuseness, with descriptions in the Kāvya style and with exaggerations beyond all measure, reminding us of the Lalita-Vistara. The conception, transference of the embryo,[2] and birth of Mahāvīra are presented in the same way as in the Āyāraṃga-Sutta. Then come the 14 dreams of Devānandā, the mother of Mahāvīra, and the interpretation of them, Mahāvīra's life at home, his twelve years' ascetic life, and the activity which he displayed during nearly thirty years as an accomplished sage (Kevalin). The biographies of Mahāvīra's predecessors, the remaining Jinas down to Pārśva, which follow after the biography of Mahāvīra, are composed absolutely after the pattern of the last-mentioned, and were intended for liturgical purposes.[3]

Section II of the Kalpa-Sūtra consists of the Therāvalī, a list of schools (gaṇa), their branches (śākhā) and heads of schools (gaṇadhara). This list goes far beyond Bhadrabāhu, hence could not possibly have been written by him. Inscriptions from the 1st century A.D. prove, however, that the names in this list are historical, and not mere inventions.

Section III is probably the oldest nucleus of the Kalpa-Sūtra. It contains the Sāmācārī or "Rules for the ascetics,"

---

[1]) A manuscript of this Jinacaritra preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin, contains very interesting miniatures representing the principal events in the life of Mahāvīra. They have been described by W. *Hüttemann* in Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 4, 1914, p. 47 ff. For the life of Mahāvīra, *cf.* Mrs. *Stevenson*, Heart of Jainism, p. 21 ff.; H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 296 ff.; Harisatya *Bhatlacharyya*, Lord Mahavira, a short sketch of the Life of Bhagwan Mahavira, and Kamta Prasad *Jain*, Lord Mahavira and Some Other Teachers of His Time: Jain Mittra Mandal Tracts, Nos. 43 and 47, Delhi 1926 and 1927.

[2]) This transference of the embryo is borrowed from the Kṛṣṇa legend, but is already presented on sculptures of the Jainas in Mathurā as early as in the 1st century B.C.

[3]) When the images of the Jinas or Tīrthakaras are worshipped in the Jaina temples, hymns are sung to them, one of which summarises the happy moments of their lives, and it is precisely of these that the biographies of the Jinas treat.

namely, the rules for the rainy season (Pajjusan). Another point in favour of the assumption that this is the oldest portion of the work, is the fact that the complete title of the "Kalpa-Sūtra" is Pajjosavaṇākappa (Sanskrit Paryuṣaṇā-Kalpa), though in reality it only fits this third part. Even at the present day the Kalpa-Sūtra is read aloud to the laymen every year during the Pajjusan days. The tradition which maintains that the Jinacaritra, Therāvalī and Sāmācārī were not contained in the original Canon under the title "Kalpa-Sūtra," but were added to the Siddhānta later by Devarddhi, is most probably right.[1]

The old, genuine Kalpa-Sūtra is the fifth Cheda-Sūtra, which is also called Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra or Bṛhat-Sādhu-Kalpa-Sūtra.[2] It is the principal work on the rules and regulations for the monks and nuns. A necessary supplement to it is the Vavahāra, the third Cheda-Sūtra. The Kalpa-Sūtra teaches the liability for punishment, and the Vavahāra the meting out of the punishment. The Nisīha, the first Cheda-Sūtra, containing regulations for punishment for various transgressions against the rules of daily life, is a later work.[3] It has embodied the major portion of the Vavahāra in its last sections, and has numerous similar Sūtras in common with Cūlas I and II of the Āyāraṃga. Probably both

---

[1]) According to one tradition, all three Cheda-Sūtras 3-5 are the work of Bhadrabāhu. *Weber* (Ind. Stud. 16, 472 ff.) adduces sound reasons for the theory that the whole of this "Kalpa-Sūtra" is erroneously ascribed to Bhadrabāhu. *Cf.* also *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 34, 1880, 755. At any rate it is worth noticing that biographical passages are inserted in the Chedas just as is the case in the Buddhist Vinaya-Piṭaka. It is possible that there was an earlier Mahāvīra biography which was supplanted by this "Kalpa-Sūtra." B. M. *Barua*, Calcutta Review, Oct. 1924, p. 52, is of opinion that "the original purpose of the Jinakalpa was rather biographical or historical than liturgical."

[2]) Das Kalpasūtra, die alte Sammlung jinistischer Mönchsvorschriften, Einleitung, Text, Anmerkungen, Übersetzung, Glossar von W. *Schubring* (Indica; herausg. von E. *Leumann*, Heft 2), Leipzig 1905.

[3]) Vavahāra- und Nisīha-Sutta, edited by W. *Schubring*, Leipzig 1918, AKM XV, 1. The title Niśītha is a false Sanskritisation of Nisīha, which probably corresponds to Sanskrit niṣedha, "prohibition."

these works originated in one and the same earlier source. The Paṃcakappa does not appear to be in existence any longer. Sometimes, however, the Jīyakappa by Jinabhadra,[1] a detailed, metrical compilation of the cases in which the individual transgressions are valid, is called the sixth Cheda-Sūtra, though it is a later work on monastic discipline. The Piṇḍa-Nijjutti and Oha-Nijjutti, which also deal with discipline, are also occasionally classed among the Cheda-Sūtras. A still later work than these two Nijjuttis is the Mahā-Nisīha-Sutta, which appears as the second, and sometimes as the sixth Cheda-Sutta, but which in reality can scarcely be attributed to the Canon with correctness. The principal contents of the text which we have before us and which perhaps took the place of an earlier canonical Mahā-Nisīha that went astray, are rules regarding confession and penance, which are emphasized as the most important steps towards liberation. Ethical sections deal with the suffering of the beings, in connection with the doctrine of Karman, with the sin of breaking the vows, especially the vow of chastity, with good and bad monks, etc. Legends, some of which are original inventions and others taken from earlier sources, are also inserted. Both language and subject-matter, *e.g.*, the occurrence of Tantric sayings, the mention of non-canonical writings, etc., seem to indicate a late origin of this work.[2]

Four canonical texts, the first three of which are not unimportant even from the literary point of view, are described

---

[1]) Jinabhadra's Jītakalpa, edited with extracts from Siddhasena's Cūrṇi, by E. *Leumann*, SBA 1892, 1195 ff. It is often called Yati-Jītakalpa, to distinguish it from the Srāddha-Jītakalpa, dealing with the penances for laymen.

[2]) W. *Schubring*, Das Mahānisīha-sutta, Berlin 1918 (ABA 1918 Nr. 5). According to one tradition, Haribhadra is supposed to have taken part in the compilation of the Mahā-Nisīha, which is not likely, although he occupied himself with the text; s. *Schubring*, loc. cit., p. 5 f. Chapter 8 of the Mahā-Nisīha has been worked up by Devendra Sūri in 519 Āryā stanzas with the title Susaḍhakahā; s. *Schubring*, loc. cit., p. 48 ff.

as Mūla-Sūtras.[1] Above all, the first Mūla-Sūtra, the Uttarajjhayaṇa or Uttarādhyana-Sūtra,[2] as a religious poem, is one of the most valuable portions of the Canon. The work, consisting of 36 sections, is a compilation of various texts, which belong to various periods. The oldest nucleus[3] consists of valuable poems—series of gnomic aphorisms, parables and similes, dialogues and ballads—which belong to the ascetic poetry of ancient India, and also have their parallels in Buddhist literature in part. These poems remind us most forcibly of the Sutta-Nipāta. Several sections are sermons in series of aphorisms, admonitions to the pupils, elaborations on the cares which the monk must endure with patience, on the four most precious things (birth as a human being, instruction in the religion, faith in the religion, strength in self-control),

---

[1]) Why these texts are called "root-Sūtras" is not quite clear. Generally the word mūla is used in the sense of "fundamental text" in contradistinction to the commentary. Now as there are old and important commentaries in existence precisely in the case of these texts, they were probably termed "Mūla-texts." The explanation given by *Charpentier* (Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra, Introduction, p. 32): "Mahāvīra's own words," does not seem to me to be justified in any way. *Schubring* (Worte Mahāvīras, p. 1, cf. also OLZ 1924, 484 and above, II, p. 461, note 4) is of opinion that "the Mūla-Sūtras are," as their name indicates, "intended for those who are still at the beginning (mūla) of their spiritual career." *Guérinot* (La Religion Djaina, p. 79) translates Mūla-Sūtra by "traités originaux."

[2]) Edited with an Introduction, Critical Notes and a Commentary by Jarl *Charpentier*, in Archives d' Études Orientales, Vol. 18, Uppsala 1922. Indian editions appeared with Śānti Ācārya's Commentary in JPU Nos. 33, 36 and 41, in the AUS series, and recently again by Munī Śrī Jayanta Vijaya, a pupil of Vijaya Dharma Sūri, with a Commentary by Upādhyāya Kamalasaṃyama from the Kharatara Gaccha, Agra, 1923-1927, 3 vols. English translation by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45. *Leumann* (WZKM 5, 1891, p. 112, n. 1) assumes that the title "The later (uttara) readings" should be explained with reference to the sixth Aṅga, to which the work is closely related in contents. However, uttara can also mean "answer," and perhaps the title means "answer readings" having reference to a tradition according to which, during the last rainy season before his death, Mahāvīra recited, "the 36 explanations of questions not asked," which, according to the commentary, is supposed to be an allusion to the Uttarajjhayaṇa. *Cf.* also *Charpentier*, l.c., Introduction, p. 33 f.

[3]) The earlier sections contain "an abundance of archaic and curious forms" of Prākrit, s. R. *Pischel*, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, in "Grundriss" 1, 8, para. 19.

on Karman and sin, on the voluntary death of the sage and the involuntary death of the fool, on true and false ascetics, etc. We find here many sayings which excel in aptitude of comparison or pithiness of language. As in the Sutta-Nipāta and the Dhammapada, some of these series of sayings are bound together by a common refrain. A few instances are given here:

"As the burglar caught in the breach of the wall, perishes by the work the sinner himself had executed, thus people in this life and the next cannot escape the effect of their own actions."

"As a charioteer, who against his better judgment leaves the smooth highway and gets on a rugged road, repents when the axle breaks; so the fool, who transgresses the Law and embraces unrighteousness, repents in the hour of death, like (the charioteer) over the broken axle." [1]

Section VII consists mainly of parables. Here we meet with the parable of the three merchants, which reminds us of the Biblical parable of the talents:

"Three merchants set out on their travels, each with his capital; one of them gained there much, the second returned with his capital, and the third merchant came home after having lost his capital. This parable is taken from common life; learn (to apply it) to the Law.

"The capital is human life, the gain is heaven; through the loss of that capital man must be born as a denizen of hell or a brute animal.[2]

Whilst all the other sections are reckoned as a matter of course to be the words of Mahāvīra, Adhyāya VIII is expressly ascribed to Kapila, and forms an independent poetical discourse entitled "Kāvilīyaṃ."[3] It contains admonitions to the monks to cast off all things which fetter the soul, to give

---

[1]) IV, 3; V, 14 f. Translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, pp. 18, 22.

[2]) VII, 14-16. Translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 29. *Cf.* Matth. 25, 14; Luke 19, 11; *Jacobi*, l.c., p. xlii, who calls attention to the fact that the agreement with the Hebrew gospel (s. Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, published by E. *Hennecke*, p. 20) is still more striking; *Edmunds*, Buddhist and Christian Gospels, II, 268 ff.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 42 ff.; and *Hertel* in "Geist des Ostens" 1, 1913, 247 f.

[3]) An interesting legend of Kapila Muni, the son of the Brahmin Kāśyapa and of

up all hate, to renounce all the joys of life, and not to kill any living thing. There are sayings to be found there, such as are familiar to us in other branches of ascetic literature, *e.g.*:

"And if somebody should give the whole earth to one man, he would not have enough; so difficult is it to satisfy anybody.

"The more you get, the more you want; your desires increase with your means. Though two māṣas [1] would do to supply your want, still you would scarcely think ten millions sufficient.

"Do not desire (women), those female demons, on whose breasts grow two lumps of flesh, who continually change their mind, who entice men, and then make a sport of them as of slaves.

"A houseless (monk) should not desire women, he should turn away from females; learning thoroughly the Law, a monk should strictly keep its rules." [2]

The whole of Chapter XVI, too, is devoted to the commandment of chastity.

Just as in the Sutta-Nipāta, so, too, in the Uttarajjhayaṇa we meet with a number of beautiful old Itihāsa dialogues and ballads of ascetic poetry. Here again we come across one of the Buddhist Pratyeka-Buddha legends in the beautiful ballad of King Nami, in which the ideal of asceticism is put forward as against that of the warrior and ruler.[3] Likewise in the ballad of Harikeśa, in a vivacious dialogue between a proud Brahmin and a despised ascetic of low-caste origin, the contrast is set forth between the formalism and ceremonialism of the priestly religion on the one hand, and the self-control and the virtuous life of the pious monks on the other.[4] In

---

Yaśā, is told by Śānti Sūri in the Commentary (reproduced by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 31, note 1). This Kapila does not appear to have any connection with the Kapila of the Sāṃkhya system.

[1]) Small coins. *Cf.* Yayāti's saying, above, I, 380.

[2]) Uttar. VIII, 16-19, translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 34 f.

[3]) Adhyāya IX. The legend of Citta and Sambhūta, well-known from the Jātaka, is to be found in Adhyāya XIII. See above, II, 145.

[4]) Adhyāya XII, compared by *Charpentier* (ZDMG 63, 1909, 171 ff.) with its Buddhist counterpart (Jātaka No. 497).

the splendid dialogue, too, between the Purohita and his sons, the ascetic ideal is set forth against the Brahmanic ideal as the better and higher one. The fact that we find this conversation also in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and in the Jātaka,[1] in part even literally, proves that it belongs to general Indian ascetic poetry. The dialogue in Adhyāya XXIII, in which a pupil of Pārśva and a pupil of Mahāvīra converse regarding the advantages and differences of their respective creeds which are so closely related, is of interest from the point of view of the history of Jinism. In this instance the dialogue is carried on in part in the form of riddles, which remind us of the Brahmodyas. In the majority of these ballads, the dialogues are the principal part. Only in Adhyāya XXII the narrative portion of the ballad is the more interesting, firstly because the tale is connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend by the names that occur in the legend, and secondly on the strength of the content itself, which is as follows:

In the city of Śauryapura there lived two mighty princes. The first, Vasudeva by name, had two wives, Rohiṇī and Devakī, each of whom bore him a son, Rāma and Keśava. The second, Samudravijaya by name, had a son Ariṣṭanemi by his wife Śivā. Keśava sought Rājīmatī, the daughter of a mighty king, as a wife for Ariṣṭanemi, and she is granted him. Ariṣṭanemi sets forth with great pomp to fetch his bride; but on the way he sees many animals confined in cages and enclosures, and learns, in answer to his question, that these animals are all to be slaughtered for his marriage-feast. He is so deeply shocked by this, that he resolves to take the vow of an ascetic. When Princess Rājīmatī hears of it, she breaks forth into lamentations, but then resolves, in her turn, to become a nun. In her wanderings as a nun, she one day takes refuge in a cave during a torrent of rain. She believes herself to be alone, and undresses herself, in order to dry her garment. Now the ascetic Rathanemi, Ariṣṭanemi's elder brother, had previously taken refuge in the same cave. Now

[1] Adhyāya XIV; see above, I, 417 ff., 561; Jātaka 509 and *Charpentier*, ZDMG 62, 1908, 725 ff.

when he sees Rājīmatī in her nude beauty, he is seized by passion and makes advances to her. However, she reproves him, and admonishes him not to wish to "drink that which another has spat out." Reminded of his vow by her forcible words, "he returned to religion, like an elephant spurred on by the goad." [1]

As a contrast to these poetical passages, the last Adhyāyas (XXIV and XXVI-XXXVI) contain only dry sermons, partly catechistical enumerations, partly erudite elucidations of various points of Jaina dogmatics, and partly regulations for the life of the monks.

The second Mūla-Sūtra is the Āvassaya or Āvassaga (Saḍāvāśyaka-Sūtra) which has come down only in conjunction with the Nijjutti.[2] The Sūtra consists of six sections (Adhyāyas), which correspond to the six Āvassayas, *i.e.*, the six "essential" (āvaśyaka) daily duties of a Jaina (desisting from all evil, glorification of the Tīrthakaras, veneration of the teacher, confession, asceticism and renunciation of sensual pleasures).[3] Attached to the formulas with which these duties are performed, there are stories which have come down in the old commentaries.[4]

The third Mūla-Sūtra, Dasaveyāliya,[5] is said to have been written by a certain Sejjaṃbhava. Legend tells that this man was enlightened by the apparition of a picture of the

---

1) The extended form of this legend in the Commentary of Devendra, has been edited and translated by *Charpentier* (ZDMG 64, 1910, 397 ff.).

2) Śrī Āvaśyaka Sūtra, Part I, with Niryukti (gloss) by Śrutakevalin Śrī Bhadrabāhu Svāmin, along with the Commentary by Śri Malayagiri Sūri, Bombay 1928, AUS No. 56.

3) See above, p. 459, note 1, *Cf.* B. L. *Garr*, Sāmāyika or A Way to Equanimity, Arrah, 1918.

4) *Cf.* E. *Leumann* in OC X, Genève 1894, I, 125 and "Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen" (herausgegeben), erste Hälfte, Leipzig 1897 (AKM X, 1). There are, belonging to the text of the Āvaśyakas, besides the Nijjutti, two old commentaries, the Cūrṇi and Haribhadra's Ṭīkā. Haribhadra's Commentary (Häribhadrīyāvaśyaka-Vṛtti) has been published with elucidations, by Hemacandra Sūri, a pupil of Abhayadeva Sūri, Bombay 1920, JPU 58. *Cf.* also *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 50 ff.

5) E. *Leumann* (ZDMG 46, 1892, 581-663) has not only translated the Sūtra, but has also edited the Niryukti and examined the contents of its narrative portions.

Jina, and left his house when his wife became pregnant. She bore a son, whom she named Mānaka. When the boy was eight years old, he asked after his father, and when he heard that the latter had become an ascetic, he went forth to seek him and become his pupil. As the father knew that his son had only six months more to live, he taught him the Dasaveyāliya within that period, whereupon he gave up the ghost by means of deep meditation.[1] The Sūtra consists of sayings pertaining to the monastic life, some of which remind us of the sayings in the Dhammapada, whilst others contain only rules for monastic discipline. Section II is connected with the ballad of Rājīmatī in the Uttarajjhayaṇa; they are verses in which she admonishes Rathanemi who wishes to seduce her. This Sūtra, too, is connected with an abundant narrative literature which is contained in the commentaries.

As the fourth Mūla-Sūtra the Piṃḍa-Nijjutti[2] is usually mentioned, sometimes also the Oha-Nijjutti,[3] and occasionally the Pakkhi.[4] The Piṃḍa-Nijjutti and the Oha-Nijjutti are ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, and are sometimes counted among the Cheda-Sūtras. They treat of the pious life, and of subjects of discipline. The Pakkhi or the Pākṣika-Sūtra is a liturgy in verse for the Pakkhi-Paḍīkamaṇaṃ (Pakṣi-Pratikramaṇa), *i.e.*, the fourteen days' confession.[5] The confession of the "five great vows" (mahāvrata), with which the work

---

[1]) He is said to have died 198 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. The legend is told at the end of the edition of the Daśavaikālika-Sūtram (Bombay 1919). *Cf.* also *Peterson*, Report IV, p. cxviii.

[2]) Bhadrabāhusvāmi-praṇītā Piṇḍaniryuktiḥ, Malayagiryācārya-vivṛtā, publ. in JPU, Bombay 1918.

[3]) Oghaniryuktiḥ, Bhadrabāhusvāmi-viracita-niryukti-śrīmat-pūrvācāryaviracita-bhāṣya-yutā.....śrīmad-Droṇācāryasūtrita-vṛtti-bhūṣitā, publ. by the AUS, Bombay 1919. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 61, 82 ff.

[4]) Pākṣikasūtram with Yaśodeva Sūri's Commentary, publ. in JPU No. 4, Bombay 1911. *Cf. Weber* in HSS. Verz. II, 819 ff.; Ind. Stud. 17, 85.

[5]) *Cf.* Mrs. *Stevenson*, Heart of Jainism, p. 166; H. v. *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 374 f.

begins, also includes the worship of the "patient ascetics" (khamāsamaṇa), who are accounted the authors of the "sacred scriptures which stand outside the Aṅgas" (aṅgabāhiram), and of the twelve Aṅgas, which gives rise to a solemn enumeration of all the sacred writings (suttakittanam).[1]

The Nandī and the Aṇuogadāra[2] are sometimes counted among the Païṇṇas, but they are usually mentioned either before or after the Mūla-Sūtras as independent texts standing outside the groups. They are in prose with occasional verses. The Aṇuogadāra is in the form of questions and answers. The Nandī (probably "auspicious introduction") which, according to tradition, was written by Devarddhi, the redactor of the Siddhānta, in person,[3] begins with a hymn of praise to Mahāvīra, and is followed by an enumeration of the twenty-four Tīrthakaras and the eleven Gaṇadharas (heads of schools) and a Therāvalī (list of teachers) which ends with Dūsagaṇi, the teacher of Devarddhi. Both works are huge encyclopædias, dealing with everything which should be known by a Jaina monk. The survey of the Canon which they give, is of great importance. They do not, however, deal exclusively with themes pertaining to religion, but treat also of profane

---

[1]) Ritual books such as Śrāddha-Pratikramaṇa-Sūtra (publ. with Devendra Sūri's Commentary, Bombay 1912, JPU 8), and Śramaṇa-Pratikramaṇa-Sūtra (publ. with Commentary, Bombay 1911, JPU 2), and Sāmācārī-Prakaraṇam (pūrvācāryavihitam..... Yogaviśeṣavākyayutam, ed. Bombay 1911, JPU) may also be described as semi-canonical. *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 369 ff.; 17, 71 ff.

[2]) Nandīsūtram, śrīman-Malayagiryācārya-praṇīta-vṛtti-yutaṃ, śrīmad-Deva-vācaka-kṣamāśramaṇa-nirmitam, ed. AUS, Bombay 1924. Anuyogadvārāṇi.....Hemacandrasūri-nirmita-vṛtti-yutāni, ed. AUS, Bombay 1924. *Cf. Weber* HSS.-Verz. II, 672 ff., 692 ff.; Ind. Stud. 17, 1 ff. A specimen of Malayagiri's Commentary to the Nandī (the refutation of Theism) is given by F. C. *Schrader*, Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas, p. 62 ff.

[3]) Against the authorship of Devarddhi, the argument is brought forward that the Nandī contains data on the Canon which do not agree with its present form. But, then, do we possess the Canon in exactly the form in which Devarddhi edited it? *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 2, 17 ff.; *Charpentier*, The Uttarādhyayanasūtra, Introd., p. 18.

branches of knowledge. Both texts contain an interesting enumeration of the "false tradition" (micchāsuaṃ, mithyāśrutam) or "worldly" (loïe, laukika) sciences, which begins with Bhāraham (Mahābhārata) and Rāmāyaṇaṃ, but mentions, besides some hitherto unexplained titles, among others Koḍillayaṃ (Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra), Ghoḍayamuhaṃ (the Kāma-Sūtra of Ghoṭakamukha, a predecessor of Vātsyāyana), Vaïsesiyam (the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy), Buddha-Sāsaṇaṃ (the doctrine of Buddha), Kāvilaṃ (the system of Kapila), Logāyataṃ (Lokāyata, system of materialism), Purāṇa, grammar (vāgaraṇaṃ), Bhāgavayaṃ (Bhāgavata-Purāṇa), Pāaṃjali (Pātañjali), mathematics (gaṇiaṃ) and drama (nāḍayāī, nāṭakāni) and lastly "the four Vedas together with the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas." [1] There are entire sections dealing with moods in poetry (kāvyarasa), including love lyrics in illustration of the subject, with grammar (compound words, word-formation), the division of time, etc.

So much for the Canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas. Hitherto little is known about the Siddhānta of the Digambaras.[2] They, too, recognise the twelve Aṅgas. The title of the sixth Aṅga reads Jñātṛ-Dharma-Kathāṅga. They, too, include in the twelfth Aṅga the fourteen Pūrvas, which form one of the five sections of this Aṅga. Section I of the Dṛṣṭivāda, the Parikarmāṇi, includes among others Candraprajñapti, Sūryaprajñapti and Jambūdvīpaprajñapti. Those texts which do not belong to the Aṅgas are called the fourteen Aṅgabāhyas ("standing outside the Aṅgas") or Prakīrṇakas ("Miscellanea"), and are said to have been written "for the

[1] Nandī, p. 194, sūtra 41, Aṇuogadāra, p. 36, sūtra 41. *Cf.* with this list *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 9 and Bhagavatī, ABA 1866, 248; *Charpentier*, l.c., p. 29 f.

[2] A complete survey of the Canon of the Digambaras is given by *Bhandarkar*, Report, 1883-4, p. 106 ff., according to Sakalakīrti's Tattvārthasāradīpaka. *Cf.* also *Weber*, HSS.-Verz. II, 3, 823 f. and *Guérinot*, p. xxx f.; J. L. *Jaini* in SBJ, Vol. V, Preface, p. 12 ff.

benefit of the simple-minded." The first four Aṅgabāhyas, according to their titles: Sāmāyika, Caturviṃśatistava, Vandana and Pratikramaṇa, correspond to sections of the second Mūla-Sūtra. Besides these, the only texts to be found among the Aṅgabāhyas which also occur in the Canon of the Śvetāmbaras, are the Daśavaikālika, Uttarādhyayana and Kalpa-Vyavahāra (probably corresponding to the Dasākappa-Vavahārā of the Śvetāmbaras). It is feasible to assume that those texts which are common to both sects, present the earliest portions of the sacred writings of the Jainas. Nevertheless, the question of how far the subject-matter of texts bearing the same titles is correspondingly similar, remains to be investigated.

The Digambaras of the present day have, in addition, a "secondary Canon," which might perhaps be more correctly termed a "substitute Cannon," and which they also describe as "the four Vedas." This "Canon" consists of a number of important texts of later times, which are classified into four groups: (1) Prathamānuyoga, legendary works, to which belong the "Purāṇas" (Padma-, Harivaṃśa-, Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-, Mahā- and Uttara-Purāṇa) which will be mentioned below; (2) Karaṇānuyoga, cosmological works: Sūrya-Prajñapti, Candra-Prajñapti and Jayadhavalā; (3) Dravyānuyoga, philosophical works of Kunda-kunda, Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra with the commentaries and Samantabhadra's Āptamīmāṃsā with the commentaries; (4) Caraṇānuyoga, ritual works: Vaṭṭakera's Mūlācāra and Trivarṇācāra and Samantabhadra's Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śrāvakācāra.[1]

---

1) *Cf.* G. *Bühler*, in Ind. Ant. 7, 1878, p. 28 f.; *Farquhar*, Outline, 218 f.; *Guérinot*, La religion Djaina, p. 81 ff., 85 f. A somewhat divergent division of the Anuyogas is given by S. C. *Ghoshal* in SBJ, I, p. xi.

The Non-canonical Jaina Literature.

As the Jaina Canon was written down at so late a period, it is not possible to fix a definite line of demarcation between the canonical and the non-canonical literature. At all events the non-canonical literature already begins before the completion of the Canon, and it has continued through all the centuries down to the present day.

The language of the post-canonical Jaina works is partly Prākrit—the so-called Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī—and partly Sanskrit. In general it may be said that the earlier works were in Prākrit, and that later, certainly not until the centuries of the Christian era, Sanskrit was also used. Side by side with Sanskrit, however, in which language some Jaina authors reached a great perfection, though others wrote it rather clumsily, Prākrit and the Apabhraṃśa dialects were still used, even in the later centuries, and lastly the modern Indian languages too : for the Jains, more than any other sect, have in their writings, and especially in their exceptionally comprehensive narrative literature, never addressed themselves exclusively to the learned classes, but made an appeal to other strata of the people also. As is still the case at the present day, it was among the merchant classes in particular that they found their most loyal lay adherents.

It is extremely difficult to establish a chronology of the earlier non-canonical Jaina literature from the 1st to the 8th century A.D. It is true that we possess a large number of so-called Paṭṭāvalīs, Therāvalīs, genealogical lists of the teachers and heads of schools, which frequently contain very exact chronological data. On the other hand, these lists often contradict one another : sometimes there are external reasons why credence should not be given to them, and yet it is scarcely feasible to regard them as pure invention. A further difficulty is that frequently the same names occur several times, so that

it would be necessary to devote a separate investigation to each single author and each individual work.

It may be assumed as certain that, long before the final compilation of the Canon under Devarddhi, the Jaina monks began to write explanations of the sacred texts. The earliest commentaries, the Nijjuttis or Niryuktis, are in some instances very closely interwoven with the Sūtras, or they even supplanted the latter. The Piṇḍa-Nijjutti and the Ogha-Nijjutti appear in the Canon itself, and the Ogha-Nijjutti is even supposed to have been taken from one of the Pūrvas.[1]

Bhadrabāhu, who is said to have died 170 years after the death of Mahāvīra, has already been introduced to us above, as the author of a Kalpa-Sūtra, and tradition is unanimous in naming him as the author of Nijjuttis on 10 works of the Canon.[2] The Digambaras tell us, however, that there were two Bhadrabāhus, the first of whom died 162 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (*i.e.*, 365 B.C.) and the second 515 years after the Nirvāṇa (*i.e.*, 12 B.C.).[3]

Kundakunda,[4] who, according to the Paṭṭāvalīs of the Digambaras, lived in the 1st century A.D., calls himself

---

1) See above, pp. 462, 465, and *Charpentier* in ZDMG 70, 1916, 219 f.

2) On Āyāraṃga, Sūyagaḍaṃga, Sūriyapannatti, Uttarajjhayaṇa, Āvassaya, Dasaveyāliya, Dasāsuyakkandha, Kalpa-Sūtra, Vavahāra and Ṛṣibhāṣita-Sūtra. Cf. *Bhandarkar*, Report, 1883-4, p. 131 f.; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. lxxxiv.

3) *Cf.* H. *Jacobi* in the Introduction to the Bhadrakalpa-Sūtra, p. 10 ff.; J. *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 1882, p. 245; Satis Chandra *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, Calcutta 1921, p. 164 f. If a recent Śvetāmbara tradition makes him a brother of Varāhamihira, it refers to the author of a Bhādrabāhavī Saṃhitā, a work on astronomy, which is later than Varāhamihira. *Cf. Jacobi*, loc. cit., p. 13 f. It is yet an entirely different Bhadrabāhu who wrote the Bhadrabāhu-Saṃhitā, a work on the right of succession; text and Engl. translation by J. L. *Jaina*, Jaina Law, in the Library of Jaina Literature, Vol. IV, Arrah, 1916.

4) He belongs to the Draviḍa-Saṃgha, *i.e.*, the Jaina community of the South. He has also the epithets Vakragrīva, Elācārya, Gṛdhrapiccha, and his original name is said to have been Padmanandin. According to a Digambara-Paṭṭāvalī, he is the fifth in the genealogical tree of teachers beginning with Bhadrabāhu. The school which he founded is first mentioned in an inscription of 797 A.D. *Cf.* A. *Guérinot*, Répertoire d'Épigraphie

a pupil of Bhadrabāhu, perhaps referring thereby to Bhadrabahu II.[1] He wrote his learned works only in Prākrit. Umāsvāmin, who is called Umāsvāti by the Śvetāmbaras, and who is recognised by both sects as a great authority in matters pertaining to the faith, is according to the Digambaras, a pupil of Kundakunda. Vaṭṭakera and Kārttikeya Svāmin, too, probably belong to the first centuries of the Christian era. Siddhasena Divākara, who is by some also ascribed to the earlier centuries of the Christian era, and by others to a period as late as the 7th century A.D., is celebrated both as a logician and a lyrical poet.[2] Vimala Sūri, who, according to his own statements, composed his Rāma-epic Paümacariya in Prākrit 530 years after the Nirvāṇa,[3] is certainly a very early Prākrit

---

Jaina, Paris 1908, p. 42 ff.; *Peterson*, Report II, 80 ff., 158 ff.; Report, IV, p. xix f.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. vi f. It is not so likely that he is also the author of the famous Tamil book of sayings Kurral, as is believed by *Chakravartinayanar* (SBJ, III, p. ix f.). He wrote three of his works for his royal pupil Śivakumāra Mahārāja. This prince is identified by K. B. *Pathak* (Ind. Ant. 14, 1885, p. 15) with the Kadamba king Śiva Mṛgeśa Mahārāja (5th century A.D.), by *Chakravartinayanar* (SBJ, III, p. xii ff.) with Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava dynasty.

1) *Cf.* W. *Denecke* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 163 f.

2) According to a Śvetāmbara tradition he is said to have converted King Vikramāditya in the year 470 after Mahāvīra (57 B.C.) (*Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 1882, p. 247), whereas the Digambaras state 714 to 798 after Mahāvīra (187-271 A.D.) as his time. Vṛddhavādi Sūri is named as his teacher. He is supposed to be a contemporary of Siṃhagiri (who is 15th in the Kharatara-Gaccha-Paṭṭāvali, in which Samantabhadra is the 19th) and of Pālitta. For the legends about Siddhasena and King Vikramāditya, s. *Weber*, Ind. Stud. 15, 278 ff. He is said to have received the name Kumudacandra at his consecration. See *Peterson*, Report IV, p. cxxxi f. *Jacobi* (Ind. Stud. 14, 376) thinks that this may be merely an invention on the part of the commentator, who was anxious to interpret the concluding verse of the Kalyāṇamandira-Stotra as alluding to the name of the author. *Jacobi* (Samaräicca Kahä, Ed., Introduction, p. iii) considers 670 A.D. as his probable date. The arguments adduced by S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 173 f., for placing him in about 480-550 A.D. are not convincing. L. *Suali*, Introducione allo studio della Filosofia Indiana, Pavia 1913, p. 38 f., agrees with Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who already previously (Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, p. 14 f., and Nyāyāvatāra, Introduction, p. iv) gave the date as 533 or as 550 A.D. See also *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xii ff.

3) That is, according to the usual calculation, in the year 4 A.D. As in the work itself the terms dināra and lagna occur, and there is mention of Yavanas and Śakas,

poet. During the first centuries, at all events prior to the 5th century A.D., Pālitta (Pādalipta)[1] wrote a religious novel in Prākrit. It is possible that the poet Mānatuṅga,[2] who, according to some of the lists of teachers, lived as early as at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., also belongs to the early period of classical Sanskrit poetry. Devanandin or Jinendrabuddhi, who is usually called by his honorific name Pūjyapāda, and who is famous as a grammarian, poet and erudite writer, lived between the 5th and 7th centuries.[3]

The second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century A.D. was a period of lively philosophical disputes. Kumārila, the great Mīmāṃsā philosopher and representative of Brahmanical orthodoxy, attacked the Buddhist and Jinistic logicians, including among the last-named the prominent teachers Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka, whilst Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda defended their co-religionists against Kumārila.[4]

Jacobi (Bhavisatta Kahā, p. 59,* Upamitibhavaprapañcā-Kathā Ed., Preface, p. x) thinks that the work can have originated "in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. at the earliest." In this case we should have to assume that, in Vimala's days, a later date was assumed as the date of Mahāvīra's death, than that now usually assumed, *i.e.*, 527 B.C. *Leumann* regards the date 4 A.D. to be incontestable, as he tells me in a letter. See above I, 513 f.

1) According to the Paṭṭāvalīs, Vṛddhavādin, Pādalipta (Pālitta) and Siddhasena Divākara were contemporaries. (*Klatt*, Ind. Ant. 11, 251.)

2) In the chronology of the heads of schools in the Kharataragaccha-Paṭṭāvalī, he appears as the 23rd, immediately before Devarddhi, as whose date 980 after Vīra (453 A.D.) is given, whilst Samantabhadra appears as the 19th (*Klatt*, Ind. Ant. 11, 247). In the Tapāgaccha-Paṭṭāvalī Samantabhadra is the 16th and Mānatuṅga the 20th in the list (loc. cit. 252).

3) *Bhandarkar*, Early History of the Dekkan, second Ed., p. 59, places him about 678 A.D, B. Lewis *Rice* in JRAS 1890, 245 ff., about the middle of the 5th century A.D. A Digambara Paṭṭāvalī gives 251 A.D. as his date. See *Hoernle* in Ind. Ant. 20, 1891, 351 ; *Klatt*, Specimen of Jaina Onomasticon, p. 45 f., and *Jacobi* in ZDMG 60, 290. That he lived before Samantabhadra is shown by K. B. *Pathak* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 11, 1930, pp. 53 f., 153.

4) Akalaṅka lived during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-King Sāhasatuṅga Dantidurga, and Prabhācandra until the reign of Amoghavarṣa I. According to S. Ch. *Vidyābhuṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 193 f., he lived in the 9th century A.D. See K. B. *Pathak*

In the 8th century, probably between 705 and 775 A.D., there also lived one of the most distinguished and prolific writers of the Jainas, Haribhadra,[1] a pupil of Jinabhadra (or Jinabhaṭa) and Jinadatta,[2] from the Vidyādharakula. He was born at Citrakūṭa, the present-day Chitore,

---

in JBRAS 18, 219 ff.; OC IX, London 1891, I, 186 ff., and Ann. Bh. Inst. 11, 1930, p. 149 ff.; 12, 1931, p. 123 ff. There is an inscription, first edited by Lewis *Rice* in 1889, in Śravaṇa Belgola (Mysore) in which it is reported that an Ācārya by the name of Prabhāoandra died the voluntary death of an ascetic on the mountain Kaṭavapra. The inscription is not dated, but on palaeographical grounds is said to be not later than 750 A.D., probably earlier. E. *Leumann* in WZKM 7, 1893, p. 382 ff., was the first to express the conjecture that this Prabhācandra and the Digambara author and logician are identical, and J. F. *Fleet* (Ep. Ind. 4, 1896-97, p. 22 ff.) agrees with him. A. *Venkatasubbiah* (JBRAS 3, 1928, 144 ff.), however, is right in saying that there is no proof of this identity. In Digambara Paṭṭāvalīs one Prabhācandra is mentioned with the date 396 A.D. and another with the date 1250 A.D.; see *Hoernle* in Ind. Ant. 20, 1891, pp. 351, 354. There are 4 or 5 different writers named Prabhācandra, s. *Hiralal*, Cat., p. xxviii.

1) Thus according to the researches of Muni *Jinavijayaji* (The Date of Haribhadrasūri, in Proc. I. OC, Poona, Vol. I. 1920, p. cxxiv ff.), with whom *Jacobi* (Samarāicca Kahā Ed., pp. i-iv) agrees. *Peterson* (3 Reports, p. 3 f. and Appendix II, 284) quotes a Prākrit verse, out of the Gāthāsahasrī written in 1630, according to which the famous Haribhadra is said to have died in 535 of the Vikrama era, *i.e.*, in 478 A.D. Another tradition, which can be traced till the 13th century, gives 529 A.D. as Haribhadra's date (*Klatt*, Ind. Ant. 11, pp. 247, 253). However, as writers of the 6th and 7th centuries are mentioned in works attributed to Haribhadra, these dates cannot be correct. Perhaps Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa was reckoned differently in those days. (See above p. 424, note 1, and *Jacobi*, Upamitibhavaprapañcā-Kathā Ed., Preface, p. viii ff.) S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* (History of Indian Logic, p. 208 ff.) has certainly assumed that the younger Haribhadra, who wrote in about 1120 A D., is the author of the works Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, Daśavaikālika-niryukti-ṭīkā, Nyāyapraveśaka-Sūtra and Nyāyāvatāra-vṛtti, but this is in contradiction to the entire tradition. Muni *Jinavijayaji* has established, however, that Uddyotana in his Prākrit poem Kuvalayamālā, completed in 779 A D., calls Haribhadra his teacher, As he quotes authors who lived in the second half of the 7th century, he must have lived in the 8th century. Śāntarakṣita (8th century A.D.) quotes in Tattvasaṃgraha an Ācārya Sūri, whom Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya* (GOS, Vol. 30, p. lxxv) identifies with Haribhadra Sūri.

2) Haribhadra says of himself in the colophons at the end of some of his works, that he obeys the command of Jinabhaṭa, a teacher of the Śvetāmbaras, and that he is the pupil of Ācārya Jinadatta, the ornament of the Vidyādharakula (gaccha). See *Jacobi*, Samarāicca Kahā Ed., p. iv. Besides the famous Haribhadra there are at least 8 other Jaina writers of the same name, s. *Klatt*, Specimen of a Literary Bibliographical Jaina Onomasticon, pp. 5, 8 f.; Munī *Kalyāṇavijaya* in the Introduction to his edition of Haribhadra's Dharmasaṃgrahaṇi, Bombay, 1918 (JPU 23) and *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. VII, Note 3.

as the son of a Brahmin, and was instructed in all branches of Brahmanical learning. Proud of his enormous erudition, he declared that he would become the pupil of any man who could tell him a sentence the meaning of which he did not understand. This challenge was inscribed on a plate which he wore on his stomach, whilst another legend has it that he laid gold bands around his body to prevent his bursting owing to so much learning. One day he heard the Jaina nun Yākinī reciting a verse, the meaning of which he did not understand. He asked her to explain the meaning to him. She referred to a teacher Jinabhaṭa, who promised to instruct him, if he would enter the Jaina Order. So Haribhadra became a monk, and thenceforth called himself the "spiritual son" (dharmaputra) of the nun Yākinī. He soon became so well-versed in the sacred writings of the Jainas, that he received the title Sūri (honorific epithet of learned Jain monks), and his teacher appointed him as his successor. According to an unauthenticated tradition, he wrote no less than 1,444 works. Hitherto 88 of his works have indeed been found in manuscripts, and 20 of these are also printed. In all probability he soon wandered away from his birthplace Citrakūṭa, for his life as a monk was spent for the most part in Rājputāna and Gujarat. A Brahmin by birth, Haribhadra was thoroughly well versed in Brahmanism, but he also had a considerable knowledge of the Buddhist doctrines, which may have given rise to the various legends, according to which he secretly procured a knowledge of Buddhism through his pupils and his nephews Haṃsa and Paramahaṃsa, in order to be able to refute its doctrines thoroughly.[1] Haribhadra wrote both in Sanskrit and Prākrit. He was an eminent composer in

1) On the numerous legends and anecdotes which are told regarding the life of Haribhadra, see *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, p. 247; *Hertel*, Jinakirtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopālā," p. 141 ff.; *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 107 f.; *Jacobi*, Samarāicca Kahā Ed., pp. iv-xviii.

verse and in prose, and also wrote systematic scientific treatises (Prakaraṇas) and comprehensive philosophical works. Probably, he was also the first to write commentaries to the Canon in Sanskrit. Among his commentaries, those to the two Mūla-Sūtras Āvassaya and Dasaveyāliya have come down to us. While utilising the ancient Prākrit commentaries, he retained the narratives (Kathānakas) in their original Prākrit form.

Śīlāṅka or Śīlācārya, who lived about a century later, and wrote commentaries on the first two Aṅgas in about 862 or 872 A.D., already translated all the Prākrit sources which he used, including the narratives, into Sanskrit. He also wrote a Mahāpuruṣa-Carita in the year 869 A.D.[1]

In the 9th century Jinasena, the friend of King Amoghavarṣa I (815-877 A.D.) wrote the Ādi-Purāṇa. At the beginning of the 10th century (906 A.D.) the poet Siddha, usually called Siddharṣi, wrote his famous allegorical romance in which the existence of the beings is set forth in symbolical terms. At the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, the Digambara Amitagati wrote two famous didactic poems and a number of other works. Round about the same time, the Digambara Nemicandra, the teacher of the minister Cāmuṇḍarāya, in Southern India, wrote the Gommaṭasāra and other erudite works on the Jaina religion. In the 11th century Śānti Sūri and Devendragaṇin wrote their exhaustive commentaries on the Uttarajjhayaṇa,[2] and the famous Abhayadeva, pupil of Jineśvara, his commentaries on nine Aṅgas. His commentary on the 6th Aṅga was written in 1064 A.D.[3] Maladhāri-Hemacandra Sūri, who wrote

1) H. *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. xiii.

2) On this commentary, see *Charpentier*, Uttarādhyayana, Introduction, p. 53 ff.

3) He is said to have died in 1075 or 1082 A.D. See *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 253. There are, however, no less than 6 Jaina authors by the name of Abhayadeva, s. *Peterson*, Report IV, p. iii ff.

commentaries and didactic poems at the beginning of the 12th century, was a pupil of Abhayadeva.

Somewhat later than the last-named, and far more celebrated, is the great H e m a c a n d r a,[1] also called Hemācārya, the pupil of Devacandra. He was one of the most versatile and prolific of writers, and worked in the most varied domains, both as a poet and a scholar. It is due to him that Gujarat became a main stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jainas and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished so exceedingly there in the 12th and 13th centuries. He was not, however, only the author of Jinistic works, but, in addition, he provided his co-religionists with important text-books on temporal branches of learning (grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics), so that he was called " the Omniscient of the Kali Age " (Kalikālasarvajña). He was born at Dhundhūka, a town in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad (Gujarat) in 1089 A.D. as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jainas, and in his early childhood he was already destined for the life of a monk. As a Jaina teacher he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarat. His patron was at first the Caulukya king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143). This king favoured literature and science, and was a devout worshipper of Śiva, but he was so much devoted to philosophy that he called teachers of various sects to his court. Among these teachers was Hemacandra, who, owing to his great erudition, not only attracted the attention of the king, but attempted to win the king's sympathy for the Jaina religion; with a view to achieving this end, he made it his business to emphasize more specially the points of agreement between the Jaina religion and authoritative Brahmanical works. Jayasiṃha's successor was Kumārapāla, who was originally also a devotee of Śiva, but

1) See G. *Bühler*, Ueber das Leben des Jaina-Mönches Hemchandra, des Schülers des Devachandra aus der Vajraśākhā : Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1889; also *Jacobi*, ERE VI, 591.

was converted to Jinism by Hemacandra. After his conversion, which is said to have taken place in 1159 A.D., he endeavoured to make Gujarat a model Jaina state. He personally renounced the sport of hunting, and prohibited in his entire realm the slaughter of animals, the eating of meat and the drinking of intoxicants, dice-playing, animal fights and betting. In addition he erected Jaina temples, and favoured the literary and scientific efforts of the Jainas. During the reign of these two kings Jayasiṃha and Kumārapāla, Hemcandra enjoyed a period of intense literary productivity. He died in the year 1172 A.D. at the age of 83 years.

There is scarcely any province of Indian literature in which the Jainas have not been able to hold their own. Above all, they have developed a voluminous narrative literature, they have written epics and novels, they have composed dramas and hymns; sometimes they have written in the simple language of the people, at other times they have competed, in highly elaborate poems, with the best masters of ornate court poetry, and they have also produced important works of scholarship.

The Nijjuttis, which have already received mention, consist of very concise explanations in Āryā-verses and Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī. They are probably memorial verses which served as an aid to the memory of the teachers in their oral interpretation of the sacred texts. At a later date, these Nijjuttis were extended to form exhaustive commentaries in Prākrit (Bhāṣyas and Curṇis). These in their turn formed the foundation for the Sanskrit commentaries (Ṭīkās, Vṛttis, Avacūrṇis), which were compiled between the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. These various strata of commentaries are often so much intermingled that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another.[1]

[1] See *Leumann* in ZDMG 46, 1892, 556 ff.

The value of all these commentaries lies in their serving as a depositary of very many ancient, historical or semi-historical traditions on the one hand, and of a great mass of popular narrative themes on the other. Like the Buddhist monks, the Jaina monks, too, delighted at all times in adorning their sermons with the telling of stories, in converting worldly stories into legends of saints, in elucidating Jinistic doctrines by means of "examples," thus exploiting the inborn Indian love for fables in order to win over and retain as many adherents as possible for their religion. As we have seen, a part of these stories had already found a place in some texts of the Canon in the form of legends and ballads. The majority of them is to be found dispersed in great masses throughout the commentary literature which extends down the centuries. The narratives contained even in the later Sanskrit commentaries hark back to earlier sources: evidence for this is provided by the fact that the writers frequently do not tell them in the Sanskrit which would be their natural medium of narration, but in Prākrit, *i.e.*, the language in which the stories had come down to them from their predecessors.[1]

As is the case with the Buddhist Jātakas, this narrative literature imbedded in the Commentaries, contains many popular themes, including some which occur also in other Indian and non-Indian literatures, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature. Much of this kind is already to be found in the narratives of the Nijjuttis.

Thus in the Nijjutti to the Dasaveyāliya we find the story of the fatal purse:

Two poor brothers are returning from a business journey with a purse full of money. On the way, each of them plans to kill the other, so as to

1) An older form of Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī appears in the Cūrṇis, Kathānakas and Āvaśyaka narratives. Moreover, the language of the verses differs from that of the prose. See H. *Jacobi*, Über das Prakrit in der Erzählungs-Litteratur der Jainas (RSO, Vol. II, Roma 1909, p. 231 ff.).

be the sole possessor of the money. They are, however, ashamed of their intentions, and confess to each other, whereupon they throw the purse into the pond. It is swallowed by a fish, the fish is bought by the sister of the two brothers and the purse found by the maid-servant in the fish's stomach. A quarrel arises between the maid-servant and the woman, in the course of which the woman loses her life.[1]

It is in the same Nijjutti that we find the following humorous dialogue, which also points to the fact that at the period of these old commentaries there must already have been monks of very dubious character.

"O Monk, your cloak has so many folds."
"Yes, it serves me as a net when I catch fish." "You eat fish?"
"I eat them along with my brandy." "You drink sweet brandy?"
"Oh yes, with the harlot." "What, you go to harlots?"
"After I have crushed my enemies." "You have enemies, then?"
"Only those whose houses I rob." "You are a thief, then?"
"Only because of the game of dice." "How, are you a gambler?"
"Am I not, after all, the son of a slave mother?"[2]

The accounts of the schisms, in Haribhadra's commentary on the Āvassaya and Śānti Sūri's commentary on the Uttarajjhayaṇa,[3] are of great interest from the point of view of the history and development of the Indian sects. For instance, when we meet, in one of these accounts, with a wandering monk who has bound a copper wire around his garment, and runs about with the branch of a Jambu-tree,

---

1) *Leumann* in ZDGM 46, p. 602.

2) *Leumann*, loc. cit., p. 607. The story also occurs in the second narrative of Hemavijaya's Kathā-Ratnākara (German translation by Joh. *Hertel*, I, p. 10). A similar Sinhalese-Buddhist dialogue, in J. E. *Seneviratne*, The Life of Kalidas, Colombo 1901, p. 20 f.; in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī 2402; Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa (*Weber*, Ind. Stud. 18, 366 f.); *Böhtlingk*, Indische Sprüche, 2. Auflage, Nr. 4588. *Cf.* the story "Ein Wort gibt das andere" in J. P. *Hebel*, Schatzkästlein, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 168 f., and Th. *Zachariae*, Kleine Schriften, Bonn, Leipzig 1920, p. 195 ff.

3) E. *Leumann*, Ind. Stud. 17, 91 ff.; *Charpentier*, Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra, Ed., Introduction, p. 48 ff. *Leumann* edited one part of the Āvaśyaka narratives (mainly after Harichadra's commentary on the Āvassaya) in AKM X, 2, Leipzig 1897.

offering as a reason for his behaviour, that his garment might burst owing to the fulness of his erudition, and that he has no equal in the whole of the Jambu-continent (*i.e.*, in the whole of India), we are reminded of similar pictures from the lives of Indian sophists in the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist texts.

The commentaries on the Uttarajjhayaṇa are especially remarkable for their wealth of narrative themes.[1] The Nijjutti ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, consisting of nearly 600 verses, is the earliest commentary. The Cūrṇi by an unknown author, is later. The most important commentaries, however, are those by Śānti Sūri and Devendragaṇin. The earlier of the two is Śānti Sūri, who died in about 1040 A.D. In his commentary, entitled Śiṣyahitā, the narratives are only retold in quite a short form: but this work forms the foundation for the Sukhabodhā, completed in the year 1073 A.D. by Devendragaṇin, who tells the stories in leisurely and ambling fashion. There is a Sanskrit recension of the tales from this commentary included in the commentary by Lakṣmīvallabha, the date of whom is not known.

More than the Buddhists, the Jainas were at pains to appropriate to themselves all the favourite popular themes from Brahmanical and general Indian literature, so as to be in a position thus to offer their adherents within the fold of their own religious community, all that they could find elsewhere too. At times they established but a very slight connection between these ancient themes and the Jaina religion: in other cases, however, they completely changed

1) The most interesting tales from these commentaries have been published by H. *Jacobi*, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, Leipzig 1886, and translated into English by J. J. *Meyer*, Hindu Tales, London, 1909. See also *Jacobi*, ZDMG 42, 493 ff., and Appendix to Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan, pp. 1-28; J. *Charpentier*, ZDMG 64, 397 ff.; 66, 38 ff; 67, 668 ff. The legend of the saint Pārśva, the 23rd Tīrthakara, has been edited and translated by *Charpentier*, from Devendragaṇin's Commentary, in ZDMG 69, 1915, 321-359.

and spoilt them, in order to give them a Jinistic appearance. At all events, many a gem of the narrative art of ancient India has come down to us by way of the Jaina commentary and narrative literature, which would otherwise have been consigned to oblivion, and in other cases the Jainas have preserved interesting versions of numerous legends and tales which are known from other sources also.

For instance the Jainas incorporated the Kṛṣṇa-cult into their religion at a very early period, and consequently also interwove the Kṛṣṇa-legend with their own treasury of legends. As early as in the eighth Aṅga we met with a Jinistic form of the legend of the destruction of the city of Dvāravatī and the death of Kṛṣṇa. This is told in greater detail in Devendra's commentary on the Uttarajjhayaṇa.[1] It is in the same commentary that we find the ancient legend of the descent of Gaṅgā and the destruction of the sixty thousand sons of Sagara,[2] which is familiar to us from the epics. The great attractiveness of this epic legend for the Jaina narrator lay in the fact that the death of the sons was such a convenient peg on which to hang consolatory speeches, with pious thoughts as to the transitoriness of all earthly things. Moreover, their death is justified by Karman in the Jinistic sense. This is also used as an opportunity to introduce a Consolatory Story, which is but a variant of the Buddhist legend of Kisā-Gotamī and the mustard-seed.[3] The Pacceka-Buddha stories, which Devendra tells as a connected whole in his commentary, show points of contact

---

1) See above, p. 470, note 1; *Jacobi* in OC VII, Wien, 1886, Berichte, p. 75 ff.; ZDMG 42, 1888, 493 ff. and E. *Hardy*, ZDMG 53, 1899, 41 ff.

2) R. *Fick*, Eine jainistische Bearbeitung der Sagara-Sage. Diss. Kiel 1888. A. *Holtzmann*, Indische Sagen (Nr. VI: "Dass Meer") has treated the legend according to the Mahābhārata (III, 100-109). On the same legend in the Rāmāyaṇa, see above I, p. 480.

3) See above, p. 193 f.

with Buddhist literature. In the story of the fourth of these royal saints, namely King Naggaï, the story of Kaṇayamañjarī is inserted, who has been regarded as the prototype of Sheherezade.[1] One of the most charming romances which Devendra has preserved for posterity, is that of Mūladeva, the Jack of all trades, and the courtesan Devadattā.[2] Connected with Mūladeva, who, by the way, seems really to have lived and to have been the author of a Kāma-Sāstra,[3] there is also the interesting robber tale of Maṇḍiya, who excites the pity of the people as a beggar by day, whilst he reduces the city to a state of terror as a murderous robber and burglar by night. Another robber tale is the prose narrative of Agaladatta, of which, however, a far more beautiful, and undoubtedly earlier poetic setting has come down to us in Devendra's commentary.[4]

Many interesting tales are also to be found in Haribhadra's commentaries. In the Āvaśyaka narratives, for instance, we meet with the pretty legend of Vāsudeva, who sees only the good in all things:

A deity transforms himself into the carcass of a dog, with beautiful teeth, lying by the roadside. All the passers-by draw back, disgusted at the stench of the carcass. Then Vāsudeva comes along, gazes calmly at the carcass, and exclaims: "How gloriously this dog's teeth gleam!" [5]

---

1) See P. E. *Pavolini* in GSAI 12, 159 ff. *Charpentier*, Paccekabuddha-Geschichten, p. 146 ff., and J. J. *Meyer*, Two Twice-Told Tales, Chicago (Decennial Publications), 1903. The text according to Bhāvavijaya's Commentary on the Uttarajjhayaṇa is given by *Charpentier* (JA 1911, s. 10, t. XVIII, 201-255). The story of Kaṇayamañjarī is also translated into German by Hertel, Indische Märchen, Jena 1919, p. 271 ff.

2) Translated by *Charpentier*, Paccekabuddhageschichten, p. 62 ff.

3) See *Charpentier*, loc. cit., p. 57 ff.; P. E. *Pavolini*, GSAI 9, 175 ff. and M. *Bloomfield*, The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva: Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 52, 1913, 616-650.

4) Transl. into German verse by J. J. *Meyer*, Kāvyasaṃgraha, p. 72 ff. Italian transl. by A. Ballini, Agaḍadatta, Firenze 1903.

5) J. J. *Meyer*, Hindu Tales, p. 88, note 1. According to K. *Seidenstücker* ("Der Buddhist," 2, 1910, 456 f., quoted by *Günter*, Buddha, p. 86 f.) the legend of the dog's carcass is Buddhist, as it is told in the Commentary on the Udāna-Varga. The same

The Jainas did not rest content with adopting popular epic themes such as the Kṛṣṇa-legend, the legend of Draupadī, and others, into their sacred writings and the commentaries on them, but they also created poems of their own, which were to serve their adherents as a complete substitute for the great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The earliest poem of this kind is the Prākrit epic Paümacariya (Padma-Carita)[1] by the poet Vimala Sūri, which was written, according to the data given by the poet himself (CXVIII, 103), 530 years after the demise of Mahāvīra. It is written in pure Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī and in the Āryā metre, which is the real metre of Prākrit poetry. The "Life of Padma"—Padma is the name of Rāma in the poem, though the name Rāma also occurs frequently enough—is told in 118 cantos,[2] which are only in partial agreement with the Rāmāyaṇa. It is no part of the author's intention to follow Vālmīki, whom indeed he puts down as a liar, but he wants to tell the story of Rāma in such a way as to fit in with the "history of the world" according to Jinistic tradition, and as it was communicated by Goyama (Gautama), the principal pupil of Mahāvīra, to King Seṇiya (Bimbisāra) in accordance with Mahāvīra's own instructions. As the author says (CXVIII, 118), there is much that he already found in the Pūrvas.

---

legend, in which Jesus plays the part of Vāsudeva, has been retold by *Goethe* (in the "Noten und Abhandlungen zum besseren Verständnis des westöstlichen Diwans") after the Persian poet *Nisami*. The story of Śatānīka and Pradyota from Haribhadra's Commentary on the Āvaśyakas, is given by *Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," p. 98 ff. The text of the stories of the former existences of Jina Ṛṣabha after Haribhadra's Commentary on the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti (AUS, Bombay 1916) reprinted in Jaina-Jātakas, ed. by Banarsi das *Jain*, Lahore 1925, p. xix ff.

1) Edited by H. *Jacobi*, Bavnagar 1914. The fact that I am in a position to give more detailed information regarding this work is due to the courtesy of my friend Prof. *Leumann*, who kindly placed the manuscript of his abridged translation of Cantos I-XXXI at my disposal, and also gave me valuable information by letter.

2) In the colophons of I-XXXV they are called uddesa (uddeśa), and after that, pevvaṃ (parvan).

Canto I contains a table of contents. In the Introduction (Canto II) the following is related :

It was in the days when King Seṇiya, *i.e.*, Śreṇika Bimbisāra, reigned in the Magadha city of Rājapura. Now in the city of Kuṇḍagrāma the Jina Mahāvīra was born as the son of Prince Siddhārtha and his consort Triśalā; at the age of 30 years he left his home, and attained to perfect knowledge. Once Mahāvīra preached a sermon upon souls and transmigration, on the Vipula hill in the presence of gods, men and animals. Among those present was king Seṇiya. When the latter had returned home, he dreamed about the Jina, and the next morning he made the following reflection :

" How is it possible that the demon heroes in all their mighty strength were defeated by the monkeys? And the demons with Rāvaṇa at their head, who, according to the Jaina faith, were certainly of noble descent, are said to have eaten meat! Then again it is said that, in spite of all the disturbances, Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarṇa slept for half a year, and then after his awakening, devoured elephants, etc., whereupon he again slumbered for half a year. Then again Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa! At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the gazelle, the elephant by the dog. These Rāmāyaṇa stories are most certainly lies." [1]

In order to obtain enlightenment on these matters, the king with his retinue repairs to Goyama, and requests him to instruct him correctly regarding the life of Padma, as it seemed to him that the absurdities which are related regarding Rāma, Rāvaṇa and others, were not worthy of belief. Goyama declares his willingness to impart to the king that which Mahāvīra himself proclaimed, for " that which bad poets relate about Rāvaṇa, is indeed lies, I shall instruct you first as to place and time, and then as to the lives of the great men " (III, 14-17).

The narrative begins (III, 18) as in a Purāṇa,[2] with a description of the universe and the history of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina, who lived in the

---

[1] After *Leumann's* rendering of II, 99-119. In the following extracts, too, for the portions given in quotation marks Professor *Leumann's* German translation has been freely used.

[2] The work calls itself a " Purāṇa " in the Introduction (I, 32) and at the end (CXVIII, 111).

Kṛta age, when there were only three castes, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The origin of the Vidyādharas, " holders of spells," a kind of demigods, is related (III, 144 ff.; *cf* V, 13 ff.), also the origin of the Brahmins (IV, 64 ff.), of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and the dynasty of the moon (V, 1 ff.). Then comes the history of the second Jina with all manner of preliminary stories (V, 48 ff.).

The story of the " race of monkeys " is told in Canto VI. On the monkey island there is the city of Kiṣkindhāpura. The " monkeys " are in reality a race of Vidyādharas, which is so-called, because it has monkeys by way of a badge on the arches of gates, banners, and the like. Canto VII treats of Indra, of the guardians of the universe Soma, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama, the Asuras, Yakṣas etc., Vaiśramaṇa (who is distinct from Kubera) and the birth of Rāvaṇa, his sister Candramukhā and his brothers Bhānukarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa and his brothers acquire enormous magic powers by virtue of asceticism. The Rākṣasas, whose prince Rāvaṇa is, are not man-eating demons, however, but adherents of the race of the Vidyādharas. Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous string of pearls, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamukha, " the man with ten faces " (VII, 95 f.).[1] The succeeding cantos tell of all manner of heroic deeds of Rāvaṇa. This Rāvaṇa is a great devotee of the Jinas; he restores ruined Jina shrines, and establishes the Jina faith (XI, 1 ff.).

In Canto XI Goyama replies to the king's question as to how the sacrifice of animals originated. A Brahmin had a son Parvata and a pupil Nārada. Owing to blameworthy ascetic practices, Parvata was born again as a Rākṣasa, and in the guise of a Brahmin he introduced animal sacrifices. Nārada, however, who is a pious Jaina, declares that these sacrificial acts should be interpreted in the spiritual sense: " The sacrificial animals which are to be killed, are the passions, the sacrificial fee which is to be paid, is truth, forbearance and non-violence, the blessing (to be expected) is (not heaven, but) Nirvāṇa; those, however, who really slaughter sacrificial animals, go to hell like hunters." (XI, 75-81).

---

[1]) This is obviously a realistic explanation of the epithet of Rāvaṇa, who in Rāmāyaṇa, III, 9 f., is a ten-headed monster, and is therefore called Daśagrīva or Daśānana. See Chintāharan *Chakravarti* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 1, 1925, 779 ff. G. *Ramadas* (Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, 281 ff.) has shown that in many passages in the Rāmāyaṇa Rāvaṇa has only *one* head and *one* face. The interpretation of the "monkeys" as Vidyādharas with monkeys on their banner, is also realistic.

Cantos XII and XIII tell of a fight between Rāvaṇa and the god Indra. Indra is defeated and is brought in triumph to Laṅkā, but is then released. The reason for his humiliation is that in a previous incarnation he had molested a monk. Indra places his son on the throne, becomes a monk, and attains to bliss. Rāvaṇa visits shrines on the Meru hill, where the gods are just paying homage to Anantavīrya, who has attained to perfect knowledge, and he hears the sermon of the latter upon Karman, generosity, the duties of monks and the duties of laymen (XIV). This sermon is also responsible for the conversion of Hanumant, whose descent and whose fights as the ally of Rāvaṇa, are related in Cantos XV and XIX. Through Rāvaṇa Hanumant receives a thousand wives. Canto XX treats of the Jinas, the rulers of the world, the Baladevas and the Vasudevas. It is not until Canto XXI that King Janaka is mentioned, and the story of Daśaratha and the actual Rāma epic begins: it is only in its main features that this story agrees with Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa: as regards the details there are many divergences.

Daśaratha is presented by each of his wives Aparājitā and Sumitrā with a son, whose birth has been announced by three lucky dreams. The first is named Padma,[1] and the second Lakṣmaṇa: his sons Bharata and Śatrughna are born to him by Kaikeyī (XXV, 1-13).

Whereas the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere, in the Paüma-Cariya the religion of the Jina is everywhere very much to the fore. The kings are generally pious laymen, who retire from the world in their old age, and become Jaina monks. As in all narrative poems of the Jainas, the preliminary stories, *i. e.*, the stories of the previous existences of the heroes, are told with a great wealth of detail. Daśaratha takes up the reins of government, because his elder brother Anantaratha has become a monk (XXII, 100-105). A festival in the Jaina temple is described (XXIX, 1-18) at which King Daśaratha with his sons performs the ablution of the Jina images, and after an eight days' fast worships the Jinas. After the ablution he sends the water to his wives, and the young women, the daughters-in-law, pour it over the heads of their mothers-in-law. Now the principal wife did not receive the water which was intended for her, and feels herself slighted, so that she wishes to hang herself. The king, however, surprises

1) It is noteworthy that it is only Rāma who has received another name, whilst the other names remain unchanged.

her. While she is explaining things to him, the chamberlain comes with the water, and pours it over her head, whereupon she calms down. But the king reproaches the chamberlain with his thoughtlessness, whereupon the latter excuses himself on the ground of old age :

" The body goes slowly like an old cart,
The eyes are short-sighted like bad friends,
The ears are deaf like bad sons,
The teeth have fallen out like spokes out of the wheel,
The hands find it difficult to grasp, like elephants taking a bite,
The legs are unreliable like bad women ;
Only the crutch is like the beloved of the heart."

These words are a warning for the king, intimating that he, too, is ripe to say farewell to worldly things.

There are, however, also many divergences in the epic, which have no connection with the Jaina faith. Sītā does not come forth out of the earth, as in the Rāmāyaṇa, but is born in a natural way by Videhā, the wife of King Janaka. Sītā is betrothed by Janaka to Padma (Rāma) because the latter has aided him in the fight against the Mlecchas of Ardhabarbara (the land of the semi-barbarians) and has distinguished himself. The story of the bending of the bow is told differently. The bow is brought by the Vidyādharas, who insist upon Sītā's being given in marriage to the Vidyādhara prince Candragati ; but at the self-choice of a husband arranged by Janaka, Rāma is the only man who succeeds in bending the bow.

Daśaratha wishes to become a monk and to entrust Padma-Rāma with the responsibility of governing. Bharata, too, desires to withdraw from the world, but is persuaded by Kaikeyī and Padma to take over the reins of government. He makes a vow, however, in the presence of the Jaina monk Dyuti, to renounce the world as soon as Padma returns home, and he governs as a pious Jaina layman, without giving himself up to pleasure. The main story—the stealing of Sītā, the sending of Hanumant, the fights with Rāvaṇa and his defeat, the bringing home of Sītā, the discontent of the people, the banishment of Sītā, and the lamentations of Padma, the birth of Kuśa and Lava—is ever and again interrupted by incidental stories (upākhyāna). Finally Padma attains to perfect knowledge, and enters Nirvāṇa.

Vimala's work probably served as a model for all the later adaptations of the Rāma legend among the Jainas. In

the year 678 A.D. Raviṣeṇa wrote his Padma-Purāṇa,[1] which is merely a slightly extended recension of the Paüma-Cariya in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points. The Sanskrit epic, too, begins with a description of the world, especially the world of the Vidyādharas, and a glorification of the first Tīrthakara Ṛṣabha. Here, too, the "monkeys" are Vidyādharas, who have the picture of a monkey emblazoned on their banner.[2] As in the Paüma-Cariya, Parvan XX treats of the Tīrthakaras, and the actual story does not begin until Parvan XXI, with Daśaratha. Here, too, Padma is the name given to Rāma, and Kuśa and Lava are called Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa etc.[3] It goes without saying that, in a Jaina poem sermons are also inserted, *e. g.*, XXVI, 54 ff., on the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating of flesh, with a description of hells appended.

Later adaptations of the Rāma legend are to be found in Parvan 68 of the Uttara-Purāṇa and in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-Puruṣa-Caritra, Parvan 7 of which is also called "Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa."[4] Hemacandra, too, begins with the stories of the Rākṣasas and monkeys, and depicts Rāvaṇa as a great and mighty ascetic. It is not until Sarga IV that the

---

1) Edited by Pandit Darbārī Lāla *Nyāyatīrtha Sāhityaratna* in MDJG Nos. 29-31, 1928. See *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp 117 f., 417 ff.. and Hiralal, Catalogue, p. xxi. Chintaharan *Chakravarti* has given a synopsis of the contents in the Bengali language : on this see Batakrishna *Ghosh* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, 157 ff.

2) VI, 1. 215.

3) 123 Parvans in the edition of the Padma-Purāṇa correspond to the 118 sections of the Paüma-Cariya. How exactly Raviṣeṇa follows Vimala is shown, for instance, in Padma-Purāṇa I, 43 f., where the 7 objects of the "Purāṇa" are enumerated in almost literal agreement with Paüma-Cariya I, 32 f. It is very desirable, however, that a careful comparison of all the Jinistic adaptations of the Rāma legend be made.

4) It has been printed in India as "Hemacandra's Rāmacaritra" or "Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa," thus in Poona 1890. On this, see D. Ch. *Sen*, The Bengali Ramayanas, Calcutta 1920, p. 26 ff., and above, I, p. 514, Note 1. For the various versions of the Rāma legend in which Sītā is the daughter of Rāvaṇa, see also W. *Stutterrheim*, Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien, München 1925, p. 92 f.

story of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā begins, and this ends in the last Sarga (X) with Rāma's entrance into Nirvāṇa. In the year 1596 A.D. Devavijayagaṇin, a pupil of Rājavijaya Sūri, wrote a Rāma-Caritra in prose. The author himself says that he is following Hemacandra's "Rāmāyaṇa." [1]

The Mahābhārata also has repeatedly been adapted by the Jainas. The earliest work of this nature which has come down to us, is the Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa [2] in 66 Sargas by Jinasena, who himself mentions in the concluding verses, that he completed his work in the year 705 of the Śaka era, *i.e.*, 783 A.D. In this Purāṇa not only are the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma told in a Jinistic setting, but Gautama, the pupil of Mahāvīra, is made the narrator of the story, and in many places sermons on the Jaina doctrine are inserted. The legend of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina, is told by way of introduction, and, connected with the story of Kṛṣṇa, we have the legend of Ariṣṭanemi or Nemi, Kṛṣṇa's cousin. Nemi is the 22nd Jina, and wanders around the world preaching. The story of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and the descendants of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma is also told. The Kauravas and Karṇa are converted to the Jaina religion. Finally the Pāṇḍavas also become ascetics, and like Nemi, attain to Nirvāṇa.

---

[1] See *Bhandarkar*, Report 1882-83, pp. 94, 229. Rajendralala *Mitra*, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., VI, 1882, p. 70 ff. tells of a Puṇyacandrodaya-Purāṇa by Kṛṣṇadāsa, which similarly treats the subject-matter of the Rāmāyaṇa. A Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa in the Kanarese language is said to have been written in the 12th century, see *Guérinot*, p. 270.

[2] Edited by Paṇḍit Darbārī Lāla *Nyāyatīrtha Sāhityaratna* in MDJG, 32 and 33. The complete title is Bṛhad-Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa or Ariṣṭanemipurāṇasaṃgraha-Harivaṃśa. An analysis of the work is given by Rajendralala *Mitra*, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. VI, 1882, pp. 74-97. See *Peterson*, Report IV, 167 ff.; *Leumann* in WZKM 11, 1897, p. 307; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. xxii, 688, 715. On the dates given in the Praśasti, see *Peterson*, Report IV, p. 176; *Bhandarkar*, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd ed., p 65; *Hoernle* in JRAS 1904, p. 644; K. B. *Pathak* in Ind. Ant. 15, 141 ff.; *Fleet* in Ep. Ind., VI, 195 ff.

Another Harivaṃśa in 39 Sargas was written by Sakalakīrti and his pupil Jinadāsa in the 15th century.[1] Among his predecessors Jinadāsa mentions Raviṣeṇa and Jinasena Ācārya, and he honours Bhadrabāhu, Kundakunda along with other Munis and his teacher Sakalakīrti, who is praised in the concluding verses as the " ornament of the Kundakunda race."

In about 1200 A.D. the Maladhārin Devaprabha Sūri wrote a Pāṇḍava-Carita[2] in 18 Sargas, in which the contents of the 18 Parvans of the Mahābhārata are given in a concise form, though remodelled in many of its details. The lengthy Sarga 6 contains the story of the game of dice, and the Nala episode—it is here called " story of Nala and Kūbara," the latter being the name of Nala's brother—is related by Vidura as a warning example. Sarga 16 tells the legend of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi in connection with the Pāṇḍava legend, and Sarga 18 relates how Baladeva reaches heaven and Ariṣṭanemi and the Pāṇḍavas enter Nirvāṇa. A Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa,[3] which is also known as " Jaina-Mahābhārata," was written by Śubhacandra in 1551 A.D. In the opening verses the author

---

[1] The first 14 Sargas were written by Sakalakīrti, the rest by Jinadāsa. See *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 123 and 433 f.; *Leumann* in WZKM 11, 1897, 312; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. 715 f. In Bhandarkar's MS. only Jinadāsa is mentioned as the author. Sakalakīrti lived in about 1464 A.D., and Jinadāsa therefore in the second half of the 15th century. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. 715 f., 760 ff., 768, also mentions Harivaṃśa-Purāṇas by Raviṣeṇa, Śrībhūṣaṇa, Dharmakīrti and Rāmacandra. Besides these Sanskrit epics there is a Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa in the Apabhraṃśa language, which was written by the poet Dhavala in the 10th or 11th century. See *Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. xlviii f., 716, 762 ff.

[2] Published in Km. 93, Bombay 1911. Earlier editions appeared in the Jaina-Śāstra-Kathāsaṃgraha and the Caritra-Saṃgraha in Ahmedabad in 1884. See *Peterson*, 3 Reports, Appendix 1, 131-134. Devaprabha is a pupil of Municandra Sūri, whose teacher was Candra Sūri, who wrote a commentary on the Āvaśyaka-Sūtra in the year 1165 A.D.; s. *Peterson*, Report IV, pp. xxvii f., lii.

[3] See *Peterson*, Report IV, 156 ff.; *Leumann* in WZKM 11, 1897, p. 306. There is also a Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa in 18 Sargas by Vādicandra, s. *Leumann*, l. c. It would certainly be worth while to compare the various Jaina versions of the Mahābhārata carefully with one another and with the old epic.

does honour to the teachers Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Devaprabha's epic was done into prose with inserted verses in 1603 A.D. by Devavijaya Gaṇin, pupil of Rājavijaya Sūri.[1] Among the verses many have been taken literally from Devaprabha's work, whilst many others belong to the gnomic poetry and are known from other sources.[2]

It is, however, the biographies of the 63 "Great Men,"[3] that is to say the 24 Tīrthakaras, and their contemporaries, the 12 Cakravartins or rulers of the world, and the 27 heroes (9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas) of antiquity, which constitute the favourite substitute, most popular among the Jainas, both for the heroic epics and for the Brahmanical Purāṇas. These works are usually called "Purāṇas" by the Digambaras, whilst among the Śvetāmbaras they go by the name of "Caritras." Among the earliest of these works is the Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-Mahā-Purāṇa,[4] "the Great Purāṇa of 63 Excellent Men," also named briefly Mahā-Purāṇa,[5] by Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, containing the biographies of all of the 63 men. It consists of the Ādi-Purāṇa in 47 chapters, of which 42 are written by Jinasena and the last 5 by his pupil Guṇabhadra, and the Uttara-Purāṇa, which is exclusively from the pen of Guṇabhadra. The Ādi-Purāṇa,

---

1) Edited by Haragovind *Das* and Bechar *Das* in YJG Benares V. E. 2438 (1911).

2) Thus for instance, there is on p. 133 the well-known verse from the Pañcatantra: "One should not act rashly, one should act after mature reflection, otherwise repentance will follow, as in the case of the wife of the Brahman because of the ichneumon."

3) See *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 247 ff. The earlier tradition in the Samavāyaṃga 54 and in Śīlācārya knows only 54 "excellent men" (uttamapurisa), as it does not count the Prativāsudevas especially. *Cf.* Banarsi Das *Jain*, Jaina Jātakas, p. II.

4) A survey of the contents and the position of the work in Jaina literature is given by *Glasenapp* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 331 ff., based on the edition of the text by Pandit Lālārām *Jain* in the Syādvādagranthamālā with a Hindī translation Indore, Vik. S. 1973 and 1975. See *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 118 ff., 422 ff.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxii ff.

5) There is, however, also a "Mahā-Purāṇa" by Malliṣeṇa, written in 1047 A.D.; s. K. B. *Pathak*. Ind. Ant. 40, 1911, 46 ff.

or the "first Purāṇa," contains the story of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthakara, and of the first Cakravartin, whilst the Uttara-Purāṇa contains the life-stories of all the remaining "Great Men." The work does not, however, consist only of these life-stories of saints and heroes, and the episodes interwoven with them (stories from former incarnations of the principal personages, stories about their contemporaries, etc.), but in the true manner of the Brahmanical Purāṇas, this "Great Purāṇa," too, is at the same time an epic poem, which claims to give a "history of the world," and presents at the same time an encyclopædia of all that is edifying to the pious Jaina and that is worthy of his knowledge. Thus, for instance, in the Ādi-Purāṇa (38-40) the Saṃskāras, the "consecrations," which accompany the life of the individual from his conception until his death, are described in fair agreement with the corresponding Brahmanical rites. Chapter 41 treats of the interpretation of dreams. A short treatise on town planning is to be found in Chapter 16, a treatise on the duties of the warrior and the art of governing (Nīti) in Chapter 42. On the other hand, there are, in various places, hymns of considerable poetical value.

Like the Paüma-Cariya, the Maha-Purāṇa, too, traces its origin back to Mahāvīra himself, who communicated its contents to Gautama, who in his turn imparted them to King Śreṇika. The knowledge of the sacred legends is said to have been transmitted by Gautama to those versed in the Aṅgas and Pūrvas, and in several passages the Aṅgas are cited as an authority. The real source of the work is, however, the Prathamānuyoga, that is, the third part of the Dṛṣṭivāda, which has gone astray, though we do not know how far the legends of the Mahā-Purāṇa agree with those of the original Dṛṣṭivāda.[1]

---

[1] *Glassenapp*, Festgabe Jacobi, p. 336 ff., points out numerous divergences of the Mahā-Purāṇa both from the tradition of the Śvetāmbaras and from other Digambara traditions.

The authors of the Mahā-Purāṇa took pains to obliterate the difference between Jinism and the older religion as far as possible by retaining the names of the saints and heroes, by the use of Brahmanical terms and even by the adoption of Brahmanical rites. The underlying tendency in all this was to cause Brahmanism and Hinduism to appear as merely a decayed form of the true faith, namely the Jaina religion, which had existed from time immemorial.[1]

We have fairly accurate information regarding the time when the Mahā-Purāṇa was written.[2] It is stated at the end of the work that it was consecrated on the 23rd June, 897 A.D. during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-king Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa by Guṇabhadra's pupil Lokasena. Jinasena, the author of the Ādi-Purāṇa, was a pupil of Vīrasena, and was highly honoured by King Amoghavarṣa I, who reigned from 815 to 877 A.D. According to this, then, the work was undoubtedly composed in the 9th century. Jinasena, the author of the Ādi-Purāṇa, is not, however, identical with Jinasena, the author of the Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa.[3] An allusion to Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā in the Ādi-Purāṇa, is worthy of notice.[4]

One of the favourite stories in the Uttara-Purāṇa is that of Jīvandhara, which has also been treated several times by later poets both in Sanskrit and in Tamil. By way of a

---

1) See *Glasenapp, loc. cit.*, p. 339 ff.

2) Through the Praśasti at the end of the Uttara-Purāṇa. See *Bhandarkar, loc. cit.*, and Early History of the Dekkan, p. 69 f.

3) In the Maṅgala of the Harivaṃśa (quoted by *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxii) Raviṣeṇa, Kumārasena, Vīrasena and Jinasena are mentioned with praise. The teacher of this Jinasena is Kīrtisena of Punnāṭa Gaṇa. According to this, Jinasena, the pupil of Vīrasena, and author of the Ādi-Purāṇa, would have lived before the Jinasena of the Harivaṃśa, that means before 783 A.D., which is scarcely possible. Unless there is some mistake, we must assume that there were teachers named Vīrasena and Jinasena both before and after the author of the Harivaṃśa The name Jinasena frequently occurs as the name of an author; s. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. xxiii, 644, 651, 707.

4) I, 115. See A. *Venkatasubbiah* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, 31 ff., and Kamta Prasad *Jain, ibid*, p. 547 ff.

specimen, we here give the contents of this legend, which is told in Chapter 75.[1]

Queen Vijayā, the consort of King Satyandhara of Rājapura, is warned in dreams that she is about to be visited by both joy and sorrow. Soon afterwards a being from the heavenly world of the gods descends into the womb of the queen, "just as a beautiful flamingo would descend upon a pleasant lake covered with autumnal lotus-flowers." Soon after this, the king is bereft of his throne, and killed by his treacherous minister Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka.[2] The queen, protected by a friendly female elf (Yakṣī) gives birth to a son on a cremation-ground, "as the sky brings forth the moon." The Yakṣī, who places jewel-lamps (*i.e.*, shining jewels used as lamps) around the newly-born child (to protect it from evil demons) consoles the queen in her grief with a speech on the transitoriness of all things and the destinies brought about by deeds in former births. The merchant Gandhotkaṭa, to whom it had been prophesied by an ascetic that he will have a long-lived son if he exposed his newly-born child, who would die just after birth, comes along, and hears the voice of the boy born by Vijayā. He exclaims "Jīva, jīva" ("live, live") for which reason the boy receives the name Jīvandhara. When the queen recognised Gandhotkaṭa, she entrusted her child to him, begging him to take care of the boy. The merchant takes the child to his wife Nandā, who considers it as her own. Vijayā was taken by the Yakṣī to a hermitage of ascetics, and lived there in secret, consoled by the Yakṣī with stories and pious instructions concerning the religion of the Jina. Two younger wives of King Satyandhara, and the wives of the four most faithful followers of the king, also bear sons, who are all brought up together by Gandhotkaṭa, and Nandā also bears another son Nandāḍhya, who grows up with the seven boys. As he advances in years, Jīvandhara evinces exceptional wisdom. For instance he weeps, as children do, because his food was too hot. When the ascetic who is present, admonishes him, telling him that a sensible child should not weep, the boy replies, asking him whether he is not aware that weeping has the following advantages: The mucus collected in the body flows out, the eyes become clear, and the food becomes thoroughly cooled. The ascetic, who

---

1) After E. *Hultzsch*, The Story of Jīvandhara, in Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society 12, 1922, 317-348. The text of this Jīvandhara-Caritra is edited by T. S. *Kuppusvami Śāstrī*, Tanjore 1907 (Sarasvativilasa Series 11).

2) *I.e.* "charcoal-burner," probably an allusion to the man's former occupation.

had formerly been a king, becomes the teacher of Jīvandhara and the other boys.

In consequence of his good deeds in previous incarnations, Jīvandhara, after he has attained to manhood, wins eight beautiful women as his wives one after another. The Vidyādhara prince Garuḍavega wishes to marry his charming daughter Gandharvadattā, a pious devotee of the Jinas. He arranges a self-choice. The princess appears in the hall which has been erected for this purpose, with a lute, on which she plays beautifully, accompanying the music by song. Jīvandhara steps into the hall to take part in a musical contest. However, he returns as being unsuitable the lutes which are handed to him, and asks whether he may have the princess's lute. She hands it to him, and he now plays and sings far more beautifully, whereupon she hands him the wreath and selects him as her husband.

Jīvandhara gives further proof of exceptional wisdom and bravery. He decides the quarrel between two maidens, Suramañjarī and Guṇamālā, as to the goodness of their perfumes, by scattering the powders, whereupon it is seen that the bees swarm to the more sweetly scented powder, that of Suramañjarī. He also tames a furious elephant. On this occasion Suramañjarī falls in love with the prince, and he accepts her as his second wife. He rescues a dog, which is being persecuted by bad boys, from its tormentors. The dog remembers its former incarnation, and transforms itself into a Yakṣa, who thenceforth becomes a faithful friend to the prince; he also gives him a ring, by the aid of which he can assume any kind of form he desires. Padmottamā, the daughter of King Dharmapati, is bitten by a poisonous snake. The king promises his daughter to the man who will cure her of the snake's poison. Jīvandhara alone is able to do this with the help of his Yakṣa friend, and he wins this princess, too, as his wife. A few days later he comes to a lovely grove, where he worships in a Jaina temple. All of a sudden a Campaka tree begins to burst forth in red blossoms, the cuckoos begin to sing charmingly, the pond by the temple fills itself with limpid water, the water-lilies open, bees approach in swarms, and the doors of the Jaina temple fly open of their own accord. Now it had been prophesied that the merchant Subhadra should give his daughter Kṣemasundarī in marriage to the man at whose coming all these miracles should take place. So Kṣemasundarī, too, became the wife of Jīvandhara. He wins a fifth wife, Hemābhā, owing to his skill in archery. Princess Śrīcandrā observes a pair of doves enjoying themselves and falls into a swoon, for she remembers that she had been a dove in a

previous existence and had lost her husband. After a long search, and with the assistance of Jīvandhara, the former husband of the princess is found in the person of Nandāḍhya, Jīvandhara's half-brother, who is again married to her. Jīvandhara stays away from his family for 16 years, because in a former birth he had separated the young one of a flamingo from its parents for 16 months. At last comes the reunion with his mother, which is described very touchingly. She enlightens him regarding the fact that he is the son of King Satyandhara who was killed, and asks him to seize the reins of government. He promises to do this when the right moment shall have come.

By the aid of his magic ring he comes to Rājapura as a merchant. There the merchant Sagaradatta gives him his daughter in marriage, as he was her destined husband according to prophesy on the part of the astrologers. Disguised as an old and wandering Brahman ascetic, he comes one day into the audience hall of Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka and is entertained by him. After leaving the hall, he offers the princes a powder which has the power to make people docile to one's wishes. The princes laugh, and say he should make the maiden Guṇamālā, who has become a man-hater since Jīvandhara declared her perfume to be inferior, docile. He boasts that he will win Guṇamālā. He goes to her and announces his arrival. She asks: "Whence have you come, and whither are you going"? He replies: "I have come afterwards, I shall go again before." As the waiting-maids laugh at this reply, he says: "Do not laugh, old age brings perversity in its train; will this not be your lot also?" Guṇamālā asks again: "Whither are you going?" He answers: "I shall go so long, until I reach a worthy maiden." When she heard this, she said jokingly: "He is old in body and in years, but not in his heart," gave him a place of honour, ate with him and said: "Now go quickly where you want to go." He praised her, and said: "You have said well, my dear one," rose with an effort, supported by his stick, and sat down upon her couch, as if she had said that he was to do this. When the waiting-maids saw this, they exclaimed: "Just see this impertinence!" and were about to drive him away. But Guṇamālā has a feeling that this is no ordinary Brahman, and restrains the maids, saying: "What harm is there? The Brahman is my guest, let him stay here." At the end of the night he sang sweet melodies, which reminded Guṇamālā of Jīvandhara's singing at Gandharvadattā's self-choice. Finally he discloses his identity, and receives Guṇamālā as a wife from her parents. The merchant Gandhotkaṭa arranges a feast.

Soon after this Jīvandhara wins Ratnavatī, the daughter of King Videha, as his eighth wife, this time again through his skill in drawing the bow. Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka and other persons of evil intent, try to carry away his wife in a fight. Jīvandhara notices this, reveals his identity to the former vassals of Satyandhara as the son of the old king, fights with them against Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, defeats his army and cuts off his head. After he has duly worshipped the Jinas, he is anointed king, celebrates his marriage with Ratnavatī, crowns Gandharvadattā as first queen, and lives happily as a good sovereign with his mother, his wives and friends, enjoying the reward of his former good deeds. One day he meets a Jaina monk, and takes the monastic vow upon himself. His brothers do likewise. While he is living with them in the forest, he notices a herd of monkeys fighting furiously among themselves, and he is filled with disgust at the world. After a meeting with Mahāvīra, he renounces his kingdom in favour of Prince Vasundhara, son of Gandharvadattā, and becomes a monk. His companions do the same, whereupon his mother and his eight wives become nuns.

The Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya[1] by Dhaneśvara, who, according to his own statement, wrote his work in Valabhī at the desire of Śīlāditya, King of Surāṣṭra,[2] is a work after the style of the Māhātmyas of the Purāṇas. This is an epic, mostly in Ślokas, in 14 Sargas, the theme of which is the glorification of the sacred mountain Śatruñjaya. It begins with a cosmology, then tells of the adventures of a King Mahīpāla, whereupon the story of the first Jina Ṛṣabha follows. It tells of the fights of the two brothers Bharata

1) A. *Weber*, Ueber das Çatrunjaya Mâhâtmyam AKM I, Nr. 4, Leipzig 1858; transl., with appendices, by J. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant. 30, 1901, 239 ff.; 288 ff.

2) The text has Śilāditya. Between 605 and 766 A.D. there were six different rulers of the Valabhī dynasty named Śīlāditya (s. *Duff*, p. 380). Though there are a few quite definite chronological data in the work itself (I, 13 f.; XIV, 101 ff.; 165 ff.; 281 ff.) these contradict one another to such an extent that it is not possible to assign an exact date to the work, See *Weber*, l.c., p. 8 ff., 15, 39 ff. According to XIV, 283, Dhaneśvara was "the moon in the ocean of the Moon-Gaccha" (śaśigacchāmbudhiśaśī). A Dhaneśvara of the Candragaccha is mentioned in the list of teachers by Abhayadeva, the teacher of Asaḍa. The last-named lived in about 1191 A.D.; hence Dhaneśvara, the teacher of Devendra Sūri, the teacher of Bhadreśvara, the teacher of Abhayadeva, would have lived in about 1100 A.D.

and Bāhubali and the pilgrimages and pious foundations of Bharata, especially the shrines erected on the Śatruñjaya mountain. In Book IX we come across the Rāma legend, whilst in Book X to XII the story of the Pāṇḍavas, connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend and the legend of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi, is told. The stories told in Book X about Bhīmasena refer, however, to a Bhīma totally different from that of the Mahābhārata. He is a thief and a good-for-nothing, though a keen adventurer, about whom, for instance, the following is told:

A merchantman vessel, on which he is sailing overseas, runs aground in mid-ocean on a coral-reef. A parrot indicates a way of rescue. One of them must be prepared to die, swim to a mountain and there startle up the Bhāraṇḍa[1] birds.[1] Bhīma undertakes this, and saves the ship, but remains alone on the mountain. The helpful parrot gives him a means of escape. He is to cast himself into the ocean, allow himself to be swallowed by a fish and thrown ashore. This takes place, and he lands in Ceylon. After manifold adventures he acquires a kingdom, but renounces it after some time, in order to withdraw as a hermit on Raivata, one of the peaks of the sacred Śatruñjaya. Book XIV contains the legend of the Jina Pārśvanātha and at the end a long prophecy of Mahāvīra, which contains all manner of historical allusions, the significance of which is, however, not yet explained.

Corresponding to the Purāṇas of the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbaras have the Caritras, some of which describe the lives of individual Jinas, whilst others treat of the lives of all 63 Śalākāpuruṣas[2] or "excellent men." The work of the last-named type which enjoys the greatest reputation

---

[1] According to Mahābhārata VI, 7, 13, there live in the northern Kuru-land the Bhāruṇḍa birds, which have sharp teeth and are very strong, and throw the corpses of men who live to the age of thousands of years, into mountain caves. According to XII, 169, 10, they have human faces. The Pañcatantra (s. *Benfey*, Das Pantschatantra I, 111 f., 538; II, 360 f., 525) tells of Bhāraṇḍa birds with two beaks.

[2] Śalākā (Pali salākā) means "arrow" or "little stake," also the small bamboo sticks which are used by the Buddhist monks as an identity badge. Śalākāpuruṣa would probably mean "legitimised, characterised men," so that Śalākāpuruṣa and Lakṣaṇapuruṣa

among the Śvetāmbara Jainas, is the Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākā-puruṣa-Carita,[1] "The Lives of the 63 Excellent Men" by the famous Jaina monk Hemacandra. This work, which was written at the desire of King Kumārapāla between 1160 and 1172 A.D., the latter being the year of Hemacandra's death, contains in 10 Parvans the legends about the 24 Jinas, the 12 Cakravartins, the 9 Vāsudevas, the 9 Baladevas and the 9 Viṣṇudviṣas (enemies of the 9 incarnations of Viṣṇu). The language of the work, which the author himself describes as a Mahākāvya, "a great ornate epic," and which in bulk if in nothing else, seems to vie with the Mahābhārata,[2] is simple and unaffected. The description "Mahākāvya" is justified by many beautiful comparisons, such as when, for instance, the poet (I, 70) compares the buffaloes carrying water, with clouds which have fallen to earth, and many a pretty description of seasons, love-scenes, and so on, in the style of ornate poetry. The main purpose of the work is, however, instruction and edification; for, as the author himself says (I, 29): "To sing in praise of the pious, leads to liberation." The narrative is often interrupted by long instructive discourses on subjects of religion and morality. There is often mention of the doctrine of Karman, and all the stories of the rebirths of the great men and their destinies, are instances of the effects of good and bad deeds. In the case of each one of the "excellent men," his destinies in his former existences are related. In the main, they are the same legends as are to be found in the earlier Jinistic epics and Purāṇas.[3] It is

---

are synonymous. The Commentary on Abhidhānacintāmaṇi III, 364, however, explains: puruṣeṣu jātarekhā ity arthaḥ, "which form as it were lines of demarcation among the monks."

1) The text has been published by the Jaina-Dharma-Prasāraka-Sabhā (in a new edition), Bhavnagar 1906-1913.

2) Even the division into Parvans seems to indicate the proud comparison with the Mahābhārata.

3) See *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 259 ff.

still a matter for more detailed investigation as to what earlier sources Hemacandra drew upon for his poem.[1]

Parvan I begins, after the usual benedictions, with the life of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthakara, in his previous existences.[2] Parvan X, which also occurs as an independent text in manuscripts, entitled Mahāvīra-Caritra, "Life of Mahāvīra," is of greater significance. It contains the life-story of Mahāvīra, which agrees on the whole with the accounts in the Kalpa-Sūtra and the Āyāraṃga, but gives far greater detail. We find here also detailed data, which are probably based on earlier traditions, and which are for that reason important from the historical point of view, regarding King Śreṇika Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha.[3] In the form of a prophecy of Mahāvīra, Hemacandra also describes in a lengthy passage the ideal reign of his pious pupil, King Kumārapāla, who ascended the throne 1669 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.[4] Interwoven with the more or less historical accounts of King Śreṇika and his son, Prince Abhaya, there are also many interesting tales, such as the story of the master-thief Rauhiṇeya, who by

---

1) We are tempted to think of the Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇamahāpurāṇa, but the Caüpannamahāpurisacariya, a work written in Prākrit prose by Śīlācārya in the year 868 A.D. must also be taken into consideration. On this little-known work which has not yet been published, s. *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 38, App. p. 91; Banarsi Das *Jain*, Jaina Jātakas, p. iii ff. and *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. xiii. According to *Jacobi* in E RE VII, 466b, the legend-collection Vasudevahiṇḍi would be one of the sources of Hemacandra's work. Vasudevahiṇḍi is the work of Saṅghadāsa Gaṇin (the first part, which also contains the Dhammillahiṇḍi, is published as No. 80 of the Ātmānanda-Jaina-Grantharatnamālā, Bhavnagar 1930). See also *Peterson*, Report 1882-83, p. 58; 3 Reports, p. 184 f.; *Guérinot*, p. 75 and *Farquhar*, Outline, pp. 278, 280, erroneously state Hemacandra to be the author of the Vasudevahiṇḍa (= Vasudevahiṇḍi).

2) On Parvan I, see L. *Suali* in SIFI VII, 3 ff. An English translation of Canto I of Parvan I has appeared in the Punjab Sanskrit Series No. 8. Jaina Jātakas or Lord Ṛshabha's Pūrvabhavas...translated by Amūlyacharan *Vidyābhūshaṇa*, revised and edited with Notes and Introductions by Banarsi Das *Jain*, Lahore, 1925.

3) See Helen M. *Johnson* in JAOS 45, 1925, 301 ff.

4) See *Bühler*, Ueber das Leben des Jainamönches Hemachandra, pp. 37 ff., 78 ff.

reason of his boldness and artfulness, succeeds in eluding all pursuit, but who in the end would almost have been outwitted by Prince Abhaya himself, had he not by a mere chance heard a few words of Mahāvīra, which save his life. This causes him to hear the sermon of the Jina and to become a monk, and he enters into heaven as a sage.[1]

The Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan or Sthavirāvali-Carita,[2] *i.e.*, "Appendix-Section" or "Lives of the Series of the Elders," the appendix to the Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākā-puruṣa-Carita, has a still greater wealth of fairy-tales and stories of all kinds. This book treats of the history of the Daśapūrvins, *i.e.*, the earliest teachers of the Jaina religion, who were still knowers of the ten Pūrvas. Whilst with the exception of the last two Tīrthakaras, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the personages of the Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita belong throughout to mythology or epic poetry, the Sthavirāvali-Carita contains the life-stories of the Elders (Sthaviras, Theras), *i.e.*, the disciples of Mahāvīra, whose names and sequence in accordance with the unanimous tradition of the Śvetāmbaras may be regarded as historical. It is true that the stories by themselves alone seldom contain any historical nucleus. Hemacandra took them from earlier works of legendary lore and commentaries, especially those of Haribhadra. Frequently enlivened by proverbs and colloquialisms of the common people, the stories reveal clearly their popular origin. Hemacandra translated them from the Prākrit without making many alterations.

---

1) See Helen M. *Johnson*, in JAOS 44, 1924, p. 1 ff. The great popularity of this story is shown by the fact that it has again been remodelled in extended form as an independent work by a more recent poet Devamūrti (15th century) in the Rauhiṇeya-caritra (Jamnagar 1908, 2nd Ed. by the Ātmānanda-Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1916); translated into English by Helen M. *Johnson* in Studies in Honor of M. Bloomfield, New Haven, 1930, p. 159 ff.; *cf.* JAOS 45, 1924, 73 ff.

2) Edited by H. *Jacobi*, Calcutta, Bibl. Ind., 1891. Extracts translated into German by J. *Hertel*, Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariśiṣṭaparvan, Leipzig, 1908.

There are many interesting parallels to be found among the stories of the Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan, not only to such stories as are familiar to us from other Indian works, but also to such as form part of universal literature. The story of the twins Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā, the children of the courtesan Kuberasenā, is a kind of Oedipus tragedy. The time-honoured theme of incest committed unconsciously, is here diluted, even more than in the Christian legend of Saint Gregory, into a pious monastic legend. What appeals to the Indian narrator is, not so much the tragic situation, as the subtlety of the complicated relationship. When a monk writes stories, it is conceivable that the wickedness of womankind will furnish him with inexhaustible material for the most subtle stories of adultery. There is an abundance of such stories in the Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan, including some, the individual motifs of which often recur in universal literature.[1] The tale of Sthūlabhadra and the nun Kośā (VIII, 110-193) is one of the characteristic monastic stories :

Three monks each made a vow in the presence of the master. The first said that he would sit in front of a lion's den throughout the four months of the rainy season ; the second said that he would sojourn for the same length of time in front of the hole of a snake, the mere sight of which is fatal ; the third declared that he would sit on a well-wheel throughout the rainy season. Then the monk Sthūlabhadra comes along, and says he will spend the four months in the house of the courtesan Kośā (whose lover he had been before he became a monk), without violating his vow of chastity. He not only succeeds in this, but Kośā is also converted to the Jaina faith. At the end of the rainy season the four monks return to the master, who declares that Sthūlabhadra has accomplished the greatest feat. The other monks are jealous at this, and the one who had sat in front of the lion's den, declares that, before the beginning of the next

1) Thus the motif of the ordeal of the adulteress, among others, in the narrative II, 446-640, translated into German by J. J. *Meyer*, Isoldes Gottesurteil, Berlin 1914, p. 130 ff. The Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend is imitated in the story of Valkalacīrin, I, 90-258.

rainy season, he will perform the same feat as Sthūlabhadra. He repairs to Kośā, who sees through him: he falls an easy victim to her, but is at length brought back to repentance and to the monastic life by Kośā herself, who finally becomes a nun.

Side by side with such stories there are also purely Jinistic legends, some of which read like historical or biographical accounts. Thus it is related in Book V, how Śayyambhava wrote the Daśavaikālika-Sūtra, in order to give his son, who, he knows, must die in six months, the chance of grasping the essence of the Jaina doctrine in the shortest possible time, without studying the other sacred texts. The legends told in Books IX and XIII also have reference to the compilation of the Canon. The stories in Book VIII relating to the royal dynasty of the Nandas are of some historical interest, though the legends themselves probably contain but little actual history. At any rate the fact that the last Nanda prince was overthrown by Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty (*ca.* 317 B. C.) is historical. According to the legend, Candragupta, who was of low descent on the maternal side, only succeeded in pushing his way to power and consolidating his throne, because he had the astute Brahman Cāṇakya as his minister. There were many popular tales current about this man, and Hemacandra did not fail to make use of them, though Cāṇakya was of all men thoroughly unsuitable as an example for a pious Jaina to imitate. From time immemorial, however, the Jainas have always taken pains to make every hero of the popular stories into one of their own also. Nevertheless, it is so remarkable that they should have done this even in the case of Cāṇakya, that crafty, unscrupulous intriguer and despotic politician, who shrank back from no trick however bad, that we are inclined to believe, with the tradition, that Candragupta really favoured the Jaina faith, and that, for this reason, he and his famous minister were extolled by the Jainas. It is true that Hemacandra succeeded in making a pious Jaina of even

this man. Indeed, this out and out worldly man, who shortly before his death, takes his revenge on his enemy, nevertheless retires at the end of his days to the vicinity of a dung-heap, in order to starve himself to death, in the true manner of a Jaina saint. Owing to the rascality of a rival, who sets fire to the dung-heap, he is, however, burnt against his will. After his death, he curiously enough becomes a goddess.

The Caritras which describe the life of individual Jinas, are numerous. Among these, Ṛṣabha, the first, Śāntinātha, the sixteenth, Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, the twenty-second, Pārśva, the twenty-third, and of course the last Jina, Mahāvīra himself, are most especially honoured by the Jainas, and their biographies are among the most popular themes of narrative poetry.

Even in the Canon there are already Mahāvīra-Caritas, descriptions of the life of the last Jina. Hemacandra's Mahāvīra-Carita forms Parvan X of his Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita. A Mahāvīra-Cariyam in Prākrit was written in the year 1082 A.D. by Guṇacandra Gaṇin,[1] and another in 1085 A.D. by Devendra Gaṇin,[2] also known as Nemicandra.

The life of Ṛṣabha is, as we have seen, told in the introductory sections of the Rāma epics. Kṛṣṇa and the heroes of the Mahābhārata are supposed to be contemporaries of the Jina Neminātha, about whom legends are told in all adaptations of the Mahābhārata. Furthermore it is the legend of Neminātha which has been made the theme of innumerable poetic versions, beginning with the early one in the Uttarajjhayaṇa.[3] In later times there are at least a dozen life-stories of Neminātha.

---

1) Edited in AUS Granthoddhāra 1929. Cf. *Peterson*, Report V, p. xiii f.

2) Edited in Jaina-Ātmānanda Granthamālā, No. 59. The work also contains Apabhraṃśa stanzas, s. *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. xxii. The author is probably the same as that of the commentary on the Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra.

3) See above, p. 469 f.

Thus in the 11th century we have a Neminātha-Carita in Sanskrit by Sūrācārya and one by Maladhāri-Hemacandra. In the year 1159 A.D. Haribhadra, a pupil of Śrīcandra, who himself was a pupil of Jinacandra, completed his Nemināhacariu in Apabhraṃśa.[1] The author was a contemporary of Hemacandra, and completed his work, which he had written at the request of the minister Pṛthivīpāla, on the day of the conversion of King Kumārapāla. The legend of Neminātha is the same in all the presentations. Haribhadra, however, is at pains to depict romantic scenes after the manner of the ornate poetry, to interweave descriptions of nature, etc. He takes such a delight in doing this, that the entire first half of the poem treats only of the previous births of Nemi and Rājīmatī, and insufficient attention is devoted to the actual legend of the Tīrthakara. Interwoven with the story of the second reincarnation, there is a Sanatkumāra-Carita, which relates the legend of the fourth Cakravartin Sanatkumāra,[2] the contemporary of the fifteenth Tīrthakara. The narrative is full of romance, the scene of which is laid partly on earth, and partly in the world of the Vidyādharas and gods. After many amorous adventures and numerous victorious fights, after he had become a ruler of the world (Cakravartin) famed for his incomparable beauty, and after he had lived happily for 300,000 years, old age approached him suddenly. Then he renounced the world, devoted himself to rigorous asceticism, died the voluntary death through fasting and entered into the Sanatkumāra-heaven. The poet evidently wanted to show that he could apply all the subtleties of the Kāvya style in Apabhraṃśa just as well

---

[1] *Cf.* H. *Jacobi*, ‚Sanatkumāracaritam,' ein Abschnitt aus Haribhadras Neminātha-caritam eine Jainalegende in Apabhraṃśa, in ABayA XXXI, 2, München 1921. This Haribhadra is also the author of Mallināthacarita in Prākrit.

[2] *Cf. Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 279.

as in Prākrit, for the legend itself had been treated often enough before him.[1]

The life-story of Neminātha is also treated by the poet Vāgbhaṭa in his Nemi-Nirvāṇa,[2] a Mahākāvya in 15 cantos. The poem Nemidūta[3] by Vikrama, the son of Sāṅgaṇa, is a most artificial work. The theme of this poem is the lament of Rājīmatī, after her husband had become a monk. The work is an example of the "Completing of verses":[4] The last line of each verse is taken from Kālidāsa's "Meghadūta," whilst the first three lines are composed by the poet himself. This appears to be a very modern work.

An earlier work of the same kind is the Pārśvābhyudaya,[5] a poetical life-story of Pārśvanātha by Jinasena, who wrote the Ādi-Purāṇa in the 9th century. In this poem the entire "Meghadūta" has been incorporated by inserting one or two lines from Kālidāsa's in each verse, whilst Jinasena composed the rest.

The number of poetical life-stories of Pārśvanātha, the predecessor of Mahāvīra, is very great. The Pārśvanātha-Caritra[6] by Bhāvadeva Sūri, who probably wrote

---

1) Thus already by Devendra in his commentary on the Uttarajjhayaṇa in the year 1073 A. D., and only one year earlier than Haribhadra, Śrīcandra wrote a Sanatkumāracarita in Prākrit. As there are several writers named Śrīcandra, it is not certain whether this is the same one who wrote a Kathākośa. Cf. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xlix ff. and *Jacobi*, l.c., p. xiii.

2) Edited in Km., 56, 1896. The poet lived under Jayasiṃha of Gujarat (1093-1154) and is also the author of a work on poetics (Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra).

3) Edited in Km., Part II, pp. 85-104. *Cf.* P. *Pavolini* in GSAI 18, 329 ff.; E. *Hultzsch*, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Ed. London 1911, p. vi f.

4) Samasyāpūraṇa, a poetical exercise consisting of one or two lines of a stanza being given to which the poet must compose the remaining lines.

5) The Meghadūta as embodied in the Pārśvābhyudaya with the Commentary of Mallinātha, with a literal English Translation Ed. by K. B. *Pathak*, Poona 1894 and edited with a commentary by *Yogirāṭ Paṇḍitācārya*, Bombay NSP 1909. Cf. *Guérinot* in JA 1909, s. 10, t. XIV, pp. 72, 75; E. *Hultzsch*, l.c., p. vii, and T. S. Kuppuswami *Śāstrī* in Ind. Ant. 36, 1907, 285 ff.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxiii.

6) Edited by *Haragovindadāsa* and *Becaradāsa*, Benares 1912, YJG 32. An analysis

it in 1255 A.D.,[1] tells with an exceptional wealth of detail, not only the life-story of this saint in his last incarnation, but also his previous nine existences.

Marubhūti and Kamaṭha are sons of a court priest. Marubhūti hears a pious sermon, and renounces the world and the pleasures of the senses. Kamaṭha commits adultery with the neglected wife of his brother. Marubhūti denounces him to the king, and causes the adulterer to be punished. Kamaṭha kills his brother in revenge. Marubhūti dies with gloomy thoughts, and is therefore reborn as an elephant. As such he is converted by the king, who had withdrawn into solitude, and from that time onwards he lives a pious life. As an elephant he is killed by Kamaṭha who had in the meantime been reborn as a snake.[2] As the elephant is just meditating upon religion, he is reborn in heaven, whilst Kamaṭha descends to hell. In the succeeding incarnations the former Marubhūti is reborn now as a god in some heaven, now as a prince who after ruling justly and piously, retires from the world. Reborn as a snake, as a wild Bhīl and as a lion, Kamaṭha ever and again kills the former Marubhūti, and ever and again descends to hell. At length in the tenth reincarnation the former Marubhūti is reborn as a prince in Benares, amidst all manner of miracles and signs proclaiming the future Jina. While his mother was pregnant with him, she saw a snake at her side one night (pārśvataḥ), hence the prince received the name Pārśva. The former Kamaṭha is reborn as Kaṭha, the son of a Brahman, is very poor and becomes an ascetic. One day Pārśva sees Kaṭha seated between five fires performing ascetic practices, and throwing a large snake into the fire. Pārśva rescues the snake, which then reappears as the Nāga king Dharaṇa, whilst Kaṭha is reborn as an Asura. The sight of a picture of the former Jina Nemi causes Pārśva to give up wealth and

---

of the work is given by M. *Bloomfield*, The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha, Baltimore, 1919. Bloomfield also gives numerous parallels from Indian and world-literature.

[1]) At the end of the work the author says that he completed the work in the year 1312. The era is not stated. If it is the Saṃvat era, 1255 A. D. would be the corresponding date. If this date is correct, Yaśas, whom he names as his teacher, cannot be identical with Yaśodeva Sūri, who wrote a commentary on the Pākṣika-Sūtra in 1124 A.D.

[2]) It is one of the favourite themes in Jinistic legend literature to trace the destinies of two sworn enemies through many rebirths. *Bloomfield*, *loc. cit.*, p. 13 ff.

power, tear out his hair, and wander forth as an itinerant monk. At the age of 30 years he attains perfection. Like Māra in the Buddha legend, the Asura Meghamālin (the former Kaṭha) attacks Pārśva, in order to disturb him in his meditation, but he is protected by the snake king Dharaṇa. At length the Asura repents, and becomes a pious layman. Pārśva becomes a Kevalin (possessor of the perfect knowledge), visits his parents, and finally attains Nirvāṇa. After his passing, he enters the highest heaven, and is much honoured by Śakra. His corpse is cremated by the gods, and Śakra erects a jewelled Stūpa over his ashes.

The legend of Pārśvanātha, however, forms merely the frame, into which numerous stories, fables and fairy-tales are inserted in the manner so familiar in Indian narrative literature. Not a few of these stories are also known from other Jinistic and secular narrative works (such as Pañcatantra, Vetālapañcaviṃśati, and others), *e.g.*, the story of the Goldman, who is killed, and transforms himself into a gold treasure (II, 959 ff.), of the Brahman who builds castles in the air (II, 1015 ff.), of the patient Hariścandra (III, 556 ff.), the parable of the four daughters-in-law [1] (VI, 389 ff.) and others. The story of the emperor Suvarṇabāhu not only contains themes of the Śakuntalā legend, but actually reveals (IV, 41) an acquaintance with the drama of Kālidāsa. One of the most interesting stories is that of King Vikrama as a parrot (III, 105 ff.)[2]

The mighty King Vikrama who is endowed with all the virtues, learns from a sage the magic art of penetrating into another body. At the same time with him a Brahman learns the same art. The latter, a scoundrel, seizes the opportunity when Vikrama leaves his own body and enters that of an elephant, to penetrate into the body of the king, and to give himself out as the king. When the real King Vikrama is aware of this, he enters into the body of a parrot, allows himself to be caught by a

1) Already in Nāyādhammakahāo, Chapt. VII; see above, p. 446.

2) Cf. *Bloomfield, loc. cit.*, p. 74 ff., and the treatise "On the Art of Entering Another's Body" in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. LVI, 1, 1917.

hunter, and causes this man to sell him to the queen. As a parrot he becomes the queen's favourite and converses with her ; they ask each other riddles, and he recites to her all kinds of wise sayings and instructions on the religion of the Jina. The riddles are erudite rather than popular. One of the simpler riddles is that of the queen : " It makes snakes poisonless, the gods powerless, lions motionless, and yet children hold it in their hands, what is it ?" The parrot guesses it at once : "A painter's brush." After so many proofs of sagacity the queen no longer doubts that the wise parrot is none other than the real King Vikrama, her husband. One day Vikrama's soul leaves the parrot's body, and enters into the body of a lizard. When the queen sees the dead body of the bird, she begins to lament, and wishes to burn herself with it. In order to prevent the self-immolation of the queen, the false king enters into the parrot's body, which enables the real king to assume his own body and to appear before the queen in all his splendour.

Like other Indian narrative works, the Pārśvanātha-Caritra also contains many gnomic sayings both on morality and on worldly wisdom. There are more than a thousand of them, many of which are well-known from other sources too. A few examples are given here :

" It is better for a man to be cast into a dungeon, better to wander in strange lands, better to live in hell,—than to have two wives." (II, 833.)

" Better is death, better to beg, better to serve one's enemies, if one meets with a misfortune through the visitation of fate,—than to seek help from relatives." (III, 785.)

" The wise ones know how much sand there is in the Ganges and how much water in the ocean, they know the dimensions of a great mountain,—but the thoughts of a woman they cannot fathom." (VII, 82.)

Other Pārśvanātha-Caritras (or Caritas) are written by Vādirāja (1025 A.D.) the teacher of the Western Calukya King Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla,[1] by Māṇikyacandra (1217

1) Cf. *Hultzsch*, in ZDMG 68, 1914, p. 698 and Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 12, 1922, p. 319; A. *Venkatasubbiah* in ZII 7, 1929, 179 ff.

A.D.),[1] by Sakalakīrti (15th century),[2] by Padmasundara (1565 A.D.)[3] and by Udayavīra Gaṇin.[4]

Māṇikyacandra and Sakalakīrti also wrote Śāntinātha-Caritas, life-stories of the 16th Tīrthakara.[5] A Śāntinātha-Caritra in Sanskrit verses was written by Devasūri in 1282 A.D.[6] Devasūri was the teacher of Tilakaprabha, the teacher of Vīraprabha, whose pupil Ajitaprabha wrote a great epic Śāntinātha-Caritra.[7] The date of a Śānti-Purāṇa by *Aśaga*[8] is not known.

The Sumatinātha-Caritra by Somaprabha (second half of the 12th century) in Prākrit treats of the life of the 5th Tīrthakara.[9]

A voluminous Prākrit poem Supāsanāha-Cariyaṃ[10] by Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin, deals with the story of the 7th Tīrthakara. This work, composed in the year 1143 A.D., also contains 68

---

1) *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 157 ff.; Report IV, p. xci. He also wrote a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa.

2) See above, p. 496 and Note 1; and *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 122 f.; 433.

3) Pārśvanāthakāvya, s. *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 392; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 255 ff.; Report IV, p. lxxv.

4) Date not known; s. *Bloomfield, loc. cit.*, p. i f. The contents of a Pārśvanātha-Caritra written in the year 1597 A.D. is given by Major James *Delamaine* (Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society I, 1827, p. 428 ff.). The name "Bṛddha Tapā Gaccha" given by him as the name of the author is probably based on some error.

5) Cf. *Kielhorn* in Ind. Ant. 10, 1881, p. 101. *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 121 f., 430 ff.

6) This was corrected by Pradyumna Sūri. It is an abridged translation into Sanskrit, of Śrīśānti-vṛtta, which was written in Prākrit, by an earlier Devasūri, who is said to have written a Stuti on his teacher Municandra in Apabhraṃśa, a Syādvādaratnākara and a Pramāṇagrantha and lived from 1068 to 1169 A.D. Cf. *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 254; *Peterson*, Report 1882-83, p. 59 f., Report IV, p. lv f.; *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. xxii.

7) Edited by *Muni Indravijaya* in Bibl. Ind. 1909 f. On Ajitaprabha and his genealogical tree of teachers, s. *Peterson*, Report V, p. i f.

8) *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 372 f.

9) *Cf. Muniraja Jinavijaya*, Kumārapāla-Pratibodha Ed. GOS No. XIV, p. v.

10) Edited by Pandit Haragovind Das *Seth*, Benares 1918. *Cf.* P. D. *Gune* in Proc. IOC Poona 1922, p. 161 f., and *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. xxii.

Apabhraṃśa verses. A Vimala-Purāṇa by Kṛṣṇadāsa,[1] deals with the life of the 13th Tīrthakara. The story of Dharmanātha, the 15th Tīrthakara, is treated by the poet Haricandra in the great epic Dharmaśarmābhyudaya.[2] The epic is an imitation of Māgha's Śiśupālavadha. The legend of the 12th Tīrthakara is treated by Vardhamāna Sūri in the Vāsupūjya-Caritra.[3] In this case the biography is quite stereotyped, but it forms the frame for a series of instructive and edifying stories. The life-stories of the five "Great Men" Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra are contained in the epic Mahāpuruṣa-Caritra[4] in five Sargas by Merutuṅga, the author of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (1306 A.D.). The work has come down, in manuscripts, with a commentary which was probably written by the poet himself, and in this commentary the work is also called Upadeśaśata and Dharmopadeśaśataka.

Not only the Tīrthakaras themselves, but other holy men too, have been glorified in Caritras. A famous legendary hero is Śālibhadra, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and King Śreṇika, whose story is told briefly and simply in Hemacandra's Mahāvīra-Caritra (Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-Caritra X, 57 ff.). Dharmakumāra treated this legend in 1277 A.D. in the epic Śālibhadra-Carita,[5] which was revised by Pradyumna Sūri[6]

---

1) See *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 372 f.

2) Edited in Km. 8, 1888. Cf *Peterson*, Report II, 77 f., 141 ff. It is impossible to determine the period of the poet, as there were several poets named Haricandra. As, however, he utilised not only Māgha but also Vākpati's Gauḍavaha (s. *Jacobi*, WZKM 3, 1889, 136 ff.) and as the Jīvandhara-Campū is based upon the Uttara-Purāṇa, he must have written later than 900 A.D. (s. E. *Hultzsch*, Ind. Ant. 35, 1906, 268).

3) *Cf.* A. *Ballini* in RSO I, 1906-07, 41 ff., 169 ff., 439 ff. and II, 1908-09, 39 ff., 239 f.

4) *Cf. Weber*, HSS Verz. II, 3, 1024 ff.; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 266 f.; Report IV, p. xcviii and Report VI, 43 ff.

5) Edited in YJG No. 15, Benares 1910. Detailed treatment of it by M. *Bloomfield* in JAOS 43, 1923, p. 257 ff.

6) He was an excellent Sanskrit scholar and obviously a specialist in Kāvya. Among other things he worked up the Prabhāvaka-Caritra (1278 A.D.), the Śāntināṭha-Carita by

and supplied with all the subtleties of ornate poetry. The story terms itself a Dānadharma-Kathā, "a narrative about the religious duty of giving alms," and also a Dānāvadāna,[1] "story of notable deeds of alms-giving." The subject-matter of the legend is as follows:

In his former incarnation Śālibhadra was the son of a poor widow, a shepherd boy named Saṃgama, who delighted in giving himself up to religious meditations while minding the flocks. On a feast-day he sees that delicious food is being prepared in all the houses, and he asks his mother to prepare a festive meal for him too. With great difficulty the poor woman succeeds in preparing a meal of this kind. However, before Saṃgama eats it, there comes an ascetic who is just about to break his fast, and the boy gives him the meal which has been prepared for himself. (According to the Jaina faith, it is the most meritorious form of alms-giving to offer food to an ascetic after his fast.) In consequence of this good deed, Saṃgama is reborn in Rājagṛha as Śālibhadra, the son of Bhadrā and Gobhadra, endowed with incomparable beauty and all virtues. When he had reached manhood, his father selects 32 beautiful virgins as his wives, and he leads a happy life. His father Gobhadra became an ascetic, died the voluntary death by starvation, and reached heaven. As a god, he procures immense wealth for his son Śālibhadra. "As rich as Śālibhadra" became proverbial, just as we say "as rich as Crœsus." One day, however, owing to the sight of King Śreṇika who, in spite of all his power, is nevertheless only an ordinary mortal, he becomes enlightened, and becomes a Pratyekabuddha. He repairs to the teacher Dharmaghoṣa, who instructs him in the religion, and finally, after he has renounced the world, he is reborn as a god in heaven.

This simple legend is told in 7 cantos in the ornate style of Sanskrit poetry. Numerous sayings, maxims on morality and practical wisdom, are inserted into the narrative.

Devasūri (see above, p. 516, Note 6) and the Samarāicca-Kahā in a similar fashion, s. *Bloomfield loc. cit.*, p. 256. Pradyumna Sūri is also the author of the Vicārasāra-Prakaraṇa in Prākrit (edited with a chāyā by Māṇikyasāgara, Mehsana 1923). Cf. *Peterson*, 3 Reports, 270 ff.; Shankar P. *Pandit*, Gaüḍavaho Ed. BSS, p. cliv.

[1]) Avadāna is used here in the sense in which it is generally known to the Buddhists only. See above, p. 277 f.

All these "life-stories" are purely legendary. Notwithstanding, in the life of Mahāvīra and perhaps also in that of Pārśva we meet with many a historical trait. At any rate the stories of historical royal dynasties and personages in the history of the Order, as we found them in Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan, reveal a certain historical interest, which is also evinced already in the canonical texts in the beginnings of a biography of Mahāvīra and his first disciples, as well as in the list of the Sthaviras and their schools with their branches, in Bhadrabāhu's Kalpa-Sūtra. There are many such lists of teachers (Paṭṭāvalīs) in later centuries.[1] Semi-historical legends regarding the schisms are told in Haribhadra's and Śantisūri's commentaries.[2] Works such as the Gurvāvalī-Sūtra,[3] a list of the teachers of the Tapāgaccha, by Dharmasāgara Gaṇin, and the Therāvalī[4] by Merutuṅga, deal exclusively with ecclesiastical history.

The so-called Prabandhas are also of semi-historical character, for they deal with historical personages, though they are collections of anecdotes rather than real biographies or history. Nevertheless they should not be entirely rejected as historical sources, even though they can be used only with extreme circumspection.[5] The Prabhāvaka-Caritra, "Life of the Prominent"[6] written by Prabhācandra

---

[1] Paṭṭāvalīs have been edited, or extracted, by *J. Klatt*, Ind. Ant. 11, 245 ff.; 293 f.; 23, 169 ff.; *Hoernle*, Ind. Ant. 19, 233 ff.; 20, 341 ff.; 21, 57 ff.

[2] See above. p. 485 and *Leumann*, Ind. Stud. 17, 91 ff.; *Jacobi*, ZDMG 38, 1ff. Jacobi also attributes historical value to the Bhadrabāhu-Carita by Ratnanandin (15th or 16th century).

[3] Text in *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 2, 651 f. and 3, 997 ff. and *Guérinot* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, 605 ff.

[4] *Bhâu Dâji* in JBRAS 9, 1867, p. 147 ff.

[5] Cf. *Bühler*, Hemachandra, p. 4 ff.

[6] Edited by Hīrānanda M. *Sharmā*, Bombay NSP 1909. *Cf.* J. *Klatt* in WZKM 4, 1890, p. 63 ff., 67 f.; *Bühler*, Hemachandra, pp. 4, 52 ff.; Sankar P. *Pandit*, Gaüḍavaho Ed., Introduction, p. cxlviii ff.; *Jacobi*, The Upamitibhavaprapañcā

or Candraprabha, and revised in the year 1277 A. D. by the well-known Kāvya specialist Pradyumna Sūri, is a continuation of Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan. It contains the life stories of 22 Jaina teachers, poets and authors, including Haribhadra, Siddharṣi, Bappabhaṭṭi, Mānatuṅga, Śāntisūri and Hemacandra.

The Prabandhacintāmaṇi or "Wishing-Jewel of Stories" by Merutuṅga,[1] completed in 1306 A. D. and the Prabandhakośa or "Treasury of Stories" by Rājaśekhara,[2] completed in 1349, can only be termed quasi-historical-biographical works. Under the semblance of "history," Merutuṅga's work contains a motley collection of stories, legends and anecdotes associated with historical and literary personages. Kings Bhoja, Vikramāditya and Śīlāditya are extolled as the patrons of the most excellent poets and scholars, and in doing this the author sticks at no anachronism. Thus for instance Varāhamihira, the great astronomer of the 6th century A. D. is made without further ado a contemporary of King Nanda in the 4th century B. C. Side by side with many naïve little tales, there are, however, also many clever and witty anecdotes. Life at the courts of the Indian princes, and especially the literary contests which were organised at these courts, are very vividly described. The stories about Hemacandra and King Kumārapāla, personages not far removed from the period of the author, are also not devoid of a certain amount of historical value. Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa

---

Kathā, Edition, pp. xii, xcix ff. and S. Krishnaswami *Aiyangar* in JBRAS, N.S., 3, 1928, p. 101 ff.

1) Edited by Rāmacandra *Dīnanātha*, Bombay 1888; translated from Sanskrit by C. H. *Tawney*, Bibl. Ind. 1901. How unreliable Merutuṅga is, even in passages where he is apparently stating exact dates (day, month and hour) is shown by R. *Sewell* in JRAS 1920, 333 ff Cf. *Bühler*, Hemachandra, p. 4 ff.

2) I do not know of any edition of this work. Cf. *Bühler*, Hemachandra p. 4 ff. Shankar P. *Pandit*, Gaüḍavaho Ed., Introduction, p. cliii ff,; E. *Hultzsch*, Report of Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India, III, Madras 1905, p. vi f.

contains the life-stories of 24 persons, namely ten Jaina teachers (including Hemacandra), four poets (Śrīharṣa, Harihara, Amaracandra and the Digambara Madana Kīrti), seven kings and three other personages.

Another semi-historical work is the Tīrtha-Kalpa,[1] also called Kalpa-Pradīpa and Rājaprasāda, by Jinaprabha Sūri, written between 1326 and 1331 A. D. This work gives a description of the Jinistic places of pilgrimage, together with the names of their founders, the kings by whom they were restored, and also the dates of the years. In spite of all the legendary matter which the work contains, we should nevertheless not be justified in denying that it has some slight historical significance, for in any case it is based upon earlier sources and in part tells of events belonging to the author's own period. It is written partly in bad Sanskrit and partly in Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.

The Jaina monks and authors have always been tellers of tales far rather than historians. We have already seen that the commentaries to the sacred texts contain not only a mass of traditions and legends, but also numerous fairy-tales and stories, and moreover that the legendary poems, the Purāṇas and Caritras were often only a frame in which all manner of fairy-tales and stories were inserted. Now, in addition to all this, the Jainas have produced a vast fairy-tale literature, in prose and in verse, in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa. All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse, or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification.

1) Edited by D. R. *Bhandarkar* and Kedarnath *Sāhityabhūṣaṇa* in Bibl. Ind., fasc. 1, 1923. *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, pp. xxxvii, 91 ff. and G. *Bühler*, A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā in SWA 1897 and Ind. Ant. 26, 1897, 194 f.

The earliest religious novel (dharmakathā) was Taraṅgavatī by Pādalipta (Pālitta) Sūri. "The author of the Taraṅgavatī" (Taraṅgavaīkāro) is already mentioned in the Aṇuogadāra, and for this reason the work must have been written before the 5th century A. D. However, the original has not come down to us but only a shorter version, written 1,000 years later, in 1643 Prākrit stanzas, entitled Taraṅgalolā.[1] The subject-matter of this romantic love-story, which ends in a pious sermon, is briefly as follows :

A nun who is conspicuous for her beauty, tells the story of her life. She was the charming daughter of a rich merchant. One day she sees a couple of ducks in a lotus pond, and falls into a swoon : for she remembers that in a previous life she had been a duck like this, and that, out of love for a drake killed by the hunter, she had burned herself with him. She longs for the husband of her previous life, and after many love-sorrows, she finds him, by the aid of a picture which she paints of the couple of ducks. The man carries her off, on their flight they are captured by robbers, and they are to be sacrificed to the goddess Kālī. They are rescued, and the parents agree to the marriage. The wedding takes place. Soon afterwards they meet a monk who delivers a lecture to them on the religion of the Jina. Through the encounter with the monk, who in his previous life had been the hunter who killed the drake, they are so much affected that they renounce the world, and become monk and nun.

The ancient Taraṅgavatī was one of the prototypes of the Prākrit poem Samarāicca Kahā[2] by Haribhadra, described by the poet himself as a Dharmakathā, "religious

---

1) The Taraṅgalolā was translated into German by E. *Leumann*, "Die Nonne," in ZB III, 1921, 193 ff., 272 ff. (an off-print was also published). According to *Leumann*, Pādalipta lived as early as in the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.

2) Edited by H. *Jacobi* in Bibl. Ind. (1908) 1926, Vol. I, Text and Introduction. The introduction contains a detailed table of contents of the work. See also *Jacobi* in RSO II, 1909, pp. 233, 236, and *Peterson*, 3 Reports, 118 ff. An abstract of Haribhadra's work was made by Pradyumna, in 1214 A.D., in his Samarādityasaṃkṣepa (ed. by H. *Jacobi*, Part 1, Ahmedabad 1905). *Cf.* A. *Guérinot*, JA 1909, s. 10, t. XIV, nr. 1078.

novel." It is on this work that Haribhadra's fame as a poet primarily rests. The Samarāicca Kahā is a religious novel not only because the heroes and heroines after all sorts of adventures renounce the world at last, and enter the Order, and because copious instructions on religion are inserted in all convenient places, but also because, underlying the main narrative and most of the inserted narratives, there is the doctrine of Karman, according to which even the slightest peccadillo must have its effects in future rebirths. There is often a very great disparity, at least to our minds, between the sin and the atonement. The poet traces the fate of a hero and his opponent through nine rebirths (Bhava). In the introduction he quotes eight stanzas, in which the subject-matter of the main narrative is summarised very briefly. These stanzas are ascribed to "the ancient teachers," whence it follows that Haribhadra took the main theme from earlier sources. In the numerous stories, parables and fairy-tales inserted, we come across many themes which we find often in Indian narrative literature, and some of which belong to universal literature.

Thus in the course of a sermon the parable of the "man in the well" [1] is told. It is a very common occurrence in Indian ascetic poetry for a king to be forcibly reminded, by some chance sight, of the vanity of existence, and to renounce the world. For instance, a king sees a snake devouring a frog, but itself devoured by a sea-eagle, which in its turn is devoured by a boa constrictor. This sight causes him to renounce the world and become an ascetic. King Yaśodhara sees his first white hair,[2] and resolves to become a monk. In the night he sees how his wife leaves the bedroom, approaches a hunchbacked watchman, who insults and misuses her, and how she gives herself up to this man.[3] In order to prepare his

1) See above, Vol. I, p. 408.

2) Thus also in Jātaka No. 9, see above, p. 146.

3) *Cf. Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," pp. 84 f., 92, where there is also reference to parallels from Indian and universal literature.

mother gently for his plan to become a monk, he departs somewhat from the truth, and tells her of a dream in which he had become a monk. Now, with a view to averting the evil consequences of the dream, his mother advises him to disguise himself as a monk and sacrifice a number of animals to the " family goddess " (obviously Kālī). The king naturally refuses to slaughter, but is prepared to make a compromise. He has a cock made of dough, and this fowl is beheaded in front of the image of the goddess, whereupon he eats the " meat " of the cock. Owing to this he brings upon himself a bad Karman,[1] in consequence of which he has to go through various animal births (peacock, antelope, fish, sheep) with his mother, until at length, reborn as a pair of fowls ; they have the good fortune to hear the sermon of a famous monk, remember their previous births, and in their next existence, born as the twins of a queen, to become monk and nun. At the end of their lives they enter heaven as gods.

On the whole it is rather tiresome always to follow the wanderings of the same persons from one rebirth to another, the one always killing the other, the one going to heaven and the other to hell or being reborn as an animal, in one instance even as a coconut-palm. However, we also meet with some interesting tales, romantic love-stories, such as that of Sanatkumāra and Vilāsavatī, who are reunited after a long separation and after inexpressibly sorrowful adventures (shipwrecks etc.). The story, too, of Dharaṇa and Lakṣmī is a pretty fairy-romance, full of adventures on land and sea, with many familiar fairy-tale motifs. Thus we find here the motif of the ungrateful wife : Dharaṇa and Lakṣmī are wandering in the forest. The woman is nearly dying of thirst. Dharaṇa draws blood from his arm, and cuts off some flesh from his thigh, so as to nourish his wife. Soon afterwards, nevertheless, she tries to get rid of her husband, in order to follow a robber, to whom she has taken a fancy.[2]

The destinies in the course of the reincarnations are often passing strange. A merchant is reborn as a pig in his own house and is slaughtered for the festive meal. Reborn in the same house as a snake, he remembers his previous existence, but is not angry with the cook who slaughtered him as a pig. Thereupon in his next rebirth he again becomes a man, in fact he is reborn as the son of his own son. When he is one year old, he remembers his previous existence. He sees that his daughter-in-law has now

1) For, in the belief of the Jainas, even sins of thought have their consequences.

2) See above, p. 130.

become his mother, and that his son is now his father, and is at a loss to know how to address them. Hence he does not speak at all, and is called "the dumb one." When he has reached the age of twelve years, an all-knowing monk invites him to come and be instructed by him. Then he breaks his vow of silence, and follows the monk into the religious life. The fate of the nun Susaṃgatā is tragic. In one of her former births she had given a female friend a love-potion for a lover. For this slight sin she was reborn, in succession, as an elephant, a monkey, a bitch, a cat, a Caṇḍāla girl and lastly as a Śabara girl. The savage Śabaras drove her away from their village. Whilst she is wandering in the forest, she meets some monks, to whom she does honour. For this she becomes a queen in her next existence, the consort of the king of Kosala. A remaining portion of the Karman was, however, still left. Thus it happened that a female demon (Yakṣī) who was in love with the king, assumed the form of the queen, and succeeded in persuading the king that the real queen was a demon. She is driven away, and is about to commit suicide. Then she meets a monk, who tells her about her previous existences. After some time the king, who had in the meantime discovered the truth, finds her again, but both of them now renounce the world, and enter the Jaina Order.

The Samarāicca Kahā is written in prose with inserted verse passages of varying length (usually in the Āryā metre). The language is Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī. In the verses it does not differ from the dialect used generally in Jaina-Prākrit, in the prose it is mingled here and there with peculiarities of Śaurasenī. On the whole the style is simple and lucid, not so elaborate as in the novels of Bāṇa and Subandhu; nevertheless long compound words in the descriptions, and the use of ornate poetical figures of speech show that the author was well-versed in the rules of poetic art.

This literary form, namely the Dharmakathā or religious novel, reaches its culmination in the allegorical Sanskrit novel Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā, [1] "the narrative in

1) Edited by P. *Peterson* and H. *Jacobi* in Bibl. Ind. 1899 to 1914; new edition Bombay 1918 and 1920 in JPU 46 and 49. German translation (Books I-III) by W. *Kirfel*, Leipzig 1924 (Indische Erzählter Nr. 10). Italian transl., by A. *Ballini* in GSAI, Vols. 17-19 and 21-24. See also *Jacobi*, Upamitibhavaprapañcae Kathae specimen, Bonnae

which the manifoldness of existence is presented in parable," by the poet Siddharṣi. The following anecdote about the poet is told in the Prabhāvaka-Caritra XIV:

Siddha was a cousin of the poet Māgha. He was married to Dhanyā, a woman of good family, but in the course of time he got into bad company, took to gambling and spent the nights with evil companions. One day his mother saw her young daughter-in-law weeping, and asked her what was the cause of her grief. The young woman said that her husband never came home before midnight. The mother-in-law comforted her, and promised to exhort her son. The next time that Siddha returned home late, she did not open the door to him, but told him to go to a place where doors were open at that time of night. Then Siddha went to the Jaina monks whose doors are always open. They recognised the future Prabhāvaka in him, and received him with due ceremony. He became a Jaina monk, and it was in vain that his father tried to dissuade him from his resolve. After he had learned with the Buddhists for some time and had become their adherent, he was brought back to the Jaina faith again by his old teacher.

As Siddharṣi completed his work, according to his own statement, in 906 A.D., whereas the poet Māgha lived in the second half of the 7th century, this pretty anecdote is devoid of any historical foundation. In the Praśasti, the appendix to his poem, Siddharṣi mentions in his genealogy of teachers the names of Sūryācārya of the Nirvṛtti Kula, Dellamahattara and Durgasvāmin, a wealthy Brahman who had become a Jaina monk, and who died at Bhillamāla (the present-day Bhīnmāl in Southern Mārwāḍ),[1] but he then speaks with enthusiasm and great respect of the Ācārya Haribhadra as the teacher to whom he is indebted for the enlightenment in

---

1891 (Festschrift der Universität) and A. *Ballini*, Contributo alle studio della Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā di Siddharṣi (Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Linceei, Scienca morali, storichee filol. s. V, Vol. 15), Roma 1906. In the MSS. both Upamiti and Upamita occur as the title.

1) In the Jaina temple of the same town Siddharṣi first recited his poem and the nun Gaṇā, a pupil of Durgasvāmin, wrote it down.

the true religion and of whom he has spoken in Book I of his poem as the " Awakener of the knowledge of the religion " (Dharmabodhakara).[1] These words would lead one to believe that Haribhadra must have been the immediate teacher of the poet. Nevertheless this is impossible, if the date for Haribhadra assumed above is correct. Neither has the later tradition, e.g., in the Prabhāvaka-Caritra, any knowledge of Haribhadra and Siddharṣi having been contemporaries. There is, therefore, nothing for it but to assume that Siddharṣi pays Haribhadra so great a toll of veneration only because he has derived the greatest inspiration from his writings. Haribhadra's Samarāicca Kahā did indeed serve as a model for Siddharṣi.

The work is a novel in prose with numerous verse passages, some long and others short, mostly Ślokas, only at the end of the individual books more elaborate metres also make their appearance.[2] Like all Indian novels it consists of a frame story with inserted tales. As in all narrative poems of the Jainas, here too, the destinies of a being are traced through numerous reincarnations. The original trait of this poem is, however, that it does so in the form of an allegory, or rather of allegories : for it is not only the main narrative, but the separate stories also, which are in part allegories. On the other hand the form of an allegory is not strictly adhered to.[3] The poet himself distinguishes between two kinds of personages : " outward " companions of the hero, and " inward " companions. It is only the latter which are personifications ; and they are indeed the main characters in the " drama of

1) He adds : "He who, foreseeing what is to come, wrote for my sake the Lalitavistarā, his commentary on the Caityavandana." On a MS. of this commentary, s. *Kielhorn* in Ind. Ant. 10, 1881, p. 101.

2) *Cf. Jacobi*, Ed., Preface, p. xxiii ff.

3) This constitutes the difference of this work from Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," with which it has sometimes been compared.

mundane existence " (saṃsāranāṭaka), which the poet intends to unroll before the pious hearer.

The poet commences with an allegory in which he describes his own career. In the city of " Without-beginning-and-without-end " there lives an ugly, wretched beggar, who is suffering from all diseases, and whose name is Virtueless (Niṣpuṇyaka). The wretched food which he was able to procure by begging, scarcely served to satisfy his hunger, and only increased his illness. In this city the famous king " Stand-firm " ruled. The beggar came to his palace, and was admitted by the door-keeper " Resolver-of-one's-own-Karman" out of pity. The beggar feels very happy indeed at the sight of the splendour of the palace. The cook " Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion " and his beautiful daughter " His pity " bring the beggar the tasty and curative food " The great good " and treat him with the eye-salve " Pure sight " and the mouth-lotion " Creating-joy-in the-Truth." Little by little he is cured, but for a long time he is unwilling to give up his old bad diet. Then the cook " Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion " engages " True Insight " as his nurse, and at length he realises the impurity of his former food, he cleans his begging bowl, and " Virtueless " is transformed into " Rich-in-Virtues." He is now desirous of making this wondrous remedy available to others too, but as the people who had previously known him, do not want to listen to him, " True Insight " advises him to place the three remedies in a wooden bowl and place it in the courtyard of the royal palace, so that everyone may help himself. In the concluding verses of Book I the explanation of the allegory is then given: The city " Without-beginning-and-without-end " is Saṃsāra. The beggar " Virtueless " is the poet himself. The King " Stand-firm " is the Jina, his palace is the Jaina religion. The cook " Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion " is " the Master who awakened me, and his daughter is the great pity which he extended towards me." [1] Knowledge is the eye-salve, the true faith is the salutary lotion, and the good life is the best diet. It is " True Insight " which allows one to find the path to virtue, and the wooden bowl with the food, the lotion and the eye-salve is the following story.

There is a city " Way-of-man," which has been in existence since all eternity, and in which, as in the narrative of Samarāditya,[2] many events

---

1) As the poet himself says in the Praśasti, this refers to the master Haribhadra.

2) An allusion to Haribhadra's Samarāicca Kahā. I cannot help confessing that, after all this, I find it very difficult to believe that Haribhadra should not have been really Siddharṣi's teacher.

take place. In this city there reigns the mighty king " Maturing-of-deeds " (Karmapariṇāma), [1] a rulerof unlimited powers, who mercilessly inflicts severe punishments. For his own entertainment he has the beings who act the drama of the world-wandering, wearing the most diverse masks. He makes them scream as denizens of hell, dance before him in agonies of pain, act the parts of crows, cats, mice, lions, elephants, buffaloes, lice, ants, and other large and small animals of all kinds ; whilst others again are compelled to act human rôles, such as hunchbacks and dwarfs, dumb and blind men, old men and invalids, the unfortunate, persons separated from their dear ones, poverty-stricken persons and tormented ones, as faithless women, ignoble men, etc. And this drama amuses the mighty king immensely. The principal wife of this king is " Effect-of-Time " (Kālapariṇati), and he has to ask her advice on all occasions. She too takes delight with her husband in the drama of the world-wandering. She wishes for a son, and a son is born, who receives from his father the name " Man-as-he-should be " (Bhavyapuruṣa) and from his mother the name " Well-disposed " (Sumati). Now in the city of Way-of-man " there lives a great sage named Sadāgama, *i.e.*, " The true doctrine." The king is very much afraid of this man, because he spoils the king's drama, as he has already liberated many of the actors and taken them to a city called " Blissful-rest " (Nirvṛti, meaning Nirvāṇa) situated outside the realm, where they live in the greatest happiness. Nevertheless the female attendant " Rich-in-Insight " succeeds in effecting a meeting of the prince with Sadāgama. The parents give their consent to Sadāgama's undertaking the boy's education. Once when Sadāgama is reciting his doctrines on the market-place, a great tumult arises. It is seen that the thief " Wandering-Soul " (Saṃsārijīva) is being led to the judgment-seat. (It is the Emperor Anusundara who appears in the form of this thief, in order to relate his experiences in countless rebirths for the instruction of his relatives.) " Rich-in-Insight " takes pity on the thief, and advises him to seek the protection of Sadāgama. The executioners have to release him, and he now relates his experiences for the instruction of " Rich-in-Insight " and Prince " Well-disposed." Now there comes the story of Saṃsārijīva, *i.e.*, the soul wandering in the cycle of rebirths.

He relates how he was first of all born as a plant in the world "Motionless," how he then came to the city " Home-of-beings-with-one-sense-organ".

1) The law that every deed must have its consequences.

and ever and again wandered to and fro among the lowest organisms, the earth-bodies (stones, minerals, etc.), the water-bodies (hoar-frost, snow, fog, etc.), fire-bodies and wind-bodies,[1] and suffered many sorrows and torments. He was then reborn among the various animals from the very lowest insects, worms, etc., up to the elephants. At length he was reborn in the world of human beings as Nandivardhana, a king's son. Though he had an invisible friend " Dawn-of-virtue," to whom he was indebted for many successes in life, yet his most intimate " inner " friend was Vaiśvānara, *i.e.*, " Fire-of-anger." This friend always supplied him with the pill " Cruel Thoughts." For this reason the efforts of excellent teachers and counsellors, such as the sage Vidura, who sought to improve him by means of moral narratives (allegory of Sparśana, the sense of touch) and speeches, proved fruitless. The influence of Vaiśvānara grew even stronger, when he succeeded in marrying him to " Violence " (Hiṃsā), the daughter of King " Bad-Will " and Queen " Merciless."

Fortified by the pills of " Cruel Thoughts " and encouraged by the glances of his wife " Violence," he kills innumerable wild animals in the chase, but also wins great fame in fights with robbers and foes. After many adventures (the scene of some of them is laid, not in the world of allegory, but in the real world, love-stories, etc.) he becomes king. Under the influence of his evil " inner " friends he perpetrates many cruelties, he kills an ambassador, his father, his mother, his wives, and finally also his rescuer and benefactor. He flees and meets a young man: a quarrel ensues between them, the result of which is that they pierce each other with their swords. Thereupon both of them are reborn in the " Abode of the worst sinners," and after that, as lions, falcons, ichneumons, always as foes. At length Saṃsārijīva comes into the world as a prince again, Prince Ripudāraṇa. Now it is " Pride " and " Falsehood " that become his friends, and they exert paramount influence over him, so that " Dawn-of-virtue " does not stand much chance against them. After his father has become a monk, he becomes king, refuses to pay due respect to a ruler of the world, is humiliated by a sorcerer and slain by his servants. In the subsequent rebirths he pays the penalty of his misdeeds in hell and as animals, until he is once again reborn among human beings, this time as the son of the merchant Vāmadeva. " Falsehood," " Deceit " and " Theft " are now his friends. He robs a merchant, is hanged, and is then again reborn in hell and in the

---

[1] In the belief of the Jaina, all these are beings having souls.

animal world. After a long time he again makes his appearance in the world as the son of a merchant, his "inner" companions now being "Dawn of Virtue" and "Avarice" (Sāgara). Through the latter he acquires enormous wealth. He makes friends with a prince, and goes on a sea-voyage with him. In order to secure the riches of this prince, he wants to kill him. The sea-god, however, rescues the prince, and throws the merchant into the sea. He is cast up on shore, wanders about in a wretched condition, and finally, when he wants to bury a treasure, he is devoured by a Vetāla. More rebirths in hell and in the animal world follow. Reborn as Prince Ghanavāhana, he grows up with his cousin Akalaṅka. The latter becomes a pious Jaina, and through him Ghanavāhana, too, comes into contact with Sadāgama. But Mahāmoha, *i.e.*, "The Great Infatuation," and Parigraha, *i.e.*, "Longing-for-possession" also seek his friendship, and finally obtain complete mastery over him. Hence he becomes a violent ruler, is deposed, and perishes miserably. After many rebirths in hell and in the animal world, he is at length reborn in Sāketa as Amṛtodara, and now begins Saṃsārijīva's ascent to higher forms of existence. He is converted to the Jaina faith, and attains to the world of gods and of men, by turns. Reborn as King Guṇadhāraṇa, he is reunited with Sadāgama and Samyagdarśana ("Right Faith"); he becomes a pious layman and a good ruler, especially after he has brought home the ten virgins "Patience," "Pity," "Gentleness," "Love of Truth," "Straightness," "Honesty," "Chastity," "Liberation," "Science" and "Desirelessness" as brides. At the end of his life he becomes a monk, and is then reborn alternately as god or man. Finally, in his last incarnation Saṃsārijīvin is the world-ruler Anusundara. Now at length the retinue of the "Great Infatuation" is powerless, and only the good qualities are his "inner" companions; he attains to the highest knowledge, and remembers his former existences. Now, in the form of the thief condemned to death, he relates his fortunes in the cycle of rebirths. Then he becomes absorbed in meditation, and rises, as a god, to the highest heaven.

All this is told with great verbosity, and numerous stories and sermons are interwoven with the narrative wherever convenient. Siddharṣi says that he chose the allegory, in order to attract the readers, and for the same reason he wrote in Sanskrit, and not in Prākrit, because Prākrit is for the uneducated, whilst even the educated are to be won over to the doctrine from their heretical views. He adds, however,

that he wishes to write an easy Sanskrit which will be universally understood. The language is, indeed, smooth and clear, never bombastic and rarely obscure. As is usually the case with the Jainas who write in Sanskrit, he uses Prākritisms and popular expressions.[1] The great popularity which this poem enjoyed among the Jainas is shown by the fact that, only 100 years after its appearance, extracts and abridgments were made from it,[2] and that even Hemacandra uses names in one of the stories in the Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan [3] which presuppose that Siddharṣi's work was universally known.

There were also religious novels written entirely in verse. A romantic epic of this kind is the Bhavisatta Kahā [4] in Apabhraṃśa by a poet Dhaṇavāla (Sanskrit Dhanapāla), a Digambara Jaina layman, who belonged to the merchant caste of Dharkaṭa. The period of the author is unknown, but it is probable that he used Haribhadra's Samarāicca Kahā as a model. The explicit aim of the narrative is the glorification of the Pañcamīvrata, a vow which is fulfilled on the fifth day of one of the three months Kārttika, Phālguna or Āṣāḍha, and extends, accompanied by various religious exercises, over 5 years. In order to show the fruits of the fulfilment of these religious exercises, the story of Bhavisatta (Bhaviṣyadatta) is told.

---

1) *Jacobi*, Ed., Preface, pp. xxii, xxvii-xxxv gives many examples of this.

2) Such as those by Vardhamāna (who suffered the voluntary death by starvation in about 1032 A.D.), Devendra Sūri and Haṃsaratna. *Cf. Jacobi* in JRAS 1909, 421 ; on Vardhamāna, s. *Peterson*, Report IV, p. cx.

3) II, 315 ff. It is said here of a wealthy merchant, that his father was " Ocean " (Samudra) and his mother " Deceitful " (Bahulā). In the Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā, Sāgara, "Ocean" is the personification of avarice, and Bahulikā that of deceit. *Cf. Jacobi, loc. cit.*, 421 ff.

4) Bhavisatta Kahā von Dhanavāla, eine Jainalegende in Apabhraṃśa herausgegeben von H. *Jacobi* in ABayA XXIX, 4, München 1918 ; partly edited by the late C. D. *Dalal* and completed with Introduction, Notes, Glossary etc., by the ate Pandurang Damodar *Gune* in GOS Nr. 20, Baroda 1923 ; *cf. Gune* in Proc. I. OC Poona 1922, p. 158f. The work is especially important for our knowledge of the Apabhraṃśa language. The author is distinct from Dhanapāla, the author of the Pāïyalacchi.

The main theme of the poem is a fairy-tale, the hero of which, Bhavisatta, experiences strange adventures. Deserted upon a lonely island by his treacherous step-brother, he comes to a deserted city, discovers a princess with the help of a god, marries her, and they live joyfully for 12 years. Bhavisatta is home-sick, and one day the ship of the wicked step-brother lands again on the island. Bhavisatta wishes to return to his home with his wife, but is again outwitted by the step-brother, who carries off his wife, but leaves Bhavisatta himself on the island. With the help of a Yakṣa he is, however, brought home on the chariot of a god in the nick of time, and is reunited with his wife who has remained faithful to him throughout. In Part II fights after the manner of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are described, whilst in Part III the preliminary stories of the principal characters in their former births are told.

The Malayasundarī Kathā,[1] in which an unknown poet has worked up popular fairy-tale themes into a Jaina legend, appears to be a romantic epic in Prākrit of a similar nature. A veritable deluge of the most phantastic miracles and magic feats, almost takes away the reader's breath in this work. Countless motifs well-known in the fairy-tale literature are interwoven with the novel, which relates how Prince Mahābala and Princess Malayasundarī find each other miraculously, how they are ever and again separated from each other, and ever and again reunited. Since all the wonderful destinies are explained as the consequences of some deeds in previous existences, and as Prince Mahābala finally attains to omniscience as a pious monk, and Malayasundarī becomes a famous nun, the magic fairy-tale has come to be a pious Jaina legend. This fairy-tale romance must have been very popular, for, as late as in the 15th century Māṇikyasundara wrote a Mahābala-Malayasundarī-Kathā,

[1] I know the contents of the work only from *Hertel*'s German translation of the Malayasundarīkathoddhāra written by Dharmacakra in the 14th century, an extract in Sanskrit prose with interspersed verse passages in Sanskrit and Prākrit, based upon the Prākrit epic, s. *Hertel*, Indische Märchen, Jena 1919, pp. 185-268.

which, in its turn, served as a prototype for a Malaya-sundarī-Caritra in Sanskrit stanzas by Jaya-tilaka. The last-named work again formed the basis of a Gujarātī poem in the 18th century.[1]

Distinct from these novels there are the Campūs or ornate novels in prose and verse, written after the model of Bāna's "Kādambarī." Foremost among these is the Yaśas-tilaka[2] by the Digambara Jaina Somadeva Sūri, written in about 959 A.D. The contents of this religious poem in prose and verse, based upon Guṇabhadra's Uttara-Purāṇa, are briefly as follows :

King Māridatta has ascended the throne at an early age and is entirely given up to sensual pleasures. At the advice of his family priest he prepares to offer a great sacrifice to his family goddess Caṇḍamāridevatā, consisting of a pair of every living creature, including human beings. Māridatta himself is to perform the sacrifice. Then the servants drag in a youth and a maiden, a pair of ascetics whom they have selected for the human sacrifice. At the sight of them a change comes over the king. It occurs to him that these might be the twin children of his own sister, who were said to have renounced the world and joined the Jaina community. He asks these two to tell him their history, and it is revealed that they are indeed his relatives. The major part of the story deals with their experiences in various rebirths, but many explanations regarding the doctrines of the Jaina religion are interwoven. Many famous poets, such as Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bhartṛhari, Guṇāḍhya, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, and others, are mentioned, all of whom are supposed to have done honour to the Jaina religion. The last three sections also form an independent book, entitled Upāsakādhyayana ("Readings for Laymen"), which serves as a work of edification for Jaina laymen. The work ends with the conversion of Māridatta and his family goddess to the Jaina religion.

Poems of the same category are Tilakamañjarī[3] by the Śvetāmbara Jaina Dhanapāla, who wrote about

---

1) *Cf. Hertel, loc. cit.*, p. 377 ff.

2) Edited with a commentary in Km. 70, 1901. *Cf. Peterson*, Report II, 33 ff., 147 ff., and *Hultzsch* in Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 1922, p. 318 f.

3) Edited in Km. 85, Bombay 1903. *Cf. Jacobi* in GGA 1905, 379 Merutuṅga

970 A.D., and Gadyacintāmaṇi,[1] "Wishing-jewel of prose" by the Digambara Jaina Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṃha (beginning of the 11th century A.D.).[2] The subject-matter of this novel, as well as that of Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi[3] by the same author, is the legend of Jīvandhara with which we are familiar from the Uttara-Purāṇa. The same legend has also been treated in the form of a Campū by the Digambara Jaina poet Haricandra in his Jīvandhara-Campū.[4]

Just as the legends of the Jinas, thus other legends and fairy-tale themes, too, have been worked up into ornate epics. Thus, for instance, the legend of King Yaśodhara, which we know already from Haribhadra's Samarāicca Kahā, has been treated by Vādirāja Sūri[5] in the Yaśodhara-Carita,[6] an epic in 4 cantos. Vādirāja's source was, however, again Guṇabhadra's Uttara-Purāṇa. On the other hand, according to his own statements, Māṇikya Sūri

---

(Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Transl. by Tawney, p. 60 f.) tells a pretty story about the origin of the work.

1) Edited by T. S. *Kuppuswāmi Śāstri*, Madras 1902.

2) His teacher was Puṣpasena, a fellow-pupil of Vādirāja, the author of the Yaśodhara-Carita. Both were pupils of Somadeva Sūri, author of the Yaśastilaka. Vādībhasiṃha is an epithet of several teachers. *Cf. Hultzsch* in ZDMG 68, 1914, 697 f. and A. *Venkatasubbiah* in JBRAS, N.S., 3, 1928, 156 ff. According to him Śrīvijaya Oḍeyadeva is identical with Vādībhasiṃha.

3) Edited by T. S. *Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī*, Tanjore 1903 (Sarasvatī-vilāsa Series No. 3); *cf.* Ind. Ant. 36, 1907, 285 ff. and *Hultzsch* in Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 1922, p. 318.

4) Edited by T. S. *Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī*, Tanjore 1905 (Sarasvatī-vilāsa Series No. 4); s. *Hulzsch* in Ind. Ant. 35, 1906, 268 and Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 1922, p. 318. The author is probably identical with Haricandra, the author of the Dharmaśarmābhyudaya. A famous Tamil adaptation of the same legend is Jīvakacintāmaṇi by the poet Tiruttakadevar, who probably lived before Oḍeyadeva. *Cf.* also *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 119 f.

5) The same who wrote the Pārśvanātha-Carita in the year 1025; s. above p. 515.

6) Edited by T. A. *Gopinatha Rao*, Tanjore 1912 (Sarasvatī-vilāsa Series No. 5). *Cf. Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," pp. 91 ff., 146 ff.

used Haribhadra's narrative as a source, in his Yaśodhara-Caritra.[1] Surasundarī-Cariaṃ[2] by Dhaneśvara, the pupil of Jineśvara Sūri and Buddhisāgara Sūri,[3] written towards the end of the 11th century, is a voluminous romantic epic in Prākrit. Mṛgavatī-Caritra[4] by Maladhāri-Devaprabha, containing one of the many versions of the legend of Udayana and his wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, is another fairy-tale epic. The author, who probably lived in the 13th century, himself says that he drew upon the Siddhānta and its commentaries. He has indeed made use of Haribhadra's Āvaśyaka commentary and Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan.

Mahīpāla, the hero of the Mahīpāla-Caritra[5] by Cāritrasundara, who probably wrote in the middle of the 15th century, is a genuine fairy-tale king. All manner of narratives, fairy-tales and legends are here combined to form an ornate epic in 14 cantos.

Mahīpāla is skilled in all arts, and gives numerous proofs of exceptional cleverness. For instance, when a Yakṣa, posing as the "double" of the real husband, tries to appropriate a woman, he decides who is the real husband, by saying that the real husband is the one who can crawl into a water-jug and out again. This can, of course, only be done by the Yakṣa, the demon, who is thus proved to be the false husband.[6] When he is

---

1) Edited by Hīrālāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1910. There were several authors named Māṇikya Sūri, one in the 13th and one in the 16th century, and it is not possible to ascertain which of them is the author of the Yaśodhara-Caritra. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz., II, 3, 1067 ff.; *Hertel*, l.c., p. 81 ff., 138 ff.

2) Edited with Notes by *Muniraj Shree Raje Vijayjee*, Benares 1916 (Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala No. 1).

3) These two were pupils of Vardhamāna Sūri, who died in 1031 A.D., so that Dhaneśvara must have lived not later than towards the close of the 11th century. However, there are 5 other teachers named Dhaneśvara.

4) Edited by Hīrālāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1909 ; *cf. Hertel*, l.c., p. 105 ff., 150 ff.

5) Edited by Hīrālāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1909 ; *cf. Hertel*, l.c., p. 72 ff., 138 f.

6) Parallels from Indian and universal literature are cited by *Hertel*, l.c., p. 74, Note 2.

cast into the ocean by a treacherous minister, he saves himself by swimming on the back of a large fish which carries him ashore. There he wins a beautiful wife, a magic bed which transports him to any place he desires, a magic staff which makes him invincible, and an incantation by means of which he can assume any form he desires. He changes himself into a hunchback, gives himself out as an astrologer, and shows the king a book which he says can be read by any person who has been legitimately begotten, but not by one who has been begotten in adultery. The king, the court priest and the prime minister in turn have a look at the book, none of them can read anything in it, but each one pretends that he can read it, and praises the clearness of the script.[1] Moreover, Mahīpāla is the only man who can weigh an elephant and also can tie up a post from the shore. Finally, of course, Mahīpālā becomes a monk and a saint, and attains to release, after having lived to the age of 500 years.

The Kathānakas or little stories, so many of which were included in the commentaries, were frequently also written down as independent works, and sometimes they were elaborated into ornate poems.

The Kālakācārya-Kathānaka,[2] which is generally recited by the monks at the end of the recital of the Kalpa-Sūtra, is a Prākrit poem in prose and verse. The narrative is probably based on an old tradition, and it is quite possible that it contains an historical nucleus.[3] It is the story of the king's son Kālaka, who is converted to the Jaina religion, and attains to the high degree of Superior of the Order.[4] His younger sister, the nun Sarasvatī, is abducted by Gardabhilla, ruler of Ujjayinī, and dragged into his harem. Kālaka feigns madness, incites the people to rebel against the ruler, and

---

[1] Parallels from universal literature are given by *Hertel*, l.c., p. 77, Note 2.

[2] Edited and translated by H. *Jacobi*, ZDMG 34, 1880, 247-318 ; supplements to it, ZDMG 35, 675 ff., and *Leumann*, ZDMG 37, 493 ff. There is also a Kālakācāryakathānaka by Bhāvadeva Sūri in 102 Prākrit verses. On the same legend in Sanskrit *cf. Bháu Dáji* in JBRAS 9, 1867, 139 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Sten *Konow* in SBA 1916, p. 812 f.

[4] He is identical with Ayya Sāma (Ārya Śyāma), who is said to have written the fourth Upāṅga. See above, pp. 433 and Note 1 ; 456.

wanders to Śakakūla, whose rulers, the Sāhis, he causes to go to war against Gardabhilla and to conquer Ujjayinī. In the narrative portions the language is simple enough, but in the descriptions an ornate style prevails, which reminds us of Subandhu and Bāṇa and the ornate Campūs. Unfortunately the date of the work is unknown, and not even the name of the author has come down.

Another work of unknown date is the Uttama(-Kumāra)-Caritra-Kathānaka, "The Story of the Life of (Prince) Most Excellent,"[1] a fairy-tale full of the most wonderful adventures, inserted into the frame-work of a Jinistic sermon. It is to be found in one prose-version and several metrical ones. The language is Sanskrit, but the occurrence of dialectal words proves that the work originated in Gujarat.

A pious fairy and wonder tale of the same nature is the Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathānaka, "The Story of Evil-mind and Pious-mind."[2] King Evil-mind believes only in power and wealth and not in the consequences of religious merit. The minister Pious-mind, who, owing to his pious works in the previous life, attains to fabulous good fortune and wealth, with the help of all kinds of magic things (a wishing-pot which always supplies food, a cudgel which itself invisible drives all foes away, an umbrella which cures all diseases, etc.) proves the contrary to him. Finally a monk enlightens both of them as to their destinies in their former incarnations, and both the king and his minister become Jaina

---

1) The prose version edited and translated into German by A. *Weber* in SBA 1884, 1, 269 to 310, the metrical recension, Uttamakumāra-Caritra, in 686 Ślokas by Cārucandra the pupil of Bhaktilābha, is edited by Hīralāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1908 (2nd Ed., 1911); *cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1080 f., and *Hertel* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 135 ff.

2) Edited and translated into Italian by E. *Lovarini* in GSAI 3, pp. 94-127; s. *Hertel, loc. cit.*, pp. 66 ff., 136, who quotes two recensions of the story in Sanskrit prose (one of these entitled Kāmaghaṭakathā, "Story of the Wishing-Pot," edited by Hīralāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1909) and two in Gujarātī verses.

monks. In the case of this story also, the time and the author are unknown.

In the Campakaśreṣṭhi-Kathānaka, "Story of the merchant Campaka,"[1] by Jinakīrti, who wrote in about the middle of the 15th century,[2] we have the fairy-tale of the lucky child who is saved from destruction by the fatal letter exchanged at the last moment. This is the tale, widely known both in the East and in the West, with which we are familiar from the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, and with which we thus meet among the Jainas also. In this case it forms the frame-story for three inserted stories. The first of these is the fairy-tale of King Rāvaṇa, who vainly tries to defy a decree of fate. The third story of the merchant who has hitherto deceived everyone, but is himself at last deceived by a courtesan, is not lacking in humour.[3] Another work of the same author is the Pāla-Gopāla-Kathānaka, the "Story of Pāla and Gopāla," a pious Jaina legend, with which all kinds of well-known themes of novels and fairy-tales (of the two brothers who go on their wanderings, and after many adventures attain to honour and fame; of the grateful and helpful animals; of the woman who tries to seduce the chaste youth, and when she cannot succeed, accuses him of having made an attempt on her honour, etc.) are interwoven.[4] The same Jinakīrti is also the author of a didactic poem

---

[1]) First analysed by A. *Weber* in SBA 1883, pp. 567 ff., 885 ff.; edited and translated into English by *Hertel* in ZDMG 65, 1911, pp. 1-51, 425-470; a German translation in "Indische Märchenromane" I (Indische Erzähler, Bd. 7, Leipzig 1922). The story is to be found among the Jainas also in Kathākośa (translated by C. H. *Tawney*, p. 169 ff.) and in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi; *cf.* J. *Schick*, Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief (Corpus Hamleticum I, 1), pp. 75 ff.; 96 ff.; 160 ff., and see above, I, 585; II, 201.

[2]) *Cf. Klatt*, Specimen of a lit.-bibl. Jaina Onomasticon, p. 15; *Duff*, p. 254; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. xxxiii, and *Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," p. 1.

[3]) Similarly Gesta Romanorum, Cap. 118. *Cf. Köhler* and *Gildemeister* in Weber, l.c., p. 591 f. and 890 f.

[4]) Joh. *Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," Leipzig 1917 (BSGW 69. Bd. 1917, 4 Heft).

Dāna-Kalpa-Druma,[1] in which the importance of almsgiving is presented, and lavishly illustrated by means of stories.

The Aghaṭa-Kumāra-Kathā, the "Story of Prince Aghaṭa" is also based upon the fairy-tale of the lucky child and the fatal letter which is exchanged. There are three different recensions of this pretty fairy-tale, a longer and a shorter one in verse, and a prose version.[2]

The Ambaḍa-Charitra, "The Adventures of Ambaḍa,"[3] by Amara Sūri, is a very phantastic magical fairy-tale. The world of ideas in which this fairy-tale moves, is Śivaite rather than Jinistic. Ambaḍa is a great magician, who can fly through the air, change men into animals and change them back again, and himself assume any form he likes. By means of his magic arts he succeeds in carrying out seven difficult tasks of the witch Gorakhā, and in winning 32 beautiful wives, untold wealth and a kingdom. It is not until the last chapter that the hero Ambaḍa is converted from the Śivaite faith to the Jaina faith; he becomes at first a pious layman and finally a monk, who, after his voluntary death by starvation, reaches heaven. It is true that a great magician Ambaḍa (or Ammada) is already mentioned in the Ovavāiya, the first Upāṅga, but the story itself is undoubtedly modern, and is associated with the "Thirty-two Throne-stories" (Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā), which belong to the cycle of legends of King Vikramāditya.[4]

Another novel, consisting of a frame-story and a few inserted stories, is the Ratnacūḍa-Kathā, "Story of

---

1) Edited in JPU No. 9, Bombay 1919.

2) The last-named is translated into German by Charlotte *Krause*, Indische Novellen I (Indische Erzähler Bd. 4), Leipzig 1922. The shorter metrical version appeared in Bombay NSP 1917 entitled Aghaṭa-Kumāra-Caritra. The two other versions were accessible to the translator in MSS.

3) Edited by Hīralāl *Haṃsarāj*, Jamnagar 1910; translated into German by Charlotte *Krause*, l.c.

4) *Krause*, l.c., 155 f.; 162 ff.

Ratnacūḍa,"[1] by Jñānasāgara Sūri, who lived in the middle and the second half of the 15th century. The frame-story contains the witty and entertaining story of the city of rogues, Anītipura, in which King "Unjust" rules, whose prime minister is "Unwise" and whose court priest is "Restless," and in which only thieves, rogues and deceivers reside. Amongst the inserted stories we have that of the clever boy Rohaka, who, like Mahosadha in the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka,[2] is able to perform many seemingly impossible feats, owing to his intelligence. Here, too, we meet once more with the story of Somaśarman who builds castles in the air, which is familiar from the Pañcatantra. Some of the didactic passages inserted occasionally in these narratives, are also of interest: a long discussion on dreams and their interpretation; the instructions given by the father to his son Ratnacūḍa when the latter sets forth on his travels, and which present a curious mixture of worldly wisdom and superstition; an enumeration of the auspicious omens when going on a journey, and an enumeration of the thirty-two characteristic marks of the body of a great man.

In later times the Jainas also compiled Books of stories, in which the stories either appear in the form of stories inserted into a frame-story, in the manner familiar in Indian narrative literature, or else they are just told one after another. A work belonging to the former category is Samyaktvakaumudī, "The Moonshine of Perfection," by an unknown author.[3] The only connection of this book

---

1) Edited in YJG, Bhavnagar 1917; translated into German by *Hertel*, Indische Märchenromane, I. (Indische Erzähler, Bd. 7), Leipzig 1922, p. 97 ff.

2) See above, p. 137 ff.

3) A. *Weber*, Ueber die Samyaktvakaumudī, eine eventualiter mit Tausendundeinenacht auf gleiche Quelle zurückgehende indische Erzählung, SBA 1889, 731 ff. According to *Weber*, l.c., p. 733, the time of the work would be limited by the date of the poet Bilhaṇa (end of the 11th century) who is mentioned in it, and by the date of one of the three MSS (1433 A.D.). If, however, the Bilhaṇa referred to is not the Kashmiri poet,

of fairy-tales and stories with the Jaina religion is the frame, in which the merchant Arhaddāsa tells his eight wives, and they in turn tell him, how they attained to perfection (samyaktva) in the religion. At the same time these stories are overheard by a king, who roams about at night with his minister, after the fashion of Harun al Rashid, and by a thief. The story of King Suyodhana who, in order to set a trap for his faithful deputy, breaks into his own treasury, is recognised by the deputy as a thief, and is warned by seven stories told on successive days, but is finally unmasked as a thief and deposed by the people, reminds us of the "Arabian Nights" and still more of the Sindbad book.[1]

A rich mine of tales, part of which also belong to universal literature, is to be found in the Kathā-Kośa, the "Treasury of Stories," collected by an unknown compiler.[2] The language of the tales is bad Sanskrit with verses in Prākrit. Everywhere there is a strong Jinistic tendency. For instance, a sea-faring story replete with wonderful adventures is transformed into a pious legend. The last story in the book, that of Nala and Davadantī is a curious Jinistic adaptation and extension of the Nala episode of the Mahābhārata. Some of the stories are quite naïve and even insipid through their tendency. However, along with them we find many a most charming fairy-tale, such as that of the maiden Garden-beautiful:

This maiden has a wicked step-mother, who makes her do all kinds of heavy work. Once when she has led the cows out to pasture, and has

---

but the poet and minister whom Āśādhara mentions as his contemporary, then the work should be placed between the 13th and 14th centuries. As there are, however, two recensions of the text, the dating becomes even more uncertain.

1) The similarity with "The Arabian Nights" is very remote, but Jātaka No. 432 is very similar. *Cf.* also *Pullé*, GSAI 4, 161 ff.

2) Translated from Sanskrit MSS. by C. H. *Tawney*, London OTF, 1895. Unfortunately there are no clues whereby to determine the date of this compilation. It is certainly not old, though it probably made use of old sources.

fallen asleep, she is awakened by a black snake, which begs her to protect it from the snake-charmer. The girl protects the snake, which then asks her to wish for something. She says, "Make a shade above my head, so that I can mind the cows in comfort." Then the snake conjures up a beautiful garden which accompanies Garden-beautiful wherever she goes. In this garden the king finds her one day, falls in love with her, and makes her his queen. The step-mother lies in wait for her, so as to make her own daughter the queen, but the snake rescues Garden-beautiful from all dangers.[1]

As in other Indian narrative works, there are gnomic sayings to be found in the Kathā-Kośa too. One of these is worthy of mention :

> "The father should cherish his little son until he is five,
> And punish him until his fifteenth year he reaches;
> But when the son has reached the sixteenth year of his life,
> The father should ever treat him as a friend."

There is also a Kathā-Kośa in Apabhraṃśa, containing 53 tales in an equal number of chapters, by Śrīcandra, who wrote either in the 10th or 12th century,[2] also a Kathānaka-Kośa written in 1092 A.D. by Jineśvara,[3] the pupil of Vardhamāna. In the 14th century Rājaśekhara wrote his Antara-Kathā-Saṃgraha, "Collection of various narratives,"[4] a book of stories which he took mostly from earlier works, especially from the commentaries

---

1) *Tawney*, l.c., p. 85 ff., where many parallels from fairy-tale literature are pointed out, among others No. 11 ("Brüderchen und Schwesterchen") in *Grimm*, Kinder-und Hausmärchen.

2) According to the Praśasti, he wrote at about the period of King Mūlarāja of Anhilawād: but there are two kings of this name in the Cālukya dynasty, the first of whom reigned from 941 to 996 A.D., and the second from 1176 to 1178 A.D. He traces his genealogy of teachers back to Kundakunda in the fifth degree; s. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xlix ff.

3) The same author also wrote a Līlāvatī-Kathā in the year 1035 A.D. *Cf. Bhandarkar*, Report 1882-83, p. 46, and *Peterson*, Report IV, p. xliv.

4) Tales 7-14 have been given, and translated into Italian, by F. L. *Pullé*, Uno progenitore Indiano del Bartoldo, Venezia 1888. The text of the first 22 tales has been edited by *Pullé* in SIFI I, 1 ff.; II, 1 ff., Firenze 1897-98. *Cf.* also *Weber*, HSS. Verz., II, 3, 1077 ff.

on the canonical texts. Here, among others, stories of the clever solver of riddles, of a "Judgment of Solomon" [1] etc., are to be found. The book Kathā-Mahodadhi, "The great ocean of stories," [2] compiled in the year 1448 by Somacandra, contains 157 stories partly in Prākrit, partly in Sanskrit with Prākrit verses. In the year 1464 Śubhaśīla Gaṇin, pupil of Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri, wrote his Pañcaśatī-Prabodha-Sambandha, "Book of 500 stories serving to awaken the Faith." [3] Inspite of the title, the book contains nearly 600 stories, anecdotes, legends, fables, fairy-tales, etc., some of which allude to historical personages, kings and authors of both ancient and modern times, such as Nanda, Śātavāhana, Bhartṛhari, Bhoja, Kumārapāla, Hemasūri and others. The same Subhaśīla Gaṇin also wrote the Bharatādi-Kathā [4] or Kathā-Kośa in the year 1452 and several other narrative works. In about 1530 Nemidatta wrote a book of narratives entitled Ārādhanā-Kathā-Kośa.[5] In 1600 Hemavijaya wrote his Kathā-Ratnākara, "Ocean of Stories," [6] a book of

---

[1] *Cf. Zachariae*, Kleine Schriften, pp. 65 ff., 190 f.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 25 f.; *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, pp. 272, 472. The story of the "Judgment of Solomon" has been translated according to the Antarakathāsaṃgraha by L. P. *Tessitori* in Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, 148 ff., together with another Jinistic recension (from Malayagiri's commentary on the Nandī-Sutta). *Hertel* (Geist des Ostens 1, 1913, 189 ff.) compares the Jinistic recensions with the Hebrew one, and endeavours to prove what, in my opinion, is impossible to prove, namely that the Jaina recension "is in contents the primary one, from which the other variants can then be derived."

[2] *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1101 ff.; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, 18 f.; 316 ff. *Alsdorf*, Kumārapālapratibodha, p. 201 f., gives the story of Sthūlabhadra.

[3] *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 16, 159 f., and HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1112 ff.; *Pavolini* in GSAI 13, 89 ff., who deals with the stories of Draupadī, Kuntī, Devakī and Rukmiṇī which are told in this work, and A. *Ballini* in SIFI, Vol. VI, Firenze 1904 (Text and translation of the first 50 tales). A cycle of 16 tales deals with Suratrāṇa Pīroja, *i.e.*, Sultan Fīrūz II (1220-1296) and his friend Jinaprabha Sūri; s. *Ballini* in OC XIII, Hamburg 1902, p. 41 ff.

[4] See *Weber*, l. c..

[5] *Peterson*, Report IV, p. 139 ff.; *Alsdorf*, Kumārapālapratibodha, p. 189 f. Nemidatta or Brahmanemidatta wrote a Śrīpālacarita in the year 1528 A. D.; s. *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 123, 435.

[6] Translated into German by Joh. *Hertel*, München 1920 (Meisterwerke orientalischer

258 stories. With the exception of a very few metrical narratives, the work is written in elaborate Sanskrit prose, in which stanzas in Sanskrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, Apabhraṃśa, old Hindī and old Gujarātī are interspersed. It is only the opening stanzas and the moralising introductions to the individual tales, and a very few edifying stories, which betray the fact that the compiler is a Jaina monk. Most of the narratives are similar to those in the Pañcatantra and other books of stories of this kind, tales of the artfulness of women, tales of rogues, tales of fools, fables and fairy-tales, anecdotes of all descriptions, including some which hold up Brahmans and other holy men to scorn. As in the Pañcatantra there are numerous wise sayings interspersed with the tales. The tales are, however, loosely strung together, and not inserted into a frame. There are also many interesting stories in the Dharma-Kalpa-Druma, "The wishing-tree of religion,"[1] a bulky narrative work in Sanskrit verses, written by a certain Udayadharma in about 1450 A.D. or later.

The mass of narratives and books of narratives among the Jainas is indeed vast.[2] They are of great importance not only to the student of comparative fairy-tale lore, but also because, to a greater degree than other branches of literature, they allow us to catch a glimpse of the real life of the common people. Just as in the language of these narrative works there are frequent points of agreement with the

Literature 4 & 5). *Cf. Hertel*, Das Pañcatantra, p. 140 f.; Ein altindisches Narrenbuch in BSGW 64, 1912, pp. 41, 43; Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," p. 58 ff. Geist des Ostens, 1, 1913, p. 249 ff., and Indische Märchen, pp. 90 f., 169 ff., 374 f., 377.

[1]) *Cf. Hertel* in ZDMG 65, 1911, 429 ff.; 441 ff.; Ein altindisches Narrenbuch, p. 58 ff., and Indische Märchen, p. 111 ff. (*cf.* 375 f.). There was an Udayadharma, who wrote the Vākyaprakāśa (edited in the Stotra-Ratnākara, Mehsana 1913, Part I) in 1450 A.D., but also another who lived 99 years later; s. *Hertel* in ZDMG 65, 429 Note.

[2]) *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1090-1136. On the achievements of the Jainas in Indian narrative literature, s. *Hertel*, on the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat, Leipzig 1922.

vernaculars of the people, their subject-matter, too, gives a picture of the real life of the most varied classes of the people, not only the kings and priests, in a way which no other Indian literary works, especially the Brahman ones, do.

As poets, the Jainas have also contributed their share to the literature of the Drama.[1] Only a few of the dramas written by Jainas can, however, be described as actually Jinistic. Rāmacandra, the pupil of Hemacandra, was an exceptionally prolific writer of dramas. He is supposed to have composed no less than 100 Prakaraṇas (dramas). One of his pieces, the Nirbhaya-Bhīma-Vyāyoga, "The spectacular play of the fearless Bhīma,"[2] treats the story of the giant Baka, who is killed by Bhīma, taken from the Mahābhārata. A theme from the Mahābhārata is also treated by Vijayapāla, the son of Siddhapāla, a contemporary of Kumārapāla, in the drama Draupadī-Svayamvara.[3] Hastimalla, a pupil of Govindabhaṭṭa, wrote in about 1290 A.D. in the South of India several dramas, thus a Mahābhārata-drama, Vikrānta-Kaurava, in 6 acts, and a Rāma-Sītā-drama, Maithilī-Kalyāṇa in 5 acts.[4]

The Mudrita-Kumudacandra-Prakaraṇa,[5] "The Drama of Kumudacandra who has been Silenced," by Yaśaścandra, is a genuine Jinistic drama. This five-act drama describes how the Digambara teacher Kumudacandra was defeated by the Śvetāmbara teacher Devasūri in a disputation which took place in the presence of King Jayasiṃha. This disputation is said to have taken place in the year

---

1) *Cf. Hultzsch* in NGGW 1921, 36 ff., and ZDMG 75, 1921, 61 ff.

2) Edited in YJG No. 19, s. *Hultzsch*, l. c., p. 62 f.

3) Edited by *Muni Jinavijaya*, Jaina-Ātmānanda-Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1918; s. *Hultzsch*, l.c., p. 67 f.

4) These two plays have been edited in MDJG, Nos. 1 and 5.

5) Edited in YJG No. 8, Benares 1905.

1124 A.D.[1] Thus the poet was probably a contemporary of King Jayasiṃha, who reigned in Gujarat from 1094 to 1142 A.D. The Jaina poet Jayasiṃha wrote in the year 1229 A.D. the Hammīra-Madamardana,[2] "The Breaking of the Pride of Hammīra," a drama in 5 acts describing how the pride of Hammīra, that is, Amir Shikār or Sultan Samsu-d-dunyā, was broken, and the attack of the Mahomedans on Gujarat was repulsed. The piece is not Jinistic in itself, but the brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the famous ministers of the Caulukya-king Vīradhavala, who play a part in the drama itself, were pious Jainas. As such they are glorified by Jaysiṃha in a panegyric in verse, the Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-Praśasti, engraven on a stone slab in a temple founded by Tejaḥpāla, and by Udayaprabha Sūri in the panegyric Sukṛta-Kīrtikallolinī.[3]

Between 1229 and 1232 A.D. Yaśaḥpāla wrote an allegorical drama Moha-Rāja-Parājaya, "The Defeat of King Delusion,"[4] in 5 acts, in which the conversion of King Kumārapāla to Jinism and his wedding with Princess Kṛpā-Sundarī, "Mercy the Beautiful," daughter of King "Understanding" are presented, Hemacandra being named as the priest who consecrates the marriage before the Arhat. This play in which many characters, mostly allegorical, play a part, is of interest not merely from the literary point of view,

---

1) Thus according to the Prabhāvaka-Caritra, xxi, 86 ff., Deva Sūri, famous as the author of works on logic, died in 1169 A.D. *Cf. Hultzsch* in ZDMG 75, 1921, p. 61 f., and *Jacobi*, Sanatkumāracaritam, p. viii.

2) Edited by Ch. D. *Dalal* in GOS No. 10, Baroda 1920; cf. *Hultzsch* in NGGW 1921, p. 43 ff., and S. R. *Bhandarkar*, Report II, pp. 16 ff., 72 ff.

3) Both Praśastis are edited in GOS No. 10 as appendices.

4) Edited by *Muni Chaturavijayi* with Introduction and Appendices by C. D. *Dalal* in GOS, No. 9, with English translation, Baroda 1918. *Cf. Bühler*, Hemachandra, pp. 4, 32, 55, 81; *Kielhorn*, Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency 1880-81, Bombay 1881, No. 50; *Hultzsch* in NGGW 1921, p. 39 ff.; *Munirāja Jinavijaya* in GOS, No. 14, p. xiv f., and *Dalal* in the introduction to the edition.

but also as throwing light on the history and the social conditions of Gujarat in the 13th century.

The story of the robber Rauhiṇeya, well-known from the narrative literature, is treated in the drama Prabuddha-Rauhiṇeya[1] by Rāmabhadra Muni. This drama in 6 acts was performed at a festival in a temple of Ṛṣabha which had been erected by two contemporaries of the Cāhamāna prince Samarasiṃha in about 1185 A.D. Most probably the poet may be ascribed to about the same period. The Jaina teacher Bālacandra, who is also known as a writer of commentaries, is the author of a drama Karuṇā-Vajrāyudha,[2] in which the legend of the compassionate King Śibi, who protected the dove from the falcon, is treated. The name of the compassionate king is, however, Vajrāyudha here, as in an ancient Jaina legend.[3] It is also a Jinistic legend which constitutes the plot of the drama Dharmābhyudaya[4] by Meghaprabhācārya. This piece, which was acted at a festival in a temple of the Jina Pārśvanātha, calls itself at the end, a "Shadow-play" (chāyānāṭyaprabandha). The time of the author is unknown.

Since ancient times the Jainas have vied with the poets of other sects in another literary form also, namely the sphere of religious lyric poetry. There is a large number of hymns (Stutis, Stotras) in praise of Mahāvīra, the other Jinas, and some to the ancient Jaina teachers also, both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit; some of them were written solely for purposes of the cult, others, on the other hand, are worthy of being appreciated as lyrical poems too.

---

1) Edited in the Jaina-Ātmānanda-Granthamālā, No. 60, Bhavnagar 1917; s. *Hultzsch* in ZDMG 75, 1921, p. 66 f.

2) Edited by *Muni Chaturavijaya* in Jaina-Ātmānanda-Grantharatnamālā, No. 56, Bhavnagar 1916; s. *Hultzsch*, l. c., p. 68 f.

3) Prākrit text by J. J. *Meyer*, Hindu Tales, p. 301 f.

4) Edited in the Jaina-Ātmānanda-Grantharatnamālā, No. 61, Bhavnagar 1918; s. *Hultzsch*, l. c., p. 69 f.

Many of them are quite short, others are poems of considerable length.[1] The earliest known hymn is the Uvasaggahara-Stotra,[2] a hymn to Pārśva in 5 stanzas ascribed to Bhadrabāhu.

One of the most famous Stotras, used both in the cult and for purposes of magic, is the Bhaktāmara-Stotra[3] by Mānatuṅga. This poem enjoys a great reputation among both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, as both sects class the poet among their own writers. This in itself seems to indicate that Mānatuṅga belongs to a comparatively early period. According to some lists of teachers, he might have lived as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. Other traditions, on the other hand, point to the 5th, 7th, 8th or 9th century as his period.[4] The Bhaktāmara-Stotra is an ornate poem, but not so elaborate, by a long way, as the hymns of Bāṇa and Mayūra. In this hymn the Jina Ṛṣabha is extolled as the incomparable saint, set on a level with the highest deities, and his name is invoked as a protection in all perils. Thus we read of him:

"Hundreds of women bear hundreds of sons,
But no mother bore a son to equal thee:
Stars there are in every region of the sky, but
Only the East brings forth the sun with its
Flaming network of rays, the thousand-rayed divinity." (22)

---

[1]) Collections of Jaina Stotras have been edited in Km., Part VII, 1890; Jaina-Stotra-Saṃgraha in YJG Nos. 7 and 9, 1905; Stuti-saṃgraha with Avacūri, Bombay NSP 1912; Stotra-Ratnākara I, II, edited by Yaśovijaya-Jaina-Saṃskṛta-Pāṭhaśālā, Mehsana, Bombay NSP 1913 and 1914; Pañcapratikramaṇādi-Sūtrāṇi in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Gujarātī, Ahmedabad 1915; some also in MDJG No. 21. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 931-944; *Guérinot*, p. 203 ff.

[2]) *Jacobi*, Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, Introd., p. 12 f.

[3]) Edited and transl. into German by *Jacobi* in Ind. Stud. 14, p. 359 ff. Text also in Km., Part VII. The title is formed from the opening words of the first verse.

[4]) The anecdote mentioned below, and related by Merutuṅga in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (transl. by *Tawney*, p. 66) makes Mānatuṅga a contemporary of Bāṇa, the friend of King Harṣadeva (606-647 A.D.), though also the friend of King Bhoja in the 11th century. In

"Thou art B u d d h a, because the gods praise the awakening of thy mind.

Thou art Ś a ṃ k a r a, because thou workest out the salvation of the three worlds;

C r e a t o r art thou,

Because through thy doctrine thou hast created a pathway to salvation;

Thou, O Lord, art P u r u ṣ o t t a m a, the highest of all the beings." (25)

"He who bears thy name in his heart as a charm against snakes, can trample on the most furious poisonous snake with his bare feet; he who goes on pilgrimage to the lotus-grove of thy feet, conquers the hosts of the enemy; with his thoughts fixed on thee, the traveller sails fearlessly over the ocean" (38-40).

"Men whose bodies are fettered from head to foot in mighty fetters, and whose legs are sorely ground by thousands of heavy chains, are at once released of themselves from the pains of the prison, if they are ever mindful of thy name as an incantation." (42)

It is probably this verse 42 which gave rise to the legend that is related by the commentators. In order to purify himself of leprosy, so the story goes, Mayūra composed his 100 stanzas to the Sun-god (the Sūrya-Śataka). Bāṇa, who was jealous of him, hereupon had his hands and feet cut off, and composed 100 stanzas to the goddess Caṇḍikā (the Caṇḍikā-Śataka) by means of which his limbs were restored to him and grew on again. Then Mānatuṅga, in order to prove that the Jaina religion is also quite capable of performing great miracles, had himself fettered with 42 iron fetters and locked up in a house; then he composed the 44 verses of the Bhaktāmara-Stotra, and became free and quit of all his fetters.

---

another Paṭṭāvalī, Mānatuṅga is called "Mālaveśvara-Caulukya-Vayarasiṃha-devāmātyaḥ." If by Vayarasiṃha the Mālava Vairisiṃha I, the successor of Kṛṣṇa Upendra, who founded the Paramāra dynasty in the year 825, is meant, this brings us to the 9th century, whilst yet another tradition gives 743 A.D. as his date. *Cf.* Note 1, p. 551 and above, p. 478 and Note 2.

On the strength of this miracle he converted King Bhoja to the Jaina religion.[1]

Mānatuṅga is also the author of the Bhayahara-Stotra,[2] a hymn to the Jina Pārśvanātha, in Prākrit.

The celebrated Siddhasena Divākara, too, is among those Jaina writers who are claimed by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. Just as the Bhaktāmara-Stotra, his Kalyāṇa-Mandira-Stotra[3] consists of 44 stanzas; it is also a hymn to Pārśvanātha, and is written in the same metre. It is, however, far more artificial in style than the poem of Mānatuṅga, who never uses such ambiguities (Śleṣas) as Siddhasena, who has probably imitated his predecessor,[4] and is really more of a scholar than a poet. A less artificially elaborated poem is the Dvātriṃśikā-Stotra or Vardhamāna-Dvātriṃśikā,[5] a hymn to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra in thirty-two Sanskrit stanzas with the refrain: "He the only highest spirit, the prince of Jinas, is my refuge." In these verses all the qualities of the Jina are enumerated according to the Jaina theory, and the names and epithets of the great deities of Hinduism are attributed to him, though they are used in a

---

1) *Cf. Bühler*, Ind. Ant. 1, 1872, 114 f.; *Klatt*, Ind. Ant. 11, 252; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 932 Note; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. xcii f.; *Jacobi*, Ind. Stud., 14, p. 360 f.; G. P. *Quackenbos*, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, New York 1917, pp. 16 ff., 265 f. In the 14th century verses by Mānatuṅga were already used as incantations.

2) In 1309 A.D. Jinaprabha Sūri wrote a commentary on it. *Cf. Peterson*, Report 1882-83, p. 52; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, p. 933 f. The text does not seem to be printed.

3) Edited and transl. into German by *Jacobi* in Ind. Stud. 14, 376 ff. Text also in Km., Part VII. The Paramajoti-Stotra, an old metrical translation in the old Braj dialect, of the Kalyāṇamandira has been published by L. P. *Tessitori* in Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, 42 ff.

4) Thus according to *Jacobi*, l.c., p. 377 f. But the Jainācārya *Vijaya Dharma Sūri* wrote to me on 25th April 1922: "Siddhasena, Divākara, the author of Kalyāṇamandir, lived before Mānatuṅga...I cannot say how far the argument of my old friend Dr. Jacobi that Kalyāṇamandir appeared after Mānatuṅga, will hold good."

5) Edited with a commentary (Avacūri) by Udaya-Sāgara-Sūri and explanations in Gujarātī, by the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1908. The edition printed in 1922 is not known to me. I am not in a position to decide whether this Dvātriṃśikā is also a part of the Dvātriṃśad-Dvātriṃśikā, "Treatise consisting of 32 with 32 verses each," as there is no text of the last-named accessible to me.

different sense. He is "the Lord of the three worlds," "the Knower of the three times," he is Śiva ("the Bringer of Salvation"), he is Buddha ("He who has awakened to Knowledge"), he is the "Ancient One" and "Manifold, though he is but One,"[1] he is Hṛṣīkeśa, Viṣṇu, Jagannātha, Jiṣṇu;[2] but he has no trident, no bow, no disc, no bird, no lion, no bull, there is no Gaṅgā on his head, he has no Lakṣmī, etc.[3] In both poems Siddhasena Divākara shows himself to be a past master in the use of Sanskrit. A legend has it that by means of the Kalyāṇa-Mandira-Stotra the poet split the Liṅga (Phallus) of the god Rudra in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī, whereupon the image of Pārśvanātha stepped forth out of the middle of it.[4]

Like Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra and Vidyānanda (or Vidyānandin Pātrakesarin) also were at the same time authors of learned works on logic, and of Stotras. Samantabhadra wrote a hymn in praise of all the 24 Jinas, entitled Bṛhat-Svayambhū-Stotra or Caturviṃśati-Jina-Stavana,[5] beginning with the praise of the first Jina who is here called Svayambhū, the Self-existent. Vidyānandin is the author of the Pātrakesari-Stotra,[6] an elaborate hymn in praise of Jina Mahāvīra in 50 stanzas.

There are quite a number of Stotras in which all the 24 Jinas are extolled. Thus the poet Bappabhaṭṭi,[7] who

---

1) God (Brahman, Ātman) is thus described in the Brahmanical philosophy.

2) Names of the god Viṣṇu; but, according to the commentary, Viṣṇu also means "he who penetrates all things by his knowledge," Hṛṣīkeśa, "Commander of all the organs of the senses," Jiṣṇu "Conqueror of the passions," Jagannātha "Lord of the world" is, of course, also the Jina.

3) Attributes of the god Viṣṇu.

4) Told in the Prabhāvaka-Carita, VIII, 144 ff. *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. cxxxi f.

5) Published in DJGK I. See also *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. 639 f.

6) Published in DJGK I, and with (the author's own?) commentary in MDJG No. 13 p. 100 ff. It is also called Bṛhatpañcanamaskāra-Stotra.

7) There are several "Life-stories of Bappabhaṭṭi," one in Prabandhakoṣa, one in the Prabhāvaka-Carita (XI) and an independent Bappabhaṭṭi-Sūri-Carita. *Cf. Shankar*

lived from 743 to 838 A.D. and is said to have converted King Āmarāja, the son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, wrote not only a Sarasvatī-Stotra,[1] but also a Caturviṃśati-Jina-Stuti[2] in 96 Sanskrit verses.

The most celebrated is the hymn in praise of the 24 Jinas by the poet Śobhana,[3] who lived in the second half of the 10th century. The poem is usually called, with intentional ambiguity, "Śobhana-Stuti," which can mean "Hymn of Śobhana" as well as "Beautiful hymn." It is in very artificially ornate language with variegated metres and most perilous tricks in the matter of figures of speech. One such trick, for instance, consists of the second and fourth line of each verse being identical syllable by syllable, and yet having a different meaning.

Dhanapāla,[4] Śobhana's brother, wrote a commentary on the poem, and himself composed a hymn to Ṛṣabha, Ṛṣabha-Pañcāśikā.[5] This is a Prākrit poem in 50 stanzas. In the first 20 verses there are allusions to events in the life of Ṛṣabha, whilst the following verses are exclusively devoted to the praise of Ṛṣabha. Though the style is very artificial, the poem is not lacking in warmth of imagination, and here and there we meet with beautiful metaphors. Thus the poet calls life an ocean, upon which Ṛṣabha is the boat, or a forest full of robbers, namely the passions, against which one

---

Pandurang Pandit, Gauḍavaha, Ed., Introd., pp. cxxxv-clxi; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 14 f.; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. lxxxii; S. Krishnaswami *Aiyangar* in JBRAS N. S., 3, 1928, p. 101 ff. According to the Bappabhaṭṭi-Carita, Siddhasena Sūri was his teacher, and the poet Vākpati his contemporary.

[1] *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 212.

[2] Edited in Stutisaṃgraha with Avacūri, Bombay NSP 1912.

[3] Edited and transl. into German by *Jacobi* in ZDMG 32, 1878, 509 ff. Text also in Km., Part VII.

[4] Probably he is the same author who wrote the Prākrit dictionary Pāïyalacchī in 972 A.D., and also the Tilakamañjarī.

[5] Edited and transl. into German by *Klatt* in ZDMG 33, 1879, 445 ff. Text with Sanskrit translation in Km., Part VII.

can find protection only with Ṛṣabha, or a night of false belief, in which Ṛṣabha rises like the sun. The world is to him a chess-board [1] with human chess-men or a stage from which all the actors make their exit at the end. Dhanapāla was a Brahman and it was not until after he had been converted to Jinism by his brother Śobhana that he wrote the hymn.

Ajiyasantithaya (Ajita-Śānti-Stava) by Nandiṣeṇa, [2] who lived perhaps even earlier than the 9th century, is a Prākrit poem in rare, artificial metres. In this hymn, which is recited by special singers at the confession festivals, Ajita, the second, and Śānti, the 16th Tīrthakara, are glorified together, because, according to the legend, both of them spent the rainy season in the caverns of the Śatruñjaya mountain, and, as the commentator tells us, the poet, while on a pilgrimage, was inspired to compose the hymn, by the sight of the shrines dedicated to them. The same two Tīrthakaras are also glorified by the very erudite Jinavallabha, [3] who died in 1110 A.D., in the Ullāsikkamathaya, [4] by Vīra Gaṇin in the Ajiyasantithaya in Prākrit, and by Jayaśekhara in the Ajita-Śānti-Stava in Sanskrit. As late as in the 16th century Śānticandra Gaṇin imitated Nandiṣeṇa in his Ṛṣabha-Stava, perhaps also in his Ajita-Śānti-Stava.[5]

---

1) This is perhaps the earliest mention of the game of chess; s. *Klatt*, l. c., p. 465 f.

2) *Cf.* W. *Schubring* in ZII 2, 1923, p. 178 ff.

3) According to Sumati Gaṇin, who was a pupil of Jinapati Sūri who died in 1221 A.D., and wrote life-stories of the heads of his school, Jinavallabha was versed in Pāṇini's grammar, in the Mahākāvyas and Alaṃkāra-Śāstras, in dramatic literature, in astronomy, logic and the works of Jayadeva and Abhayadeva. He was the successor of the last-named as head of the school, enjoyed a great reputation in Citrakūṭa (Chitore) and had various temples built in honour of the Jinas. *Cf. Klatt*, Jaina-Onomasticon, p. 34 f.; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1882-83, p. 47 f., and L. G. *Gandhi* in the Introduction to GOS, No. 37, Baroda 1927.

4) It is also called Ajita-Śānti-Laghustavana. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 981 ff. and *Schubring*, l.c. Jinavallabha also wrote a Mahāvīra-Stotra (edited in Km., Part VII), a Praśnaśata, "A hundred questions," which are answered in the commentary (edited in Stotra-Ratnākara, Part II), and a number of erudite works; s. *Bhandarkar*, l. c.

5) *Schubring*, l.c.

In the 11th century the celebrated commentator Abhayadeva wrote a Jayatihuyana-Stotra.[1] The legend has it that the poet, who was seriously ill, recovered his health through this hymn, and that he restored to the light of day a statue of Pārśvanātha which had been hidden for centuries.[2]

It is probably the same Vādirāja,[3] who wrote the Pārśvanātha-Carita in 1025 A.D. and later the Yaśodhara-Carita, who is also the author of some Stotras of philosophical contents, a Jñānalocana-Stotra,[4] an Ekībhāva-Stotra,[5] and an Adhyātmāṣṭaka.[6]

The great Hemacandra also indited a few Stotras. At the request of King Kumārapāla he wrote a Vītarāga-Stotra,[7] "A poem in praise of the Passionless One," *i.e.*, Mahāvīra, which is at the same time a poetical manual of the Jaina religion and was perhaps Hemacandra's first attempt to make the king acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Jinism.[8] The work consists of 20 short sections (Prakāśas or Stavas)[9] generally of 8 or 9 Ślokas each, or sometimes

---

1) Edited with a Sanskrit commentary, Ahmedabad 1890.

2) *Cf. Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, p. 248; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, pp. 25 f., 245 ff.

3) This is Vādirāja II whose teacher was probably Kanakasena Vādirāja I who lived about 1000 A.D.; Vādirāja II wrote also a commentary on Akalaṅka's Nyāyaviniścaya; s. A. Venkatasubbiah in ZII 7, 1929, 179ff. and above, pp. 515, 535.

4) Published in MDJG No. 21, p. 124 ff. In the last verse the author calls himself "the son of Pomarāja."

5) Published in Km., Part VII.

6) Published in MDJG No. 13, p. 131.

7) Edited with two commentaries, the Vivaraṇa by Prabhānanda, Abhayadeva's pupil, and an Avacūri by a pupil (name not mentioned) of Viśālarāja, in JPU No. 1, Bombay NSP 1911; in the title of the edition Viśālarāja is mentioned as the author of the Avacūri, but at the end of it, the author, who himself says that he wrote in 1455 A.D., does honour to Viśālarāja as his teacher.

8) *Cf. Bühler*, Hemachandra, pp. 36 and 85.

9) N. G. *Javeri* says in the Foreword to the Edition, that Hemacandra wrote 32 cantos at the request of Kumārapāla, of which 20 are contained in the Vītarāga-Stotra and 12 in the Yoga-Śāstra.

more. The language of the work is exceptionally lucid and simple. It begins as follows :

" He who is the highest spirit, the highest light, the Highest of the Most High, whom they call the Sun-hued beyond the darkness ;

from whom all trees of sin have been uprooted with their roots, before whom gods, demons and men bow their heads ;

from whom proceeds all knowledge which furthers the welfare of men, whose wisdom illuminates the present, future and past forms of existence ;

in whom knowledge, joy and Brahman are united,—in him one should believe, about him one should meditate, in him do I take refuge."

The concluding verses, (20, 6-9) read :

" These are eyes which take delight in thy countenance, these are hands which offer thee worship, these are ears which hear thy praises : May these ever be with me !

If this my speech, feeble though it be, but seek with ardent desire to comprehend thy excellence, then all hail to it ! Why should I desire any other ?

Thy servant am I, thy slave, thy footman, thy bondman. Say ' Yes ' and give thy consent, O Lord ! I say no more.

By this hymn to the Passionless One from the pen of the celebrated Hemacandra, may the King Kumārapāla attain the desired reward ! "

In imitation of Siddhasena Divākara's Dvātriṃśikā, Hemacandra wrote two Mahāvīra-Stotras, hymns to Mahāvīra, consiting of 32 verses (Dvātriṃśikas) each : the one is entitled Ayogavyavacchedā, and the other Anyayogavyavacchedā.[1] These two poems also contain instructions regarding the religion.

At the beginning of the 14th century Jinaprabha Sūri wrote a Caturviṃśati-Jina-Stuti and several other hymns.[2] Muni Sundara

1) Both texts are edited in Km., Part VII, pp. 102 ff., 104 ff.

2) They are printed in Km., Part VII, Caturviṃśatijina-Stuti also in " Stutisaṃgraha with Avacūri." In 1309 A.D. he wrote a commentary on Mānatuṅga's Bhayahara-Stotra. There is also a Caturviṃśatijinabhavastava by Guṇavijaya Gaṇin, printed in Jaina-Stotra-Saṃgraha II, YJG 9, and a Jinacaturviṃśatikā by Bhūpāla Kavi in Km., Part VII.

Sūri (died 1379 A.D.) wrote a large collection of hymns, entitled Jina-Stotra-Ratna-Kośa.[1] The first Prastāva contains 23 Stotras in praise of various Jinas in connection with their monuments at various sacred places. Mānatuṅga's Bhaktāmara-Stotra had many imitators. Bhāvaprabha Sūri wrote a Nemibhaktāmaram[2] with allusions to the legend of Neminātha and Rājīmatī. Dharmaghoṣa, a pupil of Devendra (died 1270 A.D.), is the author of a Yamaka-Stuti,[3] and probably also of a Caturviṃśat-Jina-Stuti.[4] Whether it is the same or a much earlier Dharmaghoṣa[5] who is the author of the Isimaṇḍala or Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Stotra,[6] must remain an open question. This work is a hymn in Prākrit stanzas in praise of the ancient Jaina teachers Jambusvāmin, Śayyambhava, Bhadrabāhu, etc. A Vītarāga-Stotra in 25 verses, also entitled Ratnākara-Pañcaviṃśatikā, after the author Ratnākara, is of unknown date.[7]

---

1) Edited in Jaina-Stotra-Saṃgraha II, YJG No. 9. The third Stotra is dated Saṃvat 1476 (1419 A.D.): but the editor of the Adhyātmakalpadruma states Saṃvat 1436-1503 (1379-1446 A.D.) as the period of the author's life.

2) This and other Bhaktāmara Stotras, imitations of Mānatuṅga's celebrated Stotra, are printed in Stotra-Ratnākara, Part I, Bombay 1913, and in Bhaktāmara-Stotra, Part I, Bombay 1926 (AUS 45). Other Stotras by Bhāvaprabha Sūri are to be found in Jaina-Stotra-Saṃgraha I, YJG 7.

3) *Cf. Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 255; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, pp. 17, 310 ff. The same author also wrote a Śrāddhajīta-Kalpa, a work on atonements; s. *Weber*, HSS. Verz, II, 3, 881 f.

4) Edited in Stotra-Ratnākara, Part I.

5) *Peterson*, Report IV, p. lxiii ff., names no less than 7 different Jaina writers by the name of Dharmaghoṣa.

6) A commentary written on this work in 1496 A.D. by Padmamandira, contains numerous legends on the Jaina teachers honoured in Isimaṇḍala. Some of these legends are also known from Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan. *Cf. Peterson*, Report 1882-83, App. p. 93 f.; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 130 ff., 443 ff.; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 944 Note 2. Gāthās 155-218 and a portion of the commentary have been reprinted by *Jacobi* in the Edition of the Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan, Appendix, pp. 29 ff. and 37 ff.

7) Edited in "Stuti-Saṃgraha with Avacūri" and prefixed to the Edition of Muni Sundara's Adhyātmakalpadruma, Bombay NSP 1906.

As from the nature of the case, the glorification of the Jinas admitted of no variation as regards the subject-matter, the poets were at pains to introduce a change in the form. Hence it is precisely in this hymn poetry that the style of the ornate court poetry was most developed. Some of the hymns are very highly elaborated. A specimen of a very artificially constructed hymn is the Siddhipriya-Stotra[1] by Devanandin. Throughout this hymn the verses are rhymed in such a way that the same syllables in each of two consecutive lines, have a different meaning.[2] There is also a Mahāvīra-Stava in Prākrit, where the same words occur three times over with a different meaning each time, or a Nemi-Jina-Stava, in which no consonants occur except "l" and "m." In Jayatilaka Sūri's Caturhārāvalī-Citrastava there are verses in which the syllables are to be read in the shape of certain figures (of a cross, a lotus-petal, a Svastika, etc.).[3] Attempts were also made to introduce a greater variety of metres, and poets went to the length of selecting a new metre for nearly every stanza in one and the same poem. What is still more curious is that these poems would be written in several languages, each stanza in a different language. Ṣaḍbhāṣānirmita-Pārśvajinastavana by Dharmavardhana (about 1200 A.D.) and Ṣaḍbhāṣāvibhūṣita-Śāntināthastavana by Jinapadma (1325-1344 A.D.) are poems written in six languages, and belong to this category. The languages are Sanskrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṃśa. The first-named poem has even two stanzas written half in Sanskrit and half in Prākrit.[4]

---

1) Edited in Km., Part VII, p. 30 ff.

2) In Verse 20 the relative pronoun *ya* is even extended by the suffix *ka*, only to make the rhyme muninā yakena, munināyakena possible. These tricks make it improbable that this Devanandin is identical with the old Pūjyapāda.

3) These hymns are contained in Part II of the Stotra-Ratnākara, Bombay 1913.

4) *Cf.* W. *Schubring* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 89 ff.

Many of the Stotras mentioned above could equally well be termed didactic poems: on the other hand, it is not easy to separate the genus didactic poetry from the narrative literature, as this too is mostly instructive. The didactic poetry also forms the bridge to the purely learned works. For it is often difficult to decide whether to include certain manuals of religion and morals, as a rule written in verse, in the purely erudite literature or in the didactic poetry. In the Canon we already find aphorisms along with stories, and in many of the narrative works of the Jainas, as in Indian narrative literature in general, aphorism and narrative are closely interwoven.

One of the earliest non-canonical didactic poems is Praśnottara-Ratnamālā,[1] "The Jewel-Garland of Questions and Answers," consisting of brief questions and answers, and written in Ślokas, in the simplest possible style. The morality taught in these questions and answers, is general human morality and not specifically Jinistic, and it is as simple as the language in which it is couched. We find verses like the following:

8. "What does one fear? Death. Who is in even worse plight than the blind man? The passionate man. Who is a hero? He who is not disconcerted by the arrows of the glances of beautiful women.

10. "What is unfathomable? The conduct of women. Who is intelligent? He who is not deceived by this. What is poverty? Discontent. What is lack of dignity? Entreating.

"What is hell? Dependence upon another. What is good fortune? The renunciation of all desires. What is truth? The welfare of the beings. What do the beings like best? Life.

---

[1]) The title is also Vimala-Pr., *i.e.*, "Praśnottaramālā of Vimala," sometimes also "Ratnamālikā," edited in Km., Part VII, 121 ff.; a Prākrit recension by P. E. *Pavolini* in GSAI 11, 153-163. In 1373 A.D. Devendra and Manibhadra wrote a commentary on "Vimalacandrasūri's Praśnottararatnamālā," in which a story is told in connection with each question. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1118 ff.

26, 27. "What shall I tell you, that is as difficult to find on earth as a wishing-jewel? Certainly it is the fourfold good. And what is the special name given to it by those who have driven away the darkness of ignorance? Gifts, accompanied by friendly speech; knowledge without arrogance; heroism coupled with forbearance, and wealth hand in hand with self-sacrifice. This fourfold good is indeed difficult to find."

It is no wonder that this didactic poem is also claimed by Buddhists and Brahmans as belonging to their own writings.[1] The Jainas ascribe it to a Śvetāmbara Vimala[2] or Vimalacandra, but sometimes also to King Amoghavarṣa,[3] who reigned in the 9th century and was a friend of the Digambara Jinasena.

Another early work is Uvaēsamālā, "Garland of Instructions,"[4] a didactic poem in 540 Prākrit stanzas, containing moral instructions for laymen and monks, by Dharmadāsa, who according to tradition is said to be a younger contemporary of Mahāvīra. This is scarcely possible, as the language of the Uvaēsamālā corresponds to the later Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. At all events, there were commentaries on this work as early as the 9th century, and, as is

---

1) There is a Tibetan recension in the Tanjur with the title Praśnottararatnamālā, edited in Tibetan and German by *Schiefner*, Petropoli 1858; a Sanskrit and a Tibetan recension with French translation have been published by Ph. Ed. *Foucaux*, Paris 1867. *Cf.* A. *Weber*, Indische Streifen I, 210 ff., where two versions are translated into German, and Vidhushekara *Bhattacharya* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, 143 f. It is significant that the text in the Tanjur begins with an invocation to Mañjuśrī, a Bombay edition, in which Śaṅkara is mentioned as the author, with an invocation to Gaṇeśa, and the Jinistic version with that to Mahāvīra.

2) Haridas *Śāstrī* (Ind. Ant. 19, 1890, 378 f.) is of opinion that this Vimala is identical with the author of the Paümacariya. This admits of neither refutation nor proof. In the last verse the author is called simply Sitapaṭaguru, *i. e.*, "the teacher clad in white." A Calcutta edition erroneously gives Asitapaṭa as the name of the author, s. *Weber*, l. c., p. 212, 220 Note 3.

3) *Cf. Bhandarkar*, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd edition, p. 68f. J. F. *Fleet* in Ind. Ant. 33, 1904, 198 ff.

4) Edited by L. P. *Tessitori* in GSAI 25, 1912, 167-297. *Cf. Jacobi*, AR 18, 1915, p. 285 f. A number of stanzas are taken from the Mahānisīha-Sutta; s. *Schubring*, Das Mahānisīha-sutta, p. 51 ff.

proved by the numerous commentaries, it must have enjoyed considerable popularity.[1]

There is also Śīlovaēsamālā by Jayakīrti, the pupil of Jayasiṃha, in 116 Prākrit Gāthās, the date of which is not known. All we know is that in the year 1337 A.D. Somatilaka Sūri wrote a commentary on it, Śīlataraṅgiṇī, consisting of narratives.[2]

There are two didactic poems by the famous Pūjyapāda; Iṣṭopadeśa, "The desired Instruction,"[3] and Samādhiśataka, "A Hundred Verses on the Absorption (in meditation)."[4]

Haribhadra wrote 32 Aṣṭakāni,[5] poems of 8 verses each, on the "Great God" (mahādeva), *i.e.*, the Jina free from all passions, on the cult, knowledge, renunciation, etc. He is also the author of an Upadeśapada in Prākrit.[6]

Guṇabhadra, the author of the Uttara-Purāṇa, also wrote an ethical poem Ātmānuśāsana[7] in 270 stanzas.

The didactic poems of the Digambara Amitagati are greatly appreciated by the Jainas. An earlier work of his is Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha, "The Collection of

---

[1] The poet Siddharṣi, too, wrote a commentary on Uvaēsamālā. This commentary is available in two recensions, one of which contains stories also; s. *Jacobi*, Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā, Ed., Preface, p. xi; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1082 ff. There is also an Uvaēsamālā in 505 Prākrit stanzas by Maladhāri-Hemacandra, the senior contemporary of the famous Hemacandra; s. *Weber*, l. c., 1081 f.

[2] *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 1085 ff. The Sthūlabhadra legend from this commentary is given by *Alsberg*, Kumārapālapratibodha, p. 90 ff.

[3] Edited in DJGK I, in MDJG No. 13 (with Āśādharā's commentary), and in Granthatrayī, SJG No. 20, Calcutta V. S. 2449 (1922); translated into English by Champat Rai Jain, Hardoi 1925.

[4] Edited in SJG. Vol. I, Bombay 1905. The same volume also contains Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya by Amṛtacandra who, according to a Digambara Paṭṭāvalī, wrote in 904 A.D. The two works are also printed in DJGK I.

[5] Edited together with Yaśovijaya's Aṣṭakaprakaraṇa, Haribhadra's Saḍdarśanasamuccaya and Rājaśekhara's Saḍdarśanasamuccaya Surat 1918

[6] *Cf. Peterson*, 3 Reports, pp. 34 f., Extract 46.

[7] Edited in DJGK I, p. 55 ff.

Gems of Beautiful Aphorisms,"[1] in 32 chapters, each of which treats of a special subject, and is, as a rule, written in a unified metre. The language, style and metres are those of the ornate poetry. In elaborate verses the poet deals with the entire ethics of the Digambara Jainas, gives rules of conduct for both monks and laymen, and subjects the tenets of the Brahmanical religion to a severe and caustic criticism. It is but rarely, however, that we come across an original expression for those thoughts with which we are so familiar from the ascetic poetry, on the world of the senses and its dangers, on error and truth, the right mode of life, death and transitoriness, the wickedness of women, the sin of eating flesh, drinking intoxicants, honey, etc. A very few specimens will suffice to give an idea of this work which at any rate is important from the point of view of Jinistic ethics:

Chapter IV contains warnings against a v a r i c e, beginning with the verse:

> " The sun grows cold, and hot the cool moon grows,
> The cloud grows firm, the ocean is satiated with the water of the streams,
> The wind stands still, the heat of the fire gives up its glow,—
> But never does the ardour of avarice cease to glow."

Among the sins which are enumerated as following in the wake of avarice, are man's tilling the soil with a plough, sewing garments, producing paintings, and doing other things which we should call useful professions. Chapter VI deals with the favourite theme of ascetic poetry, the "investigation of the virtues and faults of women." The female body is described by this poet-monk as the sum of all impurity, in his eyes woman is "the treasury of all sufferings," "the bolt barring the city of heaven, the path to the dwelling of hell," "the axe for the pleasant grove of piety, the hoar-frost for the lotus of virtues, the root of the tree of sins, the soil

[1] Edited in Km. 82; edited and transl. by R. *Schmidt* and J. *Hertel* in ZDMG 59, 1905 and 61, 1907. *Cf. Hertel*, WZKM 17, 1903, 105 ff. and *Leumann*, ZDMG 59, 578 ff. According to Hertel (WZKM 17, 110 ff.) Amitagati was influenced by Bhartṛhari.

for the creeper of deceit" etc. The warning against the blandishments of courtesans takes up an entire chapter (XXIV). We read here, for instance (XXIV, 21):

"As a thief of the wealth which bestows all delights, called penance,
As a man-murdering pest, skilled in bringing all sufferings,
As a snare to catch the mad elephant called man,
The whore, the saleable woman, was sent to earth by fate."

The Āptas, *i.e.*, the sinless beings who have cast off passion, hate and delusion, are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. These "released ones" are the true gods; and here the poet indulges in the most damning expressions against the Brahmanical gods, who lust after women, drink intoxicating drinks and are entirely given up to sensual pleasures, and can therefore not be counted as Āptas. At the end of this chapter Amitagati protests that he has not laid such stress on the faults of the gods "from motives of eloquence, hate or passion," but he has merely endeavoured "to know the all-knowing, faultless Āpta." "And yet the saviour of the three worlds, as he dwells in the Beyond, cannot be known in this world. As long as the sun does not rise, so long all darkness has not been banished." The essence of the true religion is shown in Chapter XXVIII, where, for instance, we read (V. 6):

"The king of hills may waver,
And cold the fire may grow,
The rock may swim in the water,
And the moon send forth rays of heat,
The sun may rise in the West—
But in the killing of beings
Religion can never consist."

Twenty years after the Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha, in 1014 A.D., the second great work of Amitagati, Dharmaparīkṣā,[1] "Examination of the Religion" was completed. This is a dogmatic-polemical work, which is, however, so closely interwoven with narratives, that it may be included among the narrative literature as well. The obvious aim of

[1] N. *Mironow*, Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati. Diss. Leipzig 1903. See also *Bhandarkar*, Report 1884-87, pp. 13 ff., 134 ff.

the author in this book is, not only to instruct and convert, but also to entertain at the expense of adherents of other religions, the plan of the work being as follows: A Jaina converts his Brahman friend by doing all kinds of absurd things or telling incredible stories, in order to bring home to his astonished friend that the Brahmanical legends tell even more incredible and more absurd things. This is a peg on which Amitagati succeeds in hanging a large number of popular anecdotes. They are gleaned either from oral tradition or from a book of tales in Prākrit. In the language, too, there are traces of their having been translated from Prākrit. Other tales are taken from the epic-Purāṇic tradition, but are sorely corrupted. Among the popular narratives, two interesting types are especially represented: stories of fools and marvellous tales of lies.

Among the first-named category the most interesting is the story of the four fools who meet with a saint, who greets them. The fools begin to quarrel as to who it was whom the saint had greeted. They ask the saint, and he says: "The most foolish among you." Now they cannot agree as to who is the most foolish among them. So they go to the town, in order to ask the citizens to decide, and each of them relates some piece of stupidity which he has committed. The first one allowed his eyes to be burned out by a lamp, only in order not to disturb his two wives in their sleep. The second let his two bad wives break his legs. The fourth had his cheek pricked through, from fear of his mother-in-law. The third, however, behaved in a fashion similar to the man in Goethe's poem "Gutmann und Gutweib." Once he was lying in bed with his wife. "Then they decided to act on his suggestion, that the one who spoke first must give the other ten sweet cakes. As they were thus lying quietly, a thief entered the house, and stole everything there was to steal. When the thief had already laid hands on the wife's under-garments, the wife said to the husband: "What? Are you going to look on quietly even now?" Then the husband demanded the promised ten cakes, because she had been the first to break the silence." [1]

[1] *Mironow*, l.c., p. 21. *Cf.* R. *Pischel*, ZDMG 58, 1904, 363 ff.; *Hertel*, Ein altindisches

As to the marvellous tales à la Munchausen (Münch-hausen), we mention only the following: A man sees a beautiful tree and wishes to taste its fruits. But the tree is too tall. So he cuts off his head, throws it on to the tree, where it eats as much fruit as it wants. Then he fastens his head on to his neck again.

Remarkable are the sagas and legends which Amitagati cites from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Only few of these are told in the form in which we know them from the two epics. Most of them are pieced together from fragments of the most various traditions in such a way that they appear as absurd as possible. Yet most likely he did not invent these corruptions of the Brahmanical legends himself, but probably they had already been changed by the Jainas in this fashion at an earlier time.[1] Amitagati tells the following satirical story regarding the origin of the Mahābhārata :

Vyāsa certainly knew that his poem was full of lies, but he ventured to dish up the inconsistent and senseless stuff to mankind, after he had convinced himself, by an experiment, of the stupidity of men. He placed a pot on the bank of the Gaṅgā and began to heap sand over it. Immediately the people came along and followed his example, so that after a short time the place where the first pot stood, could no longer be determined.

Indeed Amitagati is none too scrupulous in his criticism of Brahmanism. The Brahmanical pantheon is condemned just as ruthlessly here as in the Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha.[2]

Narrenbuch, p. 37 ff. The story frequently recurs in India (*e.g.* Vetālapañcaviṃśati, ed. *Uhle*, 23, 63, and often in modern Indian versions). The earliest known version in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (E. *Huber*, BEFEO 4, 1091; cf. *Zachariae*, ZVV 1906, 136 Note), takes us back as far as the year 492 A.D. The propagation of the anecdote, which is also known in Arabic variants and in Baluchi, has been traced, as far as Europe is concerned, by R. *Köhler* (Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Litteratur 12, 348 ff.). *Goethe* took the theme from a Scottish ballad.

1) According to *Mironow*, l.c., p. 49 ff., he used Raviṣeṇa's Padma-Purāṇa and Śubhacandra's Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa (or " Jaina-Mahābhārata ").

2) And this is additional proof of the fact that the two works are by one and the same author. According to *Mironow*, l.c, p., 41, the Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha appears to have been used in the last two sections of the Dharmaparīkṣā.

Here, too, the narrator revels in dwelling on the infamous deeds of the gods, especially their amorous adventures. He is, moreover, very hard on Brahmanical ethics, and attacks the caste system in particular. He devotes far less space to the refutation of the Buddhist doctrines, and it is Mahāyāna Buddhism that he attacks. In his presentation of Jinistic ethics he tells, among other things, a version of the parable of the "Man in the Well." Most especially characteristic of Amitagati's standpoint are, however, the legends that he tells of the origin of Jinism and the heretical doctrines. This "historical" retrospect concludes with the statement that, though some good is certainly contained even in the heretical doctrines, this is always borrowed from Jinism.

A third book by Amitagati is Yogasāra.[1] This is a didactic poem in simple Ślokas, treating of various aspects of the religion, in 9 chapters, but consisting mainly of moral instructions. A few specimens are given here:

"An action performed by anger and the other passions counts as an action performed by the soul, just as a battle won by the foot-soldiers counts as a battle won by the king." (II, 34.)

"We see the soul-less body of our neighbour, but not his soul; whence then should affection come at a good deed, whence aversion at a harmful one?" (V, 11.)

"Enemies, fathers, wives, relatives, brothers and children oppress and delight my body, not my soul." (V, 12.)

"The possessor of knowledge is not spotted by sins, any more than the sun by eclipses. Knowledge is not touched by the objects of the senses, any more than the mail-clad warrior is pierced by the enemy." (IX, 30.)

"Just as in spite of the difference among cows, there is no difference to be found in the milk, thus in spite of the difference among men, there is no difference in the true knowledge." (IX, 77.)

1) Edited with a Hindī explanation in SJG, No. 16, 1918.

Among the works of Amitagati there is also a Dvātriṃśatikā,[1] a poem in 32 stanzas of highly ethical value, which partly has the form of a prayer in which the Āpta, the perfect saint or Jina, is invoked as "god" (deva) or "god of gods" (devadeva), and partly contains only religious-moral contemplations. It begins with the beautiful verses:

"May my self always have love (maitrī) for all beings, pleasure in the company of the virtuous, deepest compassion for the creatures in pain, and indifference towards him who is perversely inclined, O God!

"May I, by thy grace, O Lord of Jinas (Jinendra), possess the power to separate, like the sword from its sheath, my soul which is faultless and possessed of infinite power, from the body!

"May my mind, O Lord, be always equal in sorrow and in joy, towards enemy and friend, in union and in separation, in the house and in the forest, and may all selfishness be banished from my heart!"

One of the most important didactic poems of the Jainas is the Yogaśāstra[2] by Hemacandra. The work consists of a text in simple Ślokas and a commentary short (vṛtti) in ornate Kāvya style, which also contains stories.[3] The first four chapters, which constitute more than

---

1) Edited in MDJG No. 13, p. 132 ff.; and in DJGK I; also under the title Sāmayika Pāṭha, with an English translation by *Ajit Prasada* in the Jaina Scripture Gift Series No. 2. Yet another work of Amitagati, the Pañcasaṃgraha, is printed in MDJG No. 25.

2) It is also called Adhyātmopaniṣad. The first four chapters belong to the daily reading of the Jaina monks, and are therefore frequently to be found copied out separately, whilst manuscripts of all 12 chapters are rare (*Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 31; *Weber*, HSS. Verz., II, 3, 913 ff.); they are edited and transl. into German by E. *Windisch* in ZDMG 28, 1874, 185-262. An edition with Italian translation has been begun by F. *Belloni-Filippi* in GSAI 21, 1908, 123 ff. The edition by Vijaya Dharma *Sūri* in Bibl. Ind. (fasc. 1, 1907 to fasc. 6, 1921) is also not complete. A complete edition with the author's own commentary was published by the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1926.

3) These narratives look like brief summaries of the legends told in the Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-Carita, from which *Belloni-Filippi* concludes that this work was written earlier, whilst *Bühler* (Hemachandra, pp. 36, 43) agrees with the tradition (s. *Peterson*, Report IV, p. 7) in regarding the Yogaśāstra as the earlier work. On the Brahmadatta-Kathānaka in Hemacandra's commentary, s. *Pavolini* in GSAI 7, 339 ff.; on the Abhayarājarṣi-Kathānaka in the same, which is connected with the Udayana legend, s. *Hertel*, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla," p. 127 ff.

three-quarters of the entire work, give a brief summary of the Jaina doctrine as far as it concerns laymen, "and the very copious commentary extends this summary into the clearest and most comprehensible presentation of the system which has ever been written."[1] The duties of a king of the Jaina faith are also often discussed here, for Hemacandra wrote this work at the request of King Kumārapāla, and it contributed largely towards winning the king over to the Jaina religion. In this "Yogaśāstra," Yoga does not, however, mean merely "meditation" or "absorption," but "religious exercise" in general, the whole "effort" which the pious must make. The work contains a complete doctrine of duties. The actual Yoga, the ascetic exercises and absorptions which lead to release, are relegated to the last eight chapters, the explanation of which takes up only about one-tenth of the whole commentary. "It is remarkable that the Jain-Yoga is preceded by a very lengthy exposition of those very exercises which, according to the explicit statement of the author, are useless to attain Mukti, though they enable one to catch a glimpse of the future and are supposed to endow one with supernatural powers. It appears that even Hemacandra believed in their efficacy, and perhaps gave himself up to them. If he devotes a long chapter to describing them, he probably did so with regard to the fondness of the king for Yoga exercises, of which he speaks in the commentary on XII, 55." [2] The subject-matter of the first four chapters coincides in the main with that of Amitagati's Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha. Though, however, Hemacandra moves in the same spheres of thought, he is certainly more ingenious and more original.[3] More often than in Amitagati's

1) *Bühler*, l. c., p. 36.

2) *Bühler*, l. c., p. 36.

3) Hence it is not so likely that he was influenced by Amitagati as is assumed by *Hertel* (WZKM 17, 106).

work we meet with ideas, images and metaphors which are not quite so stereotyped. For instance, the following invocation of Mahāvīra (1, 3) is very pretty :

"Hail to the Jina hero's eyes
Whose pupils are rigid with pity
And wet with tears, from pity
Even for him who has committed sin."

He is very severe in his attack on Brahmanical morality as taught more especially in the Law-book of Manu. He is well versed in Brahmanical literature, and he quotes verses from Manu to show convincingly that they proclaim a morality which is incompatible with the command of Ahiṃsā (the sparing of all living creatures) and is therefore not worthy of the name of morality. This Ahiṃsā is inculcated again and again, for instance in II, 50 f. :

"Ahiṃsā is like a loving mother of all beings,
Ahiṃsā is like a stream of nectar in the desert of Saṃsāra,
Ahiṃsā is a course of rain-clouds to the forest-fire of suffering,
The best healing-herb for the beings tormented by the disease
Called the perpetual return of existence, is Ahiṃsā." [1]

Of course, in the eyes of Hemacandra too, women are "the torches on the way to the gate of Hell, the root of all troubles and the primal cause of dissension" etc., wherein he agrees not only with Amitagati, but with all monastic poets. In Hemacandra's work too we come across vivid and excellent metaphors of the kind so frequent in Indian gnomic poetry, thus when he says that "the tree of arrogance must be uprooted by the floods of the stream of gentleness" (IV, 14). Some of the verses on the transitoriness and vanity of human

[1] It is, however, very characteristic of Hemacandra that, at the request of the same King Kumārapāla, whom he sought to win over to ascetic morality by the Yogaśāstra, he also wrote a Laghvarhannīti-Śāstra, "Short Manual of the Art of Governing for Jainas," which cannot be said to be entirely in conformity with the principle of Ahiṃsā. More will be said of this Nīti-Śāstra in Vol. III.

existence also remind us of the best sayings of Bhartṛhari, such as for instance IV, 58 :

" Fortune wavers like the wave,
The meeting of friends is like a dream ;
Youth is like the panicle of a blade of grass,
Whirled on high by each gust of wind."

A contemporary of Hemacandra is Jinadatta Sūri (1075-1154 A.D.), a pupil of Jinavallabha Sūri. He wrote Upadeśarasāyana Rāsa,[1] a didactic poem in the form of a dancing-song in 80 verses, Kālasvarūpakulakam, a didactic poem in 32 rhymed verses in Apabhraṃśa, and a Caccarī (Carcarī),[2] also a kind of dancing-song in praise of his teacher Jinavallabha Sūri, who had had moral sayings engraven on various shrines.

A younger contemporary of Hemacandra and King Kumārapāla is Somaprabha, the author of the Kumārapāla-Pratibodha,[3] a didactic poem and collection of tales,

---

1) Among the devotees of Kṛṣṇa, Rāsas are dancing-songs, in which the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is sung. Among the Jainas, they are ballads, often with a bearing on historical personages, frequently in Old Gujarātī.

2) All three poems are edited with a Sanskrit introduction by Lalchandra Bhagwandas *Gandhi*, Three Apabhraṃśa Works of Jinadatta Sūri with Commentaries, in GOS No. 37, Baroda 1927. In the same volume are published as appendices : a Saṅghapaṭṭaka by Jinavallabha Sūri, a Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka (*cf.* also *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 981 ff.) and a Sugurupāratantrya by Jinadatta, and a hymn written in 1113 A D. by Jinarakṣita, the pupil of Jinadatta, in praise of his teacher. A Gaṇadharasaptati, written for the purpose of exorcising a man possessed by a spirit, is mentioned by *Bhandarkar*, Report 1882 83, p. 48 f. Another Jinadatta, who lived in the first half of the 13th century, wrote an encyclopædia Vivekavilāsa, s. *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 156, 458 ff.

3) Edited by *Munirāja Jinavijaya*, Baroda 1920 (GOS No. 14). *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. 12 f. ; P. D. *Gune* in Proc. I. OC, Poona 1922, p 159 ff., and Ludwig *Alsdorf*, Der Kumārapālapratibodha, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa und der Erzählungslitteratur der Jainas (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien) Hamburg 1923. In the last verse the title is given as Jinadharmapratibodha, in the colophon Kumārapālapratibodha, which is probably to be explained as an abbreviation for Kumārapāla-Jinadharma-pratibodha, " Awakening of the religion of the Jina in Kumārapāla." Hemakumāracaritra also appears to be a title of the same work, s. *Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 1, Note 1.

in verse and prose, for the most part in Prākrit, but also partly in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. According to the statement of the author himself, the work was written in the year 1184 A.D., and consists of five Prastāvas ("Recitals, sermons") by which Hemacandra who is made the speaker, is supposed to have converted King Kumārapāla. Prastāva I deals with the 5 commandments as to conduct: avoidance of killing, of gambling, adultery, fornication, drinking and theft; Pr. II with the worship of gods and teachers, Pr. III with the four duties: generosity, virtue, asceticism and meditation, Pr. IV on the 12 vows of the Jaina layman,[1] and Prastāva V on the four passions (anger, pride, deceit and greed) and various other points of the doctrine. The separate teachings are illustrated by stories, of which there are 54 in all. Most of the stories told here occur in other Jaina works too.[2]

As an example of the vice of gambling the story of Nala is told.[3] The story of King Pradyota of Ujjayinī serves to elucidate the sin of adultery. The story belongs to the cycle of the Udayana legends. It is also told here how Prince Abhaya of Rājagṛha becomes the prisoner of King Pradyota owing to trickery. As a captive he does the king an important service on three occasions, and each time the king grants him a wish with the exception of his liberty. When he rescues the king from his distress the fourth time, and the king again offers to grant him a wish Abhaya says: "Whilst you sit upon the elephant Nalagiri as a driver and I sit on the lap of (your consort) Śivadevī, burn me with the (fire-proof) wood of the chariot Agnibhīru." By demanding such impossibilities, he indicates to the king that he has only the one wish for liberty. The king recognises this and sets him free, whereupon Abhaya takes leave of him with this oath: "If I do not take you prisoner, O King, in broad daylight in the middle of the town amidst loud cries, may I go into the fire." By means of a ruse he does actually take the king prisoner.[4]

---

[1] *Cf.* Mrs. S. *Stevenson*, The Heart of Jainism, p. 205 ff.; *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 202 ff.

[2] See *Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 7 ff.

[3] Pp. 47-76 of the edition.

[4] Pp. 76-83 of the edition, *cf. Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 140 f. and P. D. *Guṇe* in Ann. Bh. Inst. II, 1920, p. 1 ff.

As an instance of the vow of virtue, the story is told of Śīlavatī, the virtuous wife of the rich merchant Ajitasena. She understands the language of the birds and performs all kinds of seemingly absurd actions and gives seemingly absurd answers : it turns out, however, that the apparent absurdities are in reality proofs of great intelligence.[1]

Prastāva V contains two long narratives in Apabhraṃśa. The one is the Jīva-manaḥ-karaṇa-saṃlāpa-Kathā, " The Story of the Conversation between Soul, Mind and Senses." [2] This is an elaborately worked out allegory (105 stanzas), in which King Ātman (Soul), his consort Buddhi (Insight), his minister Manas (Mind) and his five court officials, the Five Senses, appear : Manas and the five Senses carry on a heated debate as to the origin of suffering, whereupon Ātman takes the lead, and in a long speech describes the terrible sufferings of Saṃsāra and extols the happiness of those whose mind is directed towards the Jina, the Munis and pity on all beings, " who avoid the striving after possession, as one avoids robbery, which brings suffering in its wake, kingly power, as a snare or poison, sensual pleasure and a loving woman, as a piece of wood, wealth as a fetter, inclination to adornment as a burden ; who, making no difference between themselves and others, have taken upon themselves the burden of the discipline of the Order." [3]

The second long story in Apabhraṃśa is the story of Sthūlabhadra [4] in 106 verses. Sthūlabhadra is the last successor of Mahāvīra, who still knew the 14 Pūrvas. Stories about him and his enemy, the learned Brahman Vararuci, are already told in the Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan.[5] We also find here the story of the monks, each of whom fulfils another, more difficult vow, whilst Sthūlabhadra takes upon himself and fulfils the vow that he will spend four months in the house of the courtesan Kośā, without violating his vow of chastity. The vain attempts of Kośā to entangle the monk in the bonds of love, are described in accordanee with all the rules of the Kāma-Śāstra. In the end the king gives Kośā to his charioteer as a wife. In order to amuse her, this man performs a remarkable trick: he cuts a mango from the tree with two arrows shot into one another, whereupon Kośā does a still more wonderful trick : she

1) Pp. 220-229 of the edition ; *cf. Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 141 f.

2) Pp. 422-437 of the edition ; *cf. Alsdorf*, l. c., pp. 6, 10 ff., 80 ff., 92 ff.

3) *Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 100.

4) Pp. 443-461 of the edition ; *cf. Alsdorf*, l. c., pp. 6, 19 ff., 100 ff., 113 ff.

5) Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan VIII, 110-193, see above, p. 507 ff.

dances upon the point of a needle which is sticking at the top of a heap of mustard-seeds. Then the charioteer is astonished, but she says that Sthūlabhadra performed a far more marvellous trick, when he lived with her and yet did not violate his vow of chastity.

Somaprabha is a poet well versed in all the arts of the Alaṃkāra-Śāstra: this is evidenced by the extremely artificial hymn to Pārśva in Apabhraṃśa.[1] Another work by Somaprabha which is very artificial and at the same time reveals great Sanskrit erudition, is the Śatārthakāvya written between 1177 and 1179 A.D. This is a single verse in the Vasantatilakā metre, which is explained by the poet himself in 100 different ways.[2]

The same Somaprabha is also the author of the didactic poem Sindūraprakara or Sūktimuktāvalī,[3] written in 1199 A.D., a book of moral sayings very popular among the Jainas.

It is, on the other hand, a later Somaprabha, who wrote the Śṛṅgāravairāgya-Taraṅgiṇī[4] in about 1276 A.D. This is a didactic poem in 46 elaborate stanzas written in the most perfect Kāvya style. In this erotic-ascetic poem, the charms of women and the blandishments of love are described with all the arts of the Kāma-Śāstra, as a warning against them as being an obstacle to peace of mind and release.

---

1) P. 471 f. of the edition; *cf. Alsdorf*, l. c., pp. 45 f., 126 ff.

2) *Munirāja Jinavijaya*, Kumārapāla-Pratibodha, Ed., Introduction, p. vii f.

3) Edited in Km., Part VII, pp. 35-51; translated into Italian by *Pavolini* in SIFI II, 33-72, Firenze 1898 with Introduction by F. L. *Pullée*; *cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, p. 1132 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1882-83, pp. 42, 225 f. *Munirāja Jinavijaya*, l. c., p. vi, who says: "This work is well-known among the Jainas and is repeated by heart by many a man and woman of the Jain community."

4) Edited in Km., Part V, 1888, 124 ff. Trans. into German as "A true Capuchin's Sermon against Women" by R. *Schmidt*, Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien, Berlin 1904, p. 36 ff. According to verse 33 ("he whose thoughts are bent on Śiva, should not even stay in the vicinity of women") and verse 39 ("the city of Śiva" in the sense of "release") it appears to be an originally Śivaite poem, which has been

Śīladūta, "Virtue as a Messenger," [1] by Cāritrasundara, is a very elaborate didactic poem composed on the principle of the completion of verses (samasyāpūraṇa) in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta. In the last verse the poet mentions the date when his poem was completed, which corresponds to the year 1420 A.D.

Anthologies of moral sayings have also been compiled by Jainas. Thus the Gāthā-Kośa by Municandra Sūri [2] (died 1122), a book of Prākrit verses, from which Peterson has culled a few remarkable sayings, *e.g.*:

"Heaven and hell, the atmosphere and the whole earth
Do the wise ones know, —the doings of women they know not."
"The path of the fish in the water, the bird's flight through the air
The wise ones know, —the heart of a woman they know not."

Gāthāsahasrī by Samayasundara,[3] is a more comprehensive anthology of more recent date (1630). All of these "thousand stanzas," partly in Sanskrit, partly in Prākrit, are compiled from earlier works by Haribhadra, Devendra and others. There are also memorial verses among them, the contents of which deal with ecclesiastical history. A saying taken from a work by Devendra is deserving of mention:

"You cannot tread two paths at once,
You cannot sew with a needle with two points;
You cannot enjoy both at the same time:
The pleasure of the senses and release in the Beyond."

---

appropriated by the Jainas. The commentator explains Śiva as a synonym for mukti, "release."

1) Edited in YJG. No. 18, Benares 1909. *Cf.* F. *Belloni-Filippi* in GSAI, 28, 1916, 153 ff.

2) *Peterson*, 3 Reports, 12 ff., 297 ff.

3) *Peterson*, 3 Reports, 3 ff., 284 ff. Samayasundara is also the author of Visaṃvādaśataka, a compilation of a hundred verses which contain discrepancies to be found in the sacred texts (l. c., p. 10).

Bhavavairāgyaśataka,[1] a collection of a hundred verses on the vanity of existence, the inconstancy of all earthly goods, the wretchedness of Saṃsāra, etc., as the sole remedy for which the Jaina religion is recommended, is an anthology of Prākrit verses.[2]

Great is the number of the purely erudite works, some of which are works on the dogmas of the Jaina religion, others on philosophy, and more especially logic. The Jainas play a by no means unimportant part in the history of Indian philosophy. The Upaniṣads taught the eternal existence of the soul, which is the only existing being. Earlier Buddhism taught that there is no independent self, but only a constant becoming and passing away of psychical and physical phenomena, from which Mahāyāna Buddhism developed the doctrine of Śūnyavāda or Nāstivāda, "the doctrine of It-is-not." Midway between these two stand the Jainas, who proclaim the Syādvāda, "the doctrine of It-can-be," saying: "There is something which exists eternally, objects are eternal as matter, but this matter can assume all possible forms and qualities." At an early period the Jainas rendered very great services in the development of logic and atomism, the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Bhadrabāhu taught a syllogism consisting of ten parts already in the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti, and Syādvāda in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga-Niryukti.[3] According to the Āvaśyaka-Sūtra, the Jaina teacher Rohagutta is supposed

---

[1] Edited and translated by L. P. *Tessitori* in GSAI 22, 179-211; 24, 405 ff.

[2] Other anthologies such as the earlier Vajjālagga by Jayavallabha (with Sanskrit Version ed. by J. *Laber* in Bibl. Ind., Fasc. I, 1914, Fasc. II, 1923) and the more modern collection Prākrita-Sūktaratnamālā (Collection of Ancient Prakrit Popular Poems with Sanskrit Equivalents and English Translation) compiled by Puran Chand *Nahar*, Calcutta 1919 (Jaina Vividha Sāhitya Shāstra Mālā No. 11) are of the quite general character, and not specifically Jinistic, though they are compiled by Jainas.

[3] *Cf. Jacobi* in Transactions of the Third Congress for the History of Religion, Oxford 1908, II, p. 53 ff.; S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 164 ff.; H. *Ui*, Vaiśeṣika Philosophy (OTF), London 1917, p. 83. S. *Dasgupta*, History of Indian Philosophy I, Cambridge 1922, p. 173 ff.

to have occasioned a schism in the year 18 A. D. and founded the Vaiśeṣika.[1]

The earliest Digambara author who is also cited with esteem by the Śvetāmbaras, is Kundakunda, who wrote only in Prākrit. Of the 83 treatises (pāhuda, prābhṛta) which he is said to have written, only seven are known. Pañcatthiyasāra (Pañcāstikāyasāra)[2] or Pavayaṇasāra Pañcatthiyasaṃgaha (Pravacanasāra Pañcāstikāyasaṃgraha)[3] consists of two parts, which are really independent works.[4] The first and longer section contains the doctrine of the 5 Astikāyas or groups of existence: souls (Jīva), non-souls (pudgala), principles of rest and motion (dharma and adharma) and space (ākāśa). The second section treats of the path to release. This work, together with Pavayanasāra, and Samayasāra, forms a "trilogy" (Prābhṛtatraya or Nāṭakatraya). Pavayaṇasāra (Pravacanasāra)[5] in Prākrit Gāthās, is a much prized book on Jinistic dogmatics, psychology and ethics. On Samayasāra (Kernel or Essence of the Doctrine")[6] in 414 Prākrit stanzas, there are Sanskrit commentaries by Prabhācandra, the pupil of Akalaṅka, and Amṛtacandra, who commented on the principal works of Akalaṅka in about 904 A.D. Niyamasāra[7] is a

---

1) *Cf. Weber*, Ind. Stud. 17, 121 ff.; *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 14, p. xxxvii; *Ui*, l. c., p. 35 ff.

2) The Building of the Cosmos or Pañchâstikâya Sâra (The five Cosmic Constituents) by Svami Sri Kundakundacharya ed. with Philosophical and Historical Introduction, Translation, Notes and an Original Commentary in English by A. *Chakravartinayanar*, Arrah 1920 (SBJ, Vol. III). Text also edited by *Pavolini* in GSAI 14, 1901, pp. 1-40 and in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1904.

3) The title of the work is given thus in the colophons.

4) Each of the two parts has an introductory formula and a conclusion of its own.

5) More recent editions have appeared in India. *Cf. Bhandarkar*, Report 1883 84, pp. 91 ff., 379 ff.

6) Edited with a Sanskrit commentary in SJG No. 3, Benares 1914. *Cf. Peterson*, Report II, p. 161 ff., and *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. 702; on Amṛtacandra Sūri s. *Peterson*, Report IV, p. ix.

7) *Cf. Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 102 f.

work on the discipline to which the seeker after salvation must submit himself. To Kundakunda is also ascribed Chappāhuḍa (Ṣaṭprābhṛta),[1] six chapters on the Jaina doctrine, but this work contains views which differ from the views of the teacher known from his other works. The author calls himself "pupil of Bhadrabāhu," which may mean Bhadrabāhu II, who lived in the 1st century A.D., so that the author may nevertheless have been a contemporary of Kundakunda.

It was probably in one of the early centuries of the Christian era that Vaṭṭakera wrote his Prākrit works Mūlācāra and Trivarṇācāra on the moral conduct of a pious Jaina. There is a commentary Ācāravṛtti on the Mūlācāra, written by Vasunandin, who observes by way of introduction that Vaṭṭakera intended to give in his work a brief summary of the Āyāraṅga for his pupils.[2]

Kārttikeya Svāmin, whose Kattigeyāṇupekkhā (Kārttikeyānuprekṣā)[3] enjoys a great reputation among the Jainas, probably also belongs to this earlier period. This work treats in 12 chapters of the 12 Anuprekṣās or meditations, to which both monk and layman must devote themselves, in order to emancipate themselves little by little from Karman.[4] These are reflections on the transitoriness of all

---

[1] Edited with a Hindī commentary by *Bābū* Sūrajbhān *Vakīl*, Benares 1910. Commentary on it by Amṛtacandra Sūri and by Śrutasāgara. *Cf. Peterson*, Report II, pp. 80 ff., 158 ff., and W. *Denecke* in Festgabe Jacobi, p. 163 f.

[2] Mūlācāra with Vasunandin's commentary edited in MDJG Nos. 19 and 23. In one manuscript Mūlācāra is ascribed to Kundakunda. *Cf. Peterson*, Report II, pp. 74 ff., 134 ff.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xiv f. and *Denecke*, l. c., p. 162. Vasunandin quotes Amitagati and is quoted by Āśādhara, and must therefore have lived between the 10th and 13th centuries.

[3] Printed with a Hindī commentary in Bombay 1904. *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. 142 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 113 ff., 398 ff. (where the text of Chapter XII is given); *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xiv.

[4] *Cf.* Mrs. S. *Stevenson*, The Heart of Jainism, p. 156 ff.; *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, p. 206 f.

things, the helplessness of all beings, the sufferings of the beings in the cycle of rebirths, the soul which goes on this journey alone and can only be released alone, the difference of everything else (body, friends, relatives and possessions) from the soul, the impurity of the body, the influx (āsrava) of Karman and the means whereby one can stem this influx, the annihilation of Karman and the purification of the soul by mortifications, the countless uncreated worlds, the precious treasure of illumination, which is difficult of attainment, and lastly the duties of laymen and monks, which are set forth in Chapter 12.

The Digambara U m ā s v ā m i n, who is called U m ā s v ā t i by the Śvetāmbaras[1] and described as a pupil of Ghoṣanandi Kṣamāśramaṇa, was, according to tradition, a pupil of Kundakunda. The Digambaras also give him the epithet Gṛdhrapiccha, "Vulture's feather," which Kundakunda had too, and the title "Reciter" (Vācakaśramaṇa or Vācakācārya). According to the Digambara-Paṭṭāvalīs he lived from about 135 to 219 A.D., whilst the statements of the Śvetāmbaras not only contradict those of the Digambaras, but even contradict one another.[2] In any case he is earlier than Siddhasena Divākara, who wrote a commentary on the principal work of Umāsvāti. He is said to have written no less than 500 books, but his most famous work, which he wrote in Pāṭaliputra, is the T a t t v ā r t h ā d h i g a m a-S ū t r a,[3] "the Manual for the Understanding of the True Nature of

---

1) He is said to be called so because his mother was called Umā Vātsī and his father Svāti.

2) *Cf. Klatt*, Jaina-Onomasticon, p. 4 f.; *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 328 f.; Report IV, p. xvi f.; *Jacobi* in ZDMG 60, 1906, 288 f.; *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 168 ff.; L. *Suali*, Introductione alla Studio della Filosofia Indiana, Pavia 1913, p. 36 ff.; J. L. *Jaini* in SBJ II, p. vii; *Farquhar*, Outline, p. 164 f. Neither are the statements of the Digambaras free from ambiguity. J. H. *Woods*, The Yoga-System of Patanjali (HOS Vol. 17), p. xix, makes it appear probable that Umāsvāti quotes from the Yoga-Sūtra.

3) Edited with the Commentary, by *Vakil* Keshavlal Premchand *Mody* in Bibl. Ind. 1903-1905, together with a few minor works of Umāsvāti in the appendices; with a

Things," a Sanskrit manual, which is recognised as an authority by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, and even at the present day is read by all Jainas in private houses and temples. By reading this book once through one is said to acquire just as much religious merit as by fasting for one day. The logic, psychology, cosmography, ontology [1] and ethics of the Jainas, are treated in these Sūtras and in the Commentary appended by the author himself, in the closest possible agreement with the Canon, more especially with Aṅga VI and Pūrva II. Even to-day it may still serve as an excellent summary of Jaina dogmatics. It is true that the Commentary, which expresses views that are not in harmony with those of the Digambaras, is not recognised by this sect as the work of Umāsvāmin. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Digambaras are justified in claiming him as one of their own. He probably belongs to a period at which there was not yet so wide a gulf between the two sects as was the case later. The large number of commentaries which have been written on this work by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, bear witness to its significance and great popularity; these include commentaries by such notable teachers as Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra and Haribhadra. The last-named also wrote a commentary on Śrāvakaprajñapti,[2] a systematic treatise of the Jaina religion for lay adherents, in Prākrit. Praśamarati-Prakaraṇa,[3] "Treatise on the Joys of Peace of

commentary in Hindī, also in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1906; with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Commentary in English by J. L. *Jaini*, Arrah 1920, SBJ, Vol. 2; Text of the Sūtras also in *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 405 ff.; and in DJGK I; translated into German and explained by H. *Jacobi* in ZDMG 60, 1906, 287 ff., 512 ff.; *cf.* *Peterson*, Report II, 78 ff., 156 ff.

[1] On the classification of the animals according to Tattvārthādhigama, *cf.* B. N *Seal* in the Appendix to B. K. *Sarkar*, The Primitive Background of Hindu Sociology, Allahabad 1914, p. 323 ff.

[2] Ed. by B. K. Premchand (*Mody*), Bombay 1905.

[3] Edited in the Appendix to the Edition of Tattvārthādhigama, Bibl. Ind.; also in Amadavada, Saṃvat 1960; with Ṭīkā and Avacūrī, Bhavnagar, Saṃvat 1966; edited

the Soul," is a religious-philosophical work, also possessing literary merit.

Like Umāsvāti, Siddhasena Divākara, too, is regarded by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras as one of their own. He wrote a commentary on the Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra,[1] and is said to have written 32 different works on logic, 21 of which are known.[2] His Nyāyāvatāra,[3] which treats of the means of acquiring knowledge (pramāṇa) and of methods (naya) in 32 Sanskrit verses, is a fundamental Jaina work on logic. It forms a part of the Dvātriṃśad-Dvātriṃśikā.[4] The Sammatitarka-Sūtra[5] is a general work on philosophy, which also deals with logic.

A commentary on Umāsvāti's work, entitled Sarvārthasiddhi,[6] was also written by Pūjyapāda Devanandin.

In the first half of the 8th century A.D. lived the Digambara Samantabhadra,[7] who again wrote a commentary

---

with Commentary and translated into Italian by A. *Ballini* in GSAI, 25, 1912, 117 ff.; 29, 1918-20, 61 ff.

1) Tattvānusāriṇī Tattvārthaṭīkā was printed in Ahmedabad. Siddhasena Gaṇin, who also wrote a Tattvārthaṭīkā, quotes Siddhasena Divākara. *Cf.* *Peterson*, 3 Reports, Extracts p. 83 ff.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xii ff. Distinct from these two is Siddhasena Sūri, who in 1185 A.D. wrote a commentary on Nemicandra's Pravacanasāroddhāra; *cf.* *Weber* HSS. Verz. II, 3, 850; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. cxxx ff.

2) Ekaviṃśatidvātriṃśikā, Nyāyāvatāra and Sammatisūtra were published in Siddhasena-Divākara-Kṛta-Granthamālā, Bhavnagar 1909: Sammatitarka-Prakaraṇa with commentary by Abhayadeva is published in YJG No. 13, Benares 1919. Abhayadeva's exhaustive commentary has also been published in Gujarātapurātattvamandira-Granthāvalī 10, 16, 18, 19, Ahmedabad, 1923-1928.

3) Edited with Commentary and an English translation by Satis Chandra *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1909.

4) *Cf.* S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 174 ff.

5) Edited with Abhayadeva's commentary Tattvabodhinī in YJG, No. 13; with Tattvārthavidhāyinī in the Arhatamata-Prabhākara Series, Poona 1926.

6) Edited in Kolhapur 1904, s. *Jacobi* in ZDMG 60, 290.

7) Thus according to K. B. *Pathak* in Ann. Bh. Inst. XI, 1930, 149 ff., who proves that Samantabhadra lived after Dharmakīrti and before Kumārila. S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 182 f., states his period as 600 A.D. According to a Vaṃśāvalī he is supposed to have lived in 419 A.D.; s. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. x ff. On Samantabhadra's

on Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra. The introduction to this commentary is entitled Devāgama-Stotra or Āptamīmaṃsā,[1] in which the Jinistic philosophy of Syādvāda is explained. The work was known to the philosophers Kumārila and Vācaspatimiśra. Another philosophical work by Samantabhadra is Yuktyanuśāsana.[2] Ratnakāraṇḍaśrāvakācāra,[3] also called Upāsakādhyayana, is a manual of morals for the lay adherent, in 150 Sanskrit verses.

Not far removed from Samantabhadra in point of time is Akalaṅka,[4] or Akalaṅkadeva, who wrote Tattvārtharājavārttika,[5] a commentary on the Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra, and Aṣṭaśatī, a commentary on Samantabhadra's Āptamīmāṃsā. He is also the author of works on logic, Nyāyaviniścaya, Laghīyastraya and Svarūpasambhodhana.[6] A treatise on expiatory rites, Prāyaścittagrantha (or Prāyaścittavidhi) is also ascribed to him.[7] His views are opposed by Kumārila, the great philosopher of Brahmanical orthodoxy, whilst Vidyānanda Pātrakesarin[8] and Prabhācandra defend Akalaṅka against Kumārila. Vidyānanda wrote Aṣṭasahasrī,[9] a commentary

---

life, character, and time, see Pandit Jugala Kiśora *Mukhtara* in MDJG No 24, 1925. Samantabhadra is also called, " Kavi " and is the author of a Svayambhū-Stotra, s. above, p. 552.

1) Edition in Jaina Grantha Ratnākara and in SJG Vol. 1, Bombay 1905 ; in SJG 10, Benares 1914, and in DJGK I. On the contents of the work, cf. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, l.c., p. 184 f.

2) Edited in SJG Vol. 1 ; MDJG No. 15 ; and in DJGK I.

3) Text with English translation (after the Hindī translation) by Champat Rai *Jain*, The Householder's Dharma, Arrah 1917 ; text only in DJGK I ; text with commentary by Prabhācandra in MDJG No. 24.

4) *Cf. Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxvi ff.

5) Edited in SJG 4, Benares 1915.

6) Laghīyastraya and Svarūpasambodhana are edited in MDJG No. 1.

7) Edited together with three other treatises on Prāyaścittas in MDJG No. 18 (Prāyaścitta-Saṃgraha). But it is doubtful whether Akalaṅka is really the author of this treatise ; s. *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxvi.

8) *Cf. Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxviii f.

9) Edited in Gāndhīnāthārańga-Jaina-Granthamālā, Bombay 1915.

on Aṣṭaśatī, also Tattvārthaślokavārttika,[1] a commentary on Umāsvāmin's work, Āptaparīkṣā and Patraparīkṣā,[2] Pramāṇanirṇaya and Pramāṇaparīkṣā.[3] Based upon Akalaṅka's Nyāyaviniścaya there is a work on logic, the Parīkṣāmukha-Sūtra,[4] by Māṇikyanandin;[5] and Prabhācandra, who calls himself a pupil of Padmanandin (*i.e.*, Kundakunda), wrote a commentary on the last-named work: this commentary is entitled Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, and is a well-known work on logic. The same author also wrote another work on logic, Nyāyakumudacandrodaya. It has been believed hitherto that this is the same Prabhācandra who was a pupil of Akalaṅka in the 8th century. According to the epilogue (praśasti) of the first work, however, this work was written in Dhārā in the reign of King Bhoja (1019-1060 A.D.),[6] One Prabhācandra wrote commentaries on the Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra by Umāsvāmin, the Samayasāra by Kundakunda, Pūjyapāda's Samādhiśataka and on Samantabhadra's Ratnakāraṇḍa and Svayambhū-Stotra.[7]

---

1) Edited in Gāndhīnāthāraṅga-Jaina-Granthamālā, Bombay 1918.

2) Edited in SJG 1,2, Benares 1913; Āptaparīkṣā also in DJGK I.

3) Edited in SJG 10, 1914.

4) Edited in SJG I, Bombay 1905; also in DJGK I. *Cf.* S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, History of Indian Logic, p. 188 ff.

5) According to a Digambara Paṭṭāvalī (*Hoernle* in Ind. Ant. 20, 1891, p. 352) Māṇikyanandin lived in 528 A.D. *Cf.* also *Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxviii. A later Māṇikyanandin was the teacher of Meghacandra, who died in 1163 A.D., s. Lewis *Rice*, Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XII, p. 134.

6) Thus according to A. *Venkatasubbiah* in JBRAS, N.S., 3, 1927, p. 144 ff. But according to K. B. *Pathak* in OC IX, London 1892, I, 213 (s. above, p. 478 and note 4) Jinasena mentions Akalaṅka in the Ādi-Purāṇa (838 A.D.) and speaks of Prabhācandra as the author of Candrodaya. In the introduction to Nyāyakumuda-Candrodaya, Prabhācandra says that he is the pupil of Akalaṅka and that he also wrote Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa. According to this, Prabhācandra would have to have lived at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. As the works themselves are not accessible to me, I am not in a position to settle the question.

7) Neither can I decide to which Prabhācandra these commentaries should be

At the close of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century the Digambara Śubhacandra wrote a philosophical treatise in Sanskrit verses, entitled Jñānārṇava, "The Ocean of Knowledge" or Yogapradīpādhikāra.[1]

Among the Śvetāmbaras we must mention the famous Haribhadra, who wrote a large number of works both on general philosophy and the Jaina doctrine. In the former category there is Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, "A summary of the Six Philosophical Systems."[2] Haribhadra here deals with the systems of Buddhism, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika and Jaimini, in a short appendix also with the materialism of Cārvāka, and only one short section, the fourth, is devoted to Jinistic metaphysics. Lokatattvanirṇaya ("Investigation of the True Nature of the World),"[3] a philosophical text in Sanskrit verses, is also not an exclusively Jinistic text. In fact Haribhadra goes to the length of saying that Lord Mahāvīra is not his friend and the others are not his foes; that he is not biassed in favour of Mahāvīra and feels no hatred for Kapila and the other philosophers, but that he is desirous of accepting whosesoever doctrine is the true one.[4] He also proved his unbiassedness by writing a commentary on the Nyāyapraveśa of the Buddhist Dignāga.[5] On the other hand, other works such as

---

ascribed, or the short treatise Arhatpravacana, printed in MDJG Nr. 21, p. 114. ff. Jaina authors named Prabhācandra lived in the 12th, 13th and 16th centuries too. *Cf. Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. xxviii, 625 f., 629, 648, 671, 702, 704, 714. See above, p. 478 note 4.

[1]) Edited in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1907. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz., II, 3, 907 ff.; *Guérinot* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, 373 ff.

[2]) Edited by F. L. *Pullée* in GSAI 1, 47 ff.; 8, 159 ff.; 9, 1 ff.; edited with Guṇaratna's (or Guṇākara Sūri's) Commentary, by L. *Suali* in Bibl. Ind. 1905 ff.; edited tegether with Aṣṭaka-Prakaraṇa and with works of Yaśovijaya and Rājaśekhara, Surat 1918; also edited with Guṇaratna's Commentary in Jaina-Ātmānanda-Granthamālā 49, Bhavnagar, V. S. 2444 (1917).

[3]) Edited and translated into Italian by L. *Suali* in GSAI Vol. 18, 263 ff. Text also edited, Bhavnagar 1902.

[4]) *Cf. La Vallée Poussin*, JA 1911, s. 10, t. XVII, 323 ff.

[5]) See N. D. *Mironov* in Festgabe Garbe, p. 37 ff.

Yogabindu,[1] Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya,[2] Dharmabindu, etc., contain presentations of the Jaina doctrine. Dharmabindu[3] is a manual of practical morals and asceticism in three sections, the first of which treats of the duties of the layman, the second of the rules for the monks, and the third of the bliss of the saint in Nirvāṇa. The author here uses the Sūtra style in the manner of the Brahmanical Dharma-Sūtras. He availed himself of Umāsvāti's works.[4]

In about 904 A. D. Amṛtacandra[5] wrote the works Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya or Jinapravacanarahasyakośa[6] in 226 Sanskrit verses, Tattvārthasāra,[7] Tattvadīpikā and commentaries on Kundakunda's works. In the year 933 A. D. Devasena, who was born in 891 A. D., wrote a manual of the Digambara faith entitled Darśanasāra,[8] and in the same year a Śrāvakācāra, a manual of rules of life for the layman.[9] He is also the author of an

---

1) Ed. with Comm. by L. *Suali*, Bhavnagar 1911.

2) Edited by L. *Suali* in JPU 12, Bombay 1912,

3) Edited and translated into Italian by L. *Suali* in GSAI, Vol. 21, 223 ff.; edited together with Municandra's Commentary by the same scholar in Bibl. Ind. 1912 (fasc. 1, Adhy. 1, 2); edited with Municandra's Commentary and detailed Indices, in AUS, Ahmedabad 1924. The title "Drop of the Religion" is an expression of modesty: As the drop of water is to the ocean, so is this work to the religion of the Jina. An abridgment of Haribhadra's Muṇivaicariya is Munipaticaritrasāroddhāra: s. F. *Belloni-Filippi* in GSAI, Vol. 25, 137 ff., 26, 163 ff.

4) *Jacobi* in AR 18, 1915, 277 f. mentions also the following works of Haribhadra; Anekāntajayapatākā with the author's commentary printed in YJG, Ahmedabad; Śāstravārttāsamuccaya (together with Saḍdarśanasamuccaya and Aṣṭakāni in one vol.), Bhavnagar 1908; Aṣṭaka-Prakaraṇa with Abhayadeva's Aṣṭakavṛtti published in Ahmedabad; Upadeśapada, Part I, Palitana 1909; Ṣoḍaśa-Prakaraṇa with Commentary, Bombay 1911.

5) *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. ix.

6) Edited in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1905, and in SJG, Vol. 1, Bombay 1905.

7) Edited in SJG Vol. 1; also in DJGK I, where we find also a philosophical poem Nāṭakasamayasārakalaśāḥ by Amṛtacandra.

8) Edited by Nathuram *Premi*, Bombay 1920, *cf. Peterson*, 3 Reports, pp. 22 ff., 374 ff.

9) *Cf. Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xlvii f.

Ārādhanasāra, "Essence of Worship,"[1] and of a Tattvasāra.[2] All these books are written in Prākrit verses, Śrāvakācāra being in the Dohā metre which is otherwise not used in scientific works. The Ālāpapaddhati is a short manual of Jaina dogmatics in Sanskrit verses with commentary.[3]

Cāmuṇḍarāya, who won great fame by his warlike deeds as the minister and general of the Gaṅga princes Mārasiṃha II (died 974 A. D.) and Rācamalla or Rājamalla II (974-984 A. D.), but devoted himself to pious works in his later years, erected the famous colossal statue of Gommaṭa[4] in Śravaṇa Belgola (Mysore) in about 980 A. D., and wrote the Cāmuṇḍarāya-Purāṇa in the Kanarese language[5] in the year 978 A. D., mentions Ajitasena and Nemicandra as his teachers. The last named, who must thus have lived at the close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, has the epithet of Siddhānta-Cakravartin, *i.e.*, "He who like a ruler of the world, has a mastery over the totality of the sacred writings," and is a very erudite Digambara writer, who deals with the whole system of the Jaina religion in his works. He mentions Abhayanandin, Indranandin, Vīranandin[6] and Kanakanandin as his teachers. Davvasaṃgaha (Dravyasaṃgraha), "Compendium of Substances,"[7] in 58 Prākrit

---

[1]) Edited with Commentary in MDJG, No. 6, Bombay, Vik. S. 1973 (1916).

[2]) Edited in MDJG No. 13, p. 145 ff.

[3]) Printed in DJGK I.

[4]) Gommaṭa or Bāhubali, the son of the first Jina Ṛṣabha, is highly honoured especially by the Digambaras.

[5]) *Cf.* S. Ch. *Ghoshal* in SBJ, Vol. I, Introduction, and A. *Venkatasubbiah* in Ind Hist. Qu. VI, 1930, 290 f.

[6]) Vādirāja, author of the Pārśvanātha-Kâvya, mentions Vīranandin as a celebrated author; s. A. *Venkatasubbiah* in Ind. Hist. Qu. VI, p. 294.

[7]) With a Commentary by Brahmadeva, edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes and an original Commentary in English, by Sarat Chandra *Ghoshal*, Arrah 1917, SBJ, Vol. I. Bṛhat-Dravyasaṃgraha, edited in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1906-07; Laghu-Dravyasaṃgraha is an abridgment made by the author himself; s. *Guérinot* in JA 1912, s. 10, t. XIX, p. 377 f.

verses, deals not only with the substances, the living (jīva) and the lifeless (ajīva), but also with release, its causes and conditions, morals and the importance of meditation. Gommaṭasāra[1] is a bulky work, in which the author explains the essence (sāra) of the Jaina doctrine for Gommaṭarāya,[2] *i.e.*, Cāmuṇḍarāya. The work, which has the title Pañcasaṃgraha[3] also, consists of two parts, the Jīva-Kāṇḍa in 784 and the Karma-Kāṇḍa in 972 Prākrit verses. The Jīva-kāṇḍa deals with the Jīvas, the "souls," their classification, their origin and nature. It is a kind of natural history of the living beings and this word is to be taken in the comprehensive Jinistic sense.[4] On the whole it is nothing but dry-as-dust, purely scientific enumerations, descriptions and calculations. Only rarely do we light upon a simile, such as in Verse 202 : " As a bearer of burdens bears a burden in a shoulder-pannier, thus the soul bears the burden of Karman, for which the body serves as the shoulder-pannier." There is scarcely any detail in the religion and philosophy of Jinism which does not find a place in the Jīva-Kāṇḍa. Chapter IX deals with the activity of the soul in connection with thought, speech and action, and the origin of Karman, various kinds of speech and the ten kinds of truth (Verse 222). Chapter XI deals with the denizens of hell, which have their origin in sin, with the passions, etc. Chapter XII deals with knowledge, and the various types of knowledge. Space is also here devoted to the knowledge which is acquired by the reading of the sacred scriptures, and a survey of the

---

1) Edited in 4 vols. in Gāndhī-Harībhaī-Devakaraṇa-Jaina-Granthamālā No. 4 with the Sanskrit Commentaries by Abhayacandra (on Jiva Kāṇḍa) and Keśavavarṇin (on Karma-Kāṇḍa) and a Commentary in Hindī, Calcutta ; also with Introduction, translation in Sanskrit and English and with a Commentary in English by J. L. *Jaini* in SBJ, Vols. V and VI, Lucknow 1927. Karma-Kāṇḍa edited in Rāyacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Bombay 1928 ; *cf. Hiralal*, Catalogue, p. xxxiv ff.

2) So called because he erected the Gommaṭa statue.

3) " Compendium of the 5 Things," namely binding (bandha) of the soul to the Karman, that which is bound, that which binds, the cause of the binding, and the kinds of binding.

4) *Cf.* Mrs. *Stevenson*, Heart of Jainism, p. 94 ff. ; *Glasenapp*, Jainismus, p. 252 f.

sacred texts (Aṅgas, Pūrvas, etc.) is given. The Karma-Kāṇḍa treats of the nature of Karma and its relationship to the soul. Cāmuṇḍarāya himself wrote a commentary on the work in the Kanarese language.

The works Labdhisāra, "The Essence of Attainment" (of the things which lead to perfection) and Kṣapaṇāsāra, "The Essence of Annihilation" (of the Kaṣāyas or sinful passions: anger, pride, falseness and greed.),[1] which are connected with each other, form a sequel to Gommaṭasāra. Trilokasāra,[2] "The Essence of the Three Worlds," is a complete cosmology. Nemicandra is also said to have written a work Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha on the erection and consecration of statues.[3]

It is not Cāmuṇḍarāya, the pupil of Ajitasena and Nemicandra, but a certain Cāmuṇḍa-Mahārāja,[4] the pupil of Jinasena, who wrote Cāritrasāra,[5] a manual of morals and the path of salvation according to the faith of the Digambaras.

Vardhamāna Sūri[6] is the author of Ācāradinakara,[7] a work on the daily life of the Jaina with all details.

---

1) The two works are edited together, with Sanskrit and Hindī Commentaries, in Gāndhī-Harībhaī-Devakaraṇa-Jaina-Granthamālā, No. 5, Calcutta.

2) *Cf.* Rajendralala *Mitra*, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. 6, 1882, p. 97 ff.; S. Ch. *Ghoshal* in SBJ, Vol. I, p. xlii, f. The edition by Pandit Manohara Lala *Śāstrī* mentioned by A. *Venkatasubbiah* (Ind. Hist. Qu. VI, 1930, p. 298) is not accessible to me.

3) *Ghoshal*, l. c., p. xliii f.

4) It is true that both have the epithet Raṇaraṅgasiṃha, "Lion on the stage of battle." Hence both of them must have been generals. However, there were three political personages named Cāmuṇḍarāya in the 11th century, who are distinct from the founder of the Gommaṭa statue; s. A. *Venkatasubbiah* in Ind. Hist. Qu. VI, 1930, pp. 296 ff., 299 note 1.

) Edited with explanation in Hindī, by *Lālā Rāmajī* in SJG 20 (Gāndhī-Haribhaī-Devakaraṇa-Jaina-Granthamālā 6), Calcutta.

6) The same who, according to the Kharatara-Gaccha-Paṭṭāvalī, died the voluntary death by starvation in Saṃvat 1088 (1031 A. D.) ? (*Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, 248.)

7) According to this work (edited several times in India) *Glasenapp* (Der Jainismus, p. 408 ff.) describes the rites of the daily life of the Jainas.

In the year 1015 A. D. Jinacandra Gaṇin, who later called himself Devagupta, wrote a Navapaya (Navapada-Prakaraṇa) in Prākrit with a Sanskrit commentary. He is also the author of a Navatattva-Prakaraṇa,[1] a treatise on the nine Tattvas or fundamental truths : souls (jīva), the lifeless (ajīva), merit (puṇya), sin (pāpa), influx (āsrava) of the Karman into the soul, warding off (saṃvara) this influx, binding (bandha) of the Karman, the gradual vanishing away (nirjarā) of the Karman and release (mokṣa).[2] The work consists of only 14 Prākrit Gāthās, on which Abhayadeva wrote a commentary in about 1063 A. D. and Yaśodeva between 1108 and 1117 A. D. It is perhaps only one of the recensions of the semi-canonical work Nava Tatta[3] on the nine fundamental truths.

Another semi-canonical work is Jīvaviyāra (Jīva-vicāra),[4] "Investigation as to the Living Beings," in 51 Āryā verses by Śānti Sūri (died, 1039 A. D.). In this work the beings are classified into such as are in the state of release, and such as are still in the cycle of rebirths : the latter are again classified into lifeless and living, these being

---

1) Edited with the two Commentaries in Ātmānanda-Grantha-Ratnamālā, No. 10, Bhavnagar 1912. *Cf. Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 16, App. 280 ff.; Report IV, p. xxxiv.

2) *Cf.* Mrs. *Stevenson*, Heart of Jainism, p. 94 ff., 299 ff. Sometimes only 7 Tattvas are enumerated, *i.e.* puṇya and pāpa, being contained in āsrava and bandha, are not counted separately; *Cf. Jacobi* in ZDMG 60, 1906, p. 293.

3) The author and the date of this work, of which there are recensions of 30, 50 and 60 Prākrit stanzas, are not known. An extended recension names Maṇiratna as the author. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz., II, 3, 841 f.; *Guérinot*, La religion Djaina, p. 85 f. The Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tatva, two works illustrative of the Jaina Religion and Philosophy, translated from the Māgadhī by J. *Stevenson*, London 1848. Neither this book nor the texts printed in Ahmedabad in 1871 and in Bombay in 1905 were accessible to me. The relationship of these texts to one another and to Devagupta's work should be investigated.

4) Edited and translated into French by A. *Guérinot* in JA, 1902, s. 9, t. XIX, pp. 231 ff. Edited with Pāṭhaka Ratnākara's Commentary by the Yaśovijaya-Jaina-Saṃskṛita-Pāṭhaśālā, Ahmedabad 1915. A commentary by Kṣamākalyāṇa is mentioned by *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., p. 377.

in their turn subdivided into denizens of hell, animals, human beings and gods. The work is therefore at one and the same time a treatise on Theology, Zoology, Botany, Anthropology and Mythology.

Maladhāri Hemacandra Sūri, the pupil of Abhayadeva, wrote a Jīvasamāsa[1] in the year 1107 A.D. and a Bhavabhāvanā[2] in 531 Prākrit Gāthās in the year 1113 A. D. He is also the author of commentaries on the Anuyogadvārā-Sūtra,[3] Haribhadra's Āvaśyakavṛtti,[4] and on Jinabhadra's commentry on the Āvaśyaka-Sūtra.[5]

The great Hemacandra is the author of a philosophical work Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā, "Examination of the Means of Proof."[6] Mahesara Sūri, who calls himself a pupil of Hemahaṃsa Sūri, and who wrote Sañjamamañjarī,[7] a work on ethics, in Apabhraṃśa, is possibly a contemporary of Hemacandra, at all events earlier than 1309 A. D. The work consists of only 35 Dohā verses, but is furnished with an exhaustive commentary containing a great mass of quotations from Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa works which make it valuable. The work teaches self-control (sañjama, Skr. saṃyama) as the only "gate to release." Another Apabhraṃśa poem in 77 Dohā verses is Vairāgyasāra[8] by Suprabhācārya.

---

[1] *Cf. Peterson*, Report 1882-83, App., p. 63.

[2] With an (anonymous) commentary in Sanskrit, s. *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 155 f.; *Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 855 ff.

[3] Edited with the text, Bombay 1924.

[4] Edited in JPU 53, Bombay 1920.

[5] *Cf. Bühler*, Leben des Hemachandra, p. 74 f.; *Peterson*, Report IV, . cxl f.

[6] Edited with the author's own commentary, in Ārhata-Mata-Prabhākara, No. 1, Poona 1925.

[7] Text with translation into Sanskrit by P. D. *Gune* in Ann. Bh. Inst. I. 1919-21, p. 157 ff. Mahesara Sūri is also the author of a Kālakācārya-Kathānaka, of which there is a manuscript written in the year 1309.

[8] Discovered and edited by H. D. *Velankar* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 9, 1928, p. 272 ff.

Syādvādamañjarī,[1] which was written in the year 1292 A.D. by Malliṣeṇa, is a commentary on the 32 verses of Hemacandra's Anyayogavyavacchedikā, but is at the same time an independent philosophical work which frequently levels criticism at other systems, for instance the Śūnyavāda of the Buddhists. When Malliṣeṇa completed the work, he had, as he himself tells us, the collaboration of Jinaprabha Sūri.

In the first half of the 13th century, Āśādhara, who is highly esteemed both as a poet and a scholar, wrote a number of Stotras, one narrative work and several learned works. According to the very detailed panegyric (praśasti) at the end of his Dharmāmṛta, he was friend of King Arjunadeva of Mālava. The sage Udayasena said of him: "Great is Āśādhara, the swan on the lotus of the Vyāghreravāla family, the son of Sallakṣaṇa, and the Kālidāsa of the Kali age of the world," and the poet-prince Vilhaṇa,[2] the war and peace minister of Vijayavarman, King of the Vindhyas, said of him: "Noble Āśādhara! Know that, as a son of Sarasvatī you are naturally my brother and friend." The principal work of Āśādhara is Dharmāmṛta, "Nectar of the religion,"[3]

Another author who wrote learned works in Apabhraṃśa (Yogasāra, Paramātmaprakāśa, Śrāvakācāra Dohaka and Dohāpāhuda) is Joïndu (Yogīndra), who wrote before Hemacandra; s. A. N. *Upadhye* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, 132 ff. Yogasāra is published in MDJG No. 21, p. 55 ff. (with Sanskrit translation).

1) Edited in Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series, No. 9, fasc. 32, 33, Benares 1900 and in YJG No. 30, Benares, Vīra S. 2438 (1911) and in Ārhata-Mata-Prabhākara No. 3, Vīra S. 2452 (1925). The chapter which contains a criticism of the proofs of the existence of God, translated into German by H. *Jacobi*, Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern, Bonn 1923, p. 102 ff. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 940 ff.; *Peterson*, Report IV, p. lxxxix; *Barth*, RHR 45, 1902, p. 173 = Oeuvres II, 376.

2) This Vilhaṇa, who is also mentioned in inscriptions of the kings of Mālava, has, of course, no connection with the Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa, who lived from about 1070 till 1090. *Cf. Kielhorn* in Ep. Ind. 9, 1908, 107 f.

3) There appears to be no edition of the work, but manuscripts are existent. See for this and other works of Āśādhara, *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 103 ff., 390 ff.; *Hiralal*, Catalogue, pp. XXXVI, 644, 669, 682, 706 (Sarasvatī-Stotra), 709 (Siddhacakra-Stotra). A Triṣaṣṭi-Smṛiti contains stories of 63 great men according to the Jaina-Purāṇas.

which, in two parts, Sāgāra and Anāgāra-Dharmāmṛta, treats of the duties of the layman living in the house and of the homeless ascetic. He himself wrote a commentary on his work in the year 1243 A.D.[1]

Devendra Sūri,[2] a pupil of Jagaccandra, wrote probably at the period of Vastupāla, minister of king Vīra Dhavala of Gujarat (died 1241 A.D.) and of his brother Tejaḥpāla (died 1251 A.D.) a Vandāru-Vṛtti, a commentary on the Śrāddhapratikramaṇa-Sūtra.[3] He is also the author of a Siddhapañcāśikā,[4] an extract from the Diṭṭhivāya in 50 stanzas, and in the year 1241 A.D. he wrote Upamitibhavaprapañcā - Kathā-Sārod-dhāra,[5] an extract from Siddharṣi's famous poem. First and foremost, however, he is the author of the first 5 Karmagranthas.[6] The Karmagranthas are six books in Prākrit verses, in which the entire doctrine of Karman which is very intricate in the religion of the Jainas, is treated in all its details. The books are as follows: Karmavipāka, Karmastava, Bandhasvāmitva, Ṣaḍaśītikā, Śataka and Saptatikā. Book VI consists of 70 verses by Candramahattara, to which his teacher (?) Devendra Sūri added a further 19 verses. Candramahattara is also the author of the Pañcasaṃgraha,[7] a compendium of the whole doctrine of

---

1) His Jinayajña-Kalpa is dated 1228 A. D., the Sāgāra-Dharmāmṛta 1239 A. D. Āśādhara was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vindhyavarman to Devapāla's son Jaitugideva; s. *Kielhorn* in Ep. Ind. 9, 1908, 107 f.

2) *Cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. lvii f. He is said to have died in the year 1270 A. D. in Mālava; s. *Klatt* in Ind. Ant. 11, p. 255.

3) Edited in JPU No. 8, Bombay 1912.

4) *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 2, 534 ff.

5) *Cf. Peterson*, Report VI, pp. x f., 40 ff. On the basis of Chapter VIII of the Mahā-Nisīha he wrote a Susaḍha Kahā in 519 Āryā stanzas; s. W. *Schubring*, Das Mahānisīha, p. 48 ff.

6) Edited in Vol. 4 of Prakaraṇa-Ratnākara, Bombay 1880; with the author's commentaries on Books 1-5 and commentary by Malayagiri on Book 6, by the Śrī-Jaina-Dharma-Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1909-1911. *Cf. Weber*, HSS. Verz. II, 3, 837 ff.

7) Edited with Malayagiri's Commentary, by *Hīralāla Haṃsarāja*, Jamnagar 1909, 4 vols.

Karman. Śivaśarma Sūri's Karmaprakṛti[1] in 475 Gāthās, is a more exhaustive work. If the tradition is to be believed, all these works can be traced back to the Diṭṭhivāya. They have all been commented on by Malayagiri, who also wrote commentaries on several canonical works.[2]

In the 15th century Sakalakīrti, who probably died in about 1464 A.D., wrote Tattvārthasāradīpaka,[3] a large work in 12 chapters on the entire system of the Jaina religion. The first chapter teaches how the soul attains to the 5 kinds of knowledge by annihilating the Karman. One of these is attained through sacred books, which on this occasion are completely enumerated, with exact information as to the number of words, and in the case of the Aṅgas and Pūrvas even the number of syllables. A second work by Sakalakīrti is Praśnottaropāsakācāra,[4] in which the duties of lay adherents are taught in the form of questions and answers.

Round about 1494 A.D. Śrutasāgara, the pupil of Vidyānandin, wrote a Jainendrayajñavidhi, a ritual work after the style of the Brahmanical Prayogas, a Tattvārthadīpikā, and a commentary on Kundakunda's Ṣaṭprābhṛta.[5] Kupakṣakauśikasahasrakiraṇa, "The Sun for the Owls of the heretical

---

1) Edited with Malayagiri's Commentary, JPU, No. 17, Bhavnagar 1912.

2) On Malayagiri *cf. Peterson*, Report IV, p. lxxxviii. A manuscript of Malayagiri's Commentary on Karmaprakṛti is dated 1395 A. D., a manuscript of the commentary on the Nandī-Sūtra is dated 1235 A.D., a MS. of the commentary on the Vyavahāra-Sūtra is dated 1253 A. D.; s. *Petreson*, 3 Reports, Appendix, pp. 35 f., 49 f., 70 f., 157. On all the works on the doctrine of Karma mentioned here, s. H. v. *Glasenapp*, Die Lehre von Karman in der Philosophie der Jainas nach den Karmagranthas zusammengestellt, Leipzig 1915; also *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, pp. 167, 184.

3) *Cf. Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, pp. 106 ff., 393 ff.

4) *Bhandarkar*, l. c., p. 116 f.

5) *Cf. Bhandarkar*, l. c. p. 117 and *Peterson*, Report II, pp. 8 ff., 158 ff. and Report IV, p. cxxiii f.

Doctrine,"[1] by the Śvetāmbara Dharmasāgara, is a polemic treatise against the Digambara Jainas. This treatise, written in 1573 A.D. in Prākrit, with a commentary in Sanskrit by the same author, violently refutes the doctrines of the Digambaras, especially their views on going naked and the exclusion of women from release.

We would also mention Vinayavijaya, the son of Tejaḥpāla, who in the year 1649 compiled Lokaprakāśa,[2] a comprehensive encyclopædia of everything a Jaina needs to know.

Yaśovijaya (1624-1688) of the Tapāgaccha, is a prominent Jaina teacher, reformer and author of the 17th century.[3] He endeavoured to unite the two sects of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, by seeking to prove that the Kevalin, the completely Enlightened, so long as he leads a physical life, must take nourishment, that women can attain to release, and that the ordinary objects of usage of the monks, garments etc., are not to be counted as "possessions," and that the saintly life does not exclude life in the world. Even at the present day he is still cited as a model and a saint. His name is borne by two educational institutions (Pāṭhaśālās) in Benares and Mehsana, and by the collections of texts (Granthamālās) published by them.[4] Among his works we mention Adhyātmaparīkṣā in Prākrit with a Sanskrit commentary by the author himself, Jñānabinduprakaraṇa[5]

---

[1] The title of the treatise is also Pravacana-Parīkṣā. It is dealt with by A. *Weber* in SBA 1882, p. 793 ff.

[2] Edited by *Hīralāla Haṃsarāja* in 3 vols., Jamnagar 1910. The same author also wrote a commentary on the Kalpa-Sūtra in the year 1639. *Cf.* H. D. *Velankar*, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskṛita and Prākṛta MSS. in the Library of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society, Vols. III-IV, 1930, pp. 386 f., 446.

[3] On him *cf. Jacobi* in AR, 18, 1915, 271, 278 f. and *Glasenapp*, Der Jainismus, pp. 72, 109, 342.

[4] Edited in JPU No. 5, Bombay 1911.

[5] A manuscript written in the year 1675, described by *Peterson*, 3 Reports, p. 192 f.

and Jñānasāra or Aṣṭakaprakaraṇa.[1] He also revised the Dharmasaṃgraha[2] which was written by Mānavijaya in the year 1681. This is a bulky work on the duties of the householder and the ascetic.

In our own times, too, the Jainas not only turn their attention to the editing of texts, which are being published in numerous series, and are most generously made accessible to European scholars also, but they are still productive in literature proper, and are writing original works in Sanskrit and the vernaculars on Jaina philosophy and dogmatics. The publication of a series of valuable editions in the Yaśovijaya-Jaina-Granthamālā is the immortal legacy of the great Jaina saint and teacher Vijaya Dharma Sūri,[3] who also wrote a number of works in Gujāratī, Hindī and Sanskrit (Pramāṇa-Paribhāṣā, Jaina-Tattva-Jñāna). A pupil of this saint is Muni Nyāyavijaya, from whose pen two works in Sanskrit have appeared: Adhyātma-Tattvāloka[4] and Nyāya-Kusumāñjali.[5]

The Jainas have extended their activities beyond the sphere of their own religious literature to a far greater extent than the Buddhists have done, and they have memorable achievements in the secular sciences to their credit, in

---

1) Published together with Haribhadra's Aṣṭaka and other works, Surat 1918.

2) Edited in JPU, Nos. 26 and 45, Bombay 1915 and 1918. The work is very rich in quotations. According to the index 103 works and 26 authors are quoted.

3) On the life and works of *Vijaya Dharma Sūri*; s. L. P. *Tessitori*, A Jain Ācārya of the present day, Calcutta 1917, A. J. *Sunavala*, Vijaya Dharma Suri His Life and Work, Cambridge 1922; *Vijaya Indra Sūri*, Reminiscences of Vijaya Dharma Sūri, Allahabad, 1924; Sayings of Vijaya Dharma Suri translated by Charlotte *Krause*, Bhavnagar 1930.

4) The spiritual Light, with Gujarātī Translation and Explanatory Notes, translated into English by Motichand Jhaverchand *Mehta*, Bhavnagar 1920.

5) With Introduction in English and Translation and Notes in English and Gujarātī by Hiralal Rasikadās *Kāpadiā*, Baroda 1922.

philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, mathematics,[1] astronomy and astrology, and even in the science of politics. In one way or other there is always some connection even of these " profane " works with religion. In Southern India the Jainas have also rendered services in developing the Dravidian languages, Tamil and Telugu, and especially the Kanarese literary language. They have, besides, written a considerable amount in Gujarātī, Hindī and Marvārī. Thus we see that they occupy no mean position in the history of Indian literature and Indian thought.

---

[1]) On the great interest taken in Mathematics by Jainas of ancient and modern times, s. D. M. *Roy* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 8, 1926-27, p. 145 ff.; Bibhutibhusan *Datta*, The Jaina School of Mathematics, in Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI, 2, 1929, p. 115 ff.

APPENDIX I (on page 1).

The Year of Buddha's Death. Did a Gotama Buddha live ?

Much as has already been written about the year of Buddha's death, it is by no means firmly established as yet. According to the Singhalese tradition, 544 B.C. would be the death-year, but this is rejected by most European scholars as incompatible with the chronology of the kings of Magadha. According to M. de Z. *Wickremasinghe*, there used to be in Ceylon too, an era beginning with 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death, whilst 544 B.C. as the death-year cannot be traced back further than about the middle of the 11th century.[1] However, all the seemingly convincing evidence which we thought we had acquired in favour of various dates between 477 and 487 B.C., has in every case proved to be uncertain and doubtful. *Cf.* J. F. *Fleet*, JRAS 1909, 1 ff., 323 ff., 981 ff.; 1910, 1308 ; 1912, 239 ff.; *Oldenberg*, AR 13, 1910, 611 ff., V. Gopala *Aiyer*, Ind. Ant. 37, 1908, 341 ff.; W. *Geiger*, The Mahavamsa, Transl., p. xxii ff.; J. *Charpentier*, Ind. Ant. 43, 1914, 130 ff.; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in Cambridge History I, 171 ff.; E. *Hultzsch*, Inscriptions of Aśoka (1925), p. xxxii f., xxxv; H. *Jacobi*, Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāṇa und die politische Entwicklung Magadhas zu jener Zeit, in SBA 1930, p. 557 ff. K. P. *Jayaswal* (JBORS I, 1915, 67 ff., 97 ff.; *cf.* III, 1917, 425 ff.; IV, 1918, 264 ff.) again endeavoured to prove, on the basis of a new reading of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, that the year 544 B.C. is the year of Buddha's death, and V. A. *Smith* (JRAS 1918,

---

[1] *Cf.* W. *Geiger*, The Mahāvaṃsa, Transl., p. xxviii.

543 ff.; Early History, 4th ed., 49 f.) agreed with him, though he is also compelled to say: "I do not believe that the date can be fixed with anything like certainty." *Jayaswal*'s readings and calculations have, however, been shown to be untenable, by R. C. *Majumdar* (Ind. Ant. 47, 1918, 223 f.; 48, 1919, 187 ff.; *cf.* R. P. *Chanda*, Ind. Ant. 48, 214 ff.; K. G. Śankara *Aiyar*, Ind. Ant. 49, 1920, 43 ff.). A. B. *Keith*, too (Buddhist Philosophy, p. 32) refutes *Jayaswal*'s argumentation, but even he declares the usual dating 487-477 to be uncertain, and says that "the case against the traditional date is insufficient to justify its rejection out and out." [1] When we take into consideration that there is sufficient evidence to show that Buddha was a contemporary of kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, whom we can place with a fair amount of certainty in the 6th and 5th centuries B. C., then we are at least justified in saying that the best working hypothesis is to place the life of Buddha into this period too.[2]

It is true that we are taking it for granted that Gotama Buddha did really live. R. Otto *Franke* (ZDMG 69, 1915, 455 f.)—like E. *Senart* and A. *Barth* before him—doubts even this, and is of opinion that "the so-called doctrine of Buddha is perhaps only the collection of a bundle of didactic elements from the vast treasury of philosophical thoughts" which came into being in India in the centuries preceding the Christian era. In another passage (OZ 4, 1915-16, p. 10) the same scholar says: "For me Gotama Buddha is not a bit less mythical than his six 'mythical predecessors'"; "Buddha" according to him is but a dogmatical conception, and all the seven Buddhas are but "paradigmata of the dogmatical Buddha," who to him is apparently nothing more than "a form, grown

---

1) *Cf.* also E. J. *Thomas*, The Life of Buddha, p. 27; G. P. *Malalasekara*, The Pali Literature of Ceylon, London 1928, p. 15; Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Sakya or Buddhist Origins, London 1931, p. 434.

2) *Cf.* also Appendix VI.

nebulous, of an ancient conception of the deity," "perhaps of the philosophical conception of the pantheistic divinity," perhaps a form of this divinity, which was especially associated with trees. How improbable and how baseless is this hypothesis compared to the assumption that Gotama Buddha is an historical personage, who enjoyed such great veneration that myths and legends were woven around him! True, we know very, very little about the real life of Gotama. On the other hand, tradition and even monuments afford us a few facts which there are no grounds to doubt. *Oldenberg* (Reden des Buddha, p. xx f.) is right when he says that there is no reason to doubt the accounts that Buddha belonged to the Sakya race and was born at Kapilavatthu, in all other respects so insignificant a place. At any rate this tradition was already so firmly established in about 250 B.C., that king Aśoka went on a pilgrimage to Buddha's birthplace, and recorded the memory of this pilgrimage in an inscription on the column found in 1896 near the Nepalese village of Paderia. The inscription reads: "When King Piyadasi had been anointed 20 years, he came here in person and paid his devotion here, because the Buddha, the sage born of the Sakya race, was born here."

It was also in the vicinity of Kapilavatthu, near Piprāvā, on the Nepalese frontier, that Mr. W. C. *Peppé* found in 1898 a reliquary chest containing a crystal urn with remains of bones which were formerly regarded as actual relics of the Buddha.[1] The readings and explanation of the inscription which is written round the rim of the lid of the urn, certainly admits of various interpretations. Even if the explanation: "This is the reliquary treasure of the Lord Buddha of the Sakyas," is, as I believe, the correct one, this does not constitute a proof of the "authenticity" of the relics; it only

[1] *Cf. e.g.*, R. *Pischel.* Leben und Lehre des Buddha, 4th Ed., by J. *Nobel*, 1926, p. 48f.

shows that at Aśoka's time (the script is that of the Aśoka inscriptions) people *believed* that these were relics of the Buddha.[1] Yet, this belief would scarcely have arisen, unless a man venerated as a saint, as a "Buddha," had actually lived in the days before Aśoka.

Even when we eliminate all legendary and mythical elements from the tradition, the Buddhist texts still afford us a life-like and very plausible picture of the personality of Gotama and his career as the founder of a religion and as a preacher.[2] If the personality of the Buddha, with its strong reaction on the contemporaries, had never existed, it would indeed be passing strange that in Buddhist literature it is precisely the picture of the Master which is so living. "It is no exaggeration to say," says Sir Charles *Eliot* (I, 297), "that the Buddha is the most living figure in Hindu literature. He stands before us more distinctly not only than Yājñavalkya and Śaṅkara, but than modern teachers like Nānak and Rāmānuja, and the reason of this distinction can, I think, be nothing but the personal impression which he made on his age."

In addition to this, the accounts of the Buddhists regarding Gotama Buddha and his contemporaries are in striking agreement with those of the Jainas regarding Mahāvīra, and the two currents of tradition supplement each other.[3] Lastly, when we call to mind that it has repeatedly happened in India, down to quite modern times, that founders of a religion or of a religious sect are deified even during their own lifetime, then we can only call it exaggerated, barren scepticism to doubt that Gotama Buddha lived just as certainly as did Keshub Chunder Sen,

---

1) *Cf.* R. O. *Franke* in OZ 4, 1915-16, 1ff.; E. J. *Thomas*, The Life of Buddha, 160ff.

2) See also E. J. *Thomas*, The Life of Buddha, p. 225f.

3) *Cf. Oldenberg*, Buddha, 5th Ed., Berlin 1906, p. 95f. As to whether Buddha is historical, *ibid*, p. 93ff.

the founder of the "Brahmo Samaj of India," who died in 1884, and who was worshipped as a deity by some of his adherents as early as in the year 1868.[1]

If we wish to regard Buddhism, with *Franke*, as "only a collected bundle of general Indian doctrines," we should still have to explain why this "bundle," in spite of all the changes of Buddhism, shows such individual traits, if there was not an individual, a creative personality, who bound this "bundle" into something entirely new and special, and stamped the impress of his personality upon it. Even if we were unable to give credence to the Buddhist chroniclers, and could not determine the exact date of the Buddha, but were compelled to limit ourselves to affirming that his doctrine came into being before Aśoka's time, we cannot doubt the personality of the founder[2] any more than that of Kālidāsa, whose date we can also determine only approximately.

APPENDIX II (on page 13).

What is Pāli?

Wilhelm Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 5, does not explain the words *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpuṇituṃ* (Culla-Vagga V, 33) like the translators in SBE, Vol. 20, p. 150f., "I allow you, O brethren, to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect,"

1) J. C. *Oman*, Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India, London 1907, p. 122f.

2) *Franke* admits in a later essay (ZDMG 69, 1915, p. 456) that such a personage existed, when he says: "Let us content ourselves with the conviction that it was no ordinary mind which evolved what we call the earliest Buddhism, and with the fact that he was an Indian Aryan of (be it said provisionally) one of the pre-Christian centuries but not the latest of those centuries." Why this "Indian Aryan" should not have been called Gotama and received the epithet "Buddha," it is really difficult to see.

but according to the commentary of Buddhaghosa: "I order you to learn the word of the Buddha in *his* own language" (*i.e.* in Māgadhī, the language spoken by the Buddha). Consequently, *Geiger* regards Pāli as an attempt to reconstruct the word of the Buddha in Buddha's own language. According to this the Pāli Canon would be identical with the Canon of Pāṭaliputra not only in content, but also in language. I do not think, however, that *Geiger's* explanation of Culla-Vagga V, 33 is tenable. *Geiger* is of opinion that, in the translation "I allow you" etc., we would expect a *vo* after *anujānāmi*, to which *sakāya* would refer However, this *vo* can, I think, be supplied easily enough from the vocative *bhikkhave*, especially when we remember that the expression *anujānāmi bhikkhave* occurs on almost every page of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and has become stereotyped. If *Geiger's* explanation were correct, we should also expect that not only the translation into Sanskrit, but also the learning of the word of Buddha in the dialects of the monks of various districts, would have been forbidden. Then again, the stern words attributed to Buddha, in which he rejects the suggestion that the word of Buddha should be translated into the language of the Veda or set in verse after the manner of the Veda, because that would not contribute to the conversion of the unconverted nor increase the number of the converted, are additional evidence that the chief concern was to propagate the word of Buddha as widely as possible, which is only possible if the monks in various districts preach the word of Buddha in the languages of those districts.[1]

E. J. *Thomas* (The Life of Buddha, p. 253 f.) explains this passage differently. He translates *nirutti* by "grammar"

---

[1] *Geiger's*, *i.e.*, Buddhaghosa's explanation of the passage is also rejected by Friedrich *Weller* in ZB, N. F. 1, 1922, p. 211ff. (to which *Geiger* replies in the same publication, p 213f.) and by A. B. *Keith* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 1, 1925, p. 501.

and *chando* by " metre ," and makes Buddha say: "I order you, monks, to master the word of Buddha (Buddhavacanam) in its own grammar." He does not think it possible that *sakāya niruttiyā* can mean " each in his own dialect," and believes that the passage in question only contains a prohibition to versify the Canon. Even if this explanation be accepted, it is difficult to see why a versification of the word of Buddha should be detrimental to the propagation of the doctrine. Moreover, *nirutti* does not mean "grammar," but "linguistic expression."[1] *Chandas* may mean "metre" just as well as "Veda." *Chandas* has the latter meaning in *Sāvitthī chandaso mukhaṃ* too (Vinaya-Piṭaka, Mahā-Vagga VI, 35, 8 and Sutta-Nipāta 568). *Oldenberg* and *Rhys Davids* have taken it in the sense of " Veda dialect," and refer to the use of " *chandasi* " by Pāṇini. Buddhaghosa, too says: *chandaso āropemā ti vedaṃ viya sakkaṭa-bhāsāya vācanāmaggam āropema.*[2] The translation: "I allow you, O monks, to learn the word of the Buddha each in his own language" also accords well with Majjhima-Nikāya 139 (III, pp. 234f., 237) wherein it is said that the " middle way " which leads to rest, is for a man not to insist unduly on his own provincial dialect (janapadanirutti) and at the same time not to diverge from general linguistic usage.[3]

The commentaries frequently use the word " Pāli " in the sense of " canonical text " in contrast to the Attha-Kathā, sometimes also in the sense of " language of the canonical texts ;" in the Jātaka commentary " Pāli " often means the Jātaka-Gāthās. Curiously enough the term " Pāli " is

---

1) *Cf.* Dīgha I, 202 ; Saṃyutta III, 71 ; *Childers*, Dictionary of the Pali Language s.v. nirutti : "use or expression of a language." PTS. Dic. s.v. : " way of speaking, expression."

2) The form chandaso from the neuter chando is difficult to explain.

3) It is said here that, for instance, a different word is used for " bowl " : pātī patta, vittha, sarāva, dhāropa, poṇa, pisīla, and that each one considers his word as the only correct one, but that in the interests of peace it is best for each one to use the word which is current in his land.

used at the present day by the country people of Eastern Bengal to denote the verse portions in their prose narratives (Rūpa-Kathās and Gīta-Kathās).[1]

Phonetic peculiarities of the Māgadhī dialect in Pāli have already been indicated by E. *Kuhn*, Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik, Berlin, 1875, p. 9, E. *Müller*, Grammar of the Pali Language, London, 1884, and R. *Pischel*, SBA 1904, p. 807. E. *Windisch* (OC XIV, 1906, p. 252ff.) endeavoured to prove that Māgadhī forms the foundation of Pāli. S. *Lévi* (JA 1912, s. 10, t. XX, p. 495ff.) attempted to trace remnants of an earlier Māgadhī Canon. According to *Lüders* (Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, p. 41) it would be more correct to speak of "Old Ardha-Māgadhī" as the foundatian of Pāli. "This dialect agrees in essentials with the Māgadhī of the Aśoka Inscriptions, but in part it already represents a more advanced stage of development" (*Lüders* in SBA 1927, p. 123). The demonstration by P. V. *Bapat* (Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, 23ff.) that Pāli cannot be derived from Ardha-Māgadhī, as the last-named shows a later stage of development of Prākrit than Pāli, refers only to Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī. Paiśācī elements in Pāli have been pointed out by *Konow* (ZDMG 64, 1910, 114ff.), *Grierson* (Bhandarkar Comm. Vol., p. 117ff.) and Nalinaksha *Dutt* (Early History of the Spread of Buddhism, p. 249ff.). *Konow* localises Pāli and Paiśācī in the district of the Vindhya hills. This leads us to the district of Ujjein, where Pāli had already been localised by *Westergaard*, E. *Kuhn* and R. O. *Franke* (Pali und Sanskrit, Strassburg 1902, 127ff.). *Grierson* regards Paiśācī as the local dialect of Kekaya and Eastern Gandhāra. Kekaya, especially Takṣaśilā was at the time of the Buddha famous for learning. *Grierson* concludes from this that Pāli is the literary form of the

[1] *Cf.* Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, 6ff., and Dineshchandra *Sen*, Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. III, part 1, Calcutta, 1928, p. lxv ff.

Māgadhī language, which was in those days used in India as *Koiné*, and was in particular utilised in Takṣaśilā as the language of instruction. *Cf.* also *Eliot* I, 282ff.

According to S. K. *Chatterji* (Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, 1926, I, 55ff.) the phonetics and morphology of Pāli show most resemblance to Śaurasenī, but have adopted archaic forms from north-western and other Aryan dialects.

Oldenberg (Vinaya Piṭaka I, Introduction, p. 1 ff.) held the view that Buddhism was not introduced to Ceylon by Mahinda, as related in the Singhalese chronicles, but spread gradually over the Island from the neighbouring Kaliṅga land, and that Pāli is the language of the Kaliṅga land. There are, however, no proofs for this.

T. W. *Rhys Davids* (PTS Dic., Foreword) is of opinion that Pāli is based upon the dialect of Kosala, as it was spoken in the 6th and 7th centuries B. C. But what do we know of the dialects of these centuries ?

Max *Walleser* (Sprache und Heimat des Palikanons, Heidelberg 1924, and ZB VII, 1926, 56ff.) made an unfortunate attempt to explain Pāli as the " language of Pāṭaliputra" even by way of etymology.[1]

There is nothing to support the assumption that Pāli originated in Ceylon. Though Singhalese has much in common with Pāli, we should rather assume that it is the Pāli which influenced Singhalese. *Cf.* W. *Geiger*, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen (Grundriss I, 10), p. 91.

Cf. Geiger, Pali Literatur und Sprache, pp. 1-5 ; H. *Reichelt* in Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg, 1924, p. 244 ff. ; A. B. *Keith* in Ind. Hist. Qu. I, 1925, 501ff. ; W. *Wüst*, Indisch (Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach-und Altertumskunde II, 4, 1), p. 44 f. and Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Sakya or Buddhist Origins, p. 429ff.

---

1) E. J. *Thomas* (Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, 773 ff.) also rejects this hypothesis.

APPENDIX III (on page 16).

BHĀBRŪ-BAIRAT-EDICT OF AŚOKA.

The small boulder which contains the inscription of Bairat, is now preserved in Calcutta in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and for this reason the inscription is described by E. *Hultzsch* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, Inscriptions of Asoka, New Edition, p. xxv) as "Calcutta-Bairat Rock-Inscription," as there is also another rock inscription of Bairat. The boulder was discovered in 1840 on an eminence in the neighbourhood of Bairat. As the discoverer stated that Bairat was not far from "Bhabra," the inscription was also called the "Bhabra edict." Bhabra is, however, only an erroneous name for Bhābrū, which is, as a matter of fact, 12 miles from Bairat. Many scholars have devoted themselves to identifying the texts mentioned in the inscription, in the Canon, and appreciating their historical significance. *Cf.* E. *Hultzsch*, l. c., pp. xliii f., 172ff. ; *Senart* in JA 1884, s. 8, t. III, p. 478ff. ; 1885, t. V, p. 391ff. ; and 1887, t. IX, p. 498ff. with an excellent facsimile of the inscription ; H. *Oldenberg*, Vinaya Piṭakam Ed., Vol. I, p. xl note ; K. E. *Neumann*, Reden Gotamo Buddhos I, pp. 135, 324, 567 and WZKM 11, 1897, p. 159f. ; T. W. *Rhys Davids* in JPTS 1896, p. 93ff.; JRAS 1898, p. 639f. ; Buddhist India, p. 169f. ; Dialogues of the Buddha, SBB II, 1899, Preface, p. xiii f. ; S. *Lévi* in JA 1896, s. 9, t. VII, p. 475ff. ; E. *Hardy* in JRAS 1901, p. 311ff. and Aśoka, p. 58ff. and V. A. *Smith* in JRAS 1901, p. 574 ; Asoka, 3rd Ed., p. 157 ; *Kern*, Manual, pp. 2 and 113 ; *Pischel* in SBA 1904, p. 807f., A. J. *Edmunds* in JRAS 1913, 385ff. ; *Kosambi* in Ind. Ant. 41, 40 ; *Barua* in JRAS 1915, p. 805 ; Ind. Ant. 48, 8ff.; *Eliot* I, 290f. ; F. *Weller* in Asia Major 5, 1930, p. 166.

The texts recommended by Aśoka are :—

(1) *Vinaya-samukase*, probably " the principal sermon of the Vinaya-Piṭaka," *i.e.*, the sermon of Benares, which in numerous passages (Vinaya-P., Mahā-Vagga I, 7, 6 ; 8, 2 etc., Udāna V, 3) is called sāmukkaṃsikā dhammadesanā, " the most excellent sermon." Thus according to A. J. *Edmunds* in JRAS 1913, p. 385. *Oldenberg* and *Rhys Davids* (SBE 13, p. xxvi f.) explained it as "Abstract of the Vinaya" and assumed that this referred to the Pātimokkha. B. M. *Barua* translates : " Excellent treatise on Vinaya moral discipline."

(2) *Aliya-vasāṇi*, the dasa ariya-vāsā, "the ten rules of life of the noble one " which are taught in the Saṃgīti-Suttanta and in the Dasuttara-Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya (III, pp. 269 and 291) and in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya X, 19 (Vol. V, p. 29).

(3) *Anāgata-bhayāni*, " the five future dangers," which are taught in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya V, 77-80 (Vol. III, p. 100 ff.).

(4) *Munigāthā*, probably the Muni-Sutta in the Sutta-Nipāta 206 to 220.

(5) *Moneyasute*, doubtless the moneyyāni in the Itivuttaka 67, also in Aṅgutt. III, 120 (Vol. I, p. 273).

(6) *Upatisapasine*, "Questions of Upatissa." As Upatissa is a name of Sāriputta, and as the Sāriputta-Sutta in Sutta-Nipāta 955-975 contains questions of Sāriputta, which are answered by Buddha, I have no doubt that this is what is meant. Thus already *Neumann* and now also *Walleser*.

(7) *Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigichya bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite*, " the exhortations to Rāhula, which were uttered by the Lord Buddha in regard to lying," in Majjhima-Nikāya 61. As there is also a second Rāhulovāda-Sutta (Majjhima 62), Aśoka also states the subject-matter of the text recommended by him. Thus Aśoka must have known both texts.

The significance of the Bairat Edict should neither be overrated nor yet under-estimated. It is overrating it to conceive of it, as *Barua*, l. c. has done, "as a rare historical document, which conclusively proves the existence of the Buddhist Canon in the third century B.C., in the same form, and with almost the same titles to its different passages, as we have now." On the other hand, it is under-estimating it, when *Barth* (RHR 5, 1882, 239 f. = Oeuvres, I, p. 342) declares that the titles do not prove that there was a Canon in existence in those days, but that on the contrary they show that though Buddhism had a literature, it had not yet a Canon. Similarly *La Vallée Poussin*, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux (Mémoires Acad. Belgique, 55, 1898), p. 32 f., says that the titles prove nothing for the antiquity of the Pāli Canon; according to him they prove merely the antiquity of Sūtras and Vinayas which are related to the Pāli texts, and that Aśoka does not allude to a definite Canon. The very words of the edict: "Whatever has been uttered by the Lord Buddha, all that is well said," [1] make it appear probable that there was something in the nature of a Canon in existence, wherein that which was regarded as having been uttered by Buddha, was collected, and which, therefore, to the minds of believers, bore the stamp of genuineness. When Aśoka says that, though everything which the Lord uttered is good, he especially recommends a few selected texts not only to the monks and nuns, but also to the lay adherents of both sexes, it seems as though he must have been acquainted with a considerable number of such texts. We shall therefore not be unduly bold in arguing from the Edict that, at the time when it was written, there was a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in the Māgadhī language. As the texts enumerated by Aśoka appear in various books of the Pāli Canon,

[1] The dictum of Aṅguttara IV, 164: "All that is well said, that is the word of Buddha" (similarly Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 15) represents a later stage of development.

it is, to say the least of it, very probable indeed, that the Pāli Canon, as far as the Sutta and Vinaya-Piṭaka are concerned, was very closely related to the Māgadhī Canon. The exaggerated scepticism of *Minayeff*, Recherches, p. 84 ff., has already been confuted by *Oldenberg*, ZDMG 52, 1898, 634 ff.

According to T. *Bloch*, ZDMG 63, 1909, 325 ff., the purpose of the inscription of Bairat was to institute public recitals of the texts named and to make a foundation for this. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing to this effect in the inscription.

As to the correctness of the readings and interpretations of the Edict given by Max *Walleser* (Das Edikt von Bhabra, Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft 1, Leipzig, 1923; Nochmals das Edikt von Bhabra, ibidem Heft 9, Heidelberg 1925 and ZII 3, 1924, 113 ff.), I am just as little convinced as Joh. *Nobel* in OLZ 1924, 361 ff., and E. *Leumann* in ZII, 2, 1923, 316 f.

APPENDIX IV (on page 190f).

Time and Life of Buddhaghosa.

Th. *Foulkes* (Ind. Ant. 19, 1890, p. 122) already gave expression to the conjecture that Buddhaghosa never lived at all, but that the existing commentaries were ascribed to the "Voice of Buddha." V. A. *Smith*, too (Ind. Ant. 34, 1905, p. 185) says, "Personally I do not believe in the existence of Buddhaghosa, 'The Voice of Buddha,' as an historical personage." L. *Finot* (La légende de Buddhaghosa, in Cinquantenaire de l'école pratique des hautes études, Paris 1921, p. 101 ff.) goes further, and attempts to prove that there is no historical foundation for Buddhaghosa's journey from Magadha to Ceylon, and that the commentaries are the work of several

Singhalese translators, who have been grouped by tradition around the more or less authentic name of Buddhaghosa. We admit that the accounts of Buddhaghosa which have come down to us are 800 years later than he himself, that they are full of legends, that the accounts of Buddhaghosa's journeys to Burma and Pegu have no sort of historical background, and likewise that some commentaries have been ascribed to him erroneously. However, in the case of Śaṅkara, too, there are only quite legendary so-called "biographies," and many works are ascribed to him, which he could not have written, and yet no one doubts that a philosopher Śaṅkara really existed. At all events the name Buddhaghosa is quite trustworthy, as this name already occurs in inscriptions of Mathurā in the first centuries of the Christian era (*Foulkes*, l. c., p. 105ff.). *Cf.* P. *Pelliot* in T'oung Pao 21, 1922, p. 243 f., and *Pe Maung Tin* in JRAS 1923 265 ff. *Pelliot* (l. c. and BEFEO 4, 149, 412) has pointed out that, at the beginning of the fifth century Fa-hien and Tche-mong made the acquaintance of a Brahman Raivata in Pāṭaliputra, who is possibly identical with Buddhaghosa's teacher. The fact that Buddhaghosa knew the Vedas and was versed in Sāṃkhya and Yoga, lends probability to the tradition that he was originally a Brahman; s. *Maung Tin*, l. c.

The period of the reign of King Mahānāma of Ceylon was formerly assumed to be 410-432 or 413-435, and the life-time of Buddhaghosa was accordingly set in the first half of the 5th century. This view was still held by *Burlingame* (HOS Vol. 25, p. 58). According to the chronology of W. *Geiger* (The Mahāvaṃsa transl., p. xxxvi ff.), which is based upon the foundation of the date 483 B. C. as the year of Buddha's death, 458-480 A. D. would be the dates of Mahānāma's reign, and thus also Buddhaghosa's time. This chronology, however, given only "provisionally" by *Geiger* himself, seems rather doubtful to me. The account of Chinese annals of an embassy which King Mahānāma of Ceylon sent to the emperor of China in the year 428 A. D. (S. *Lévi*, JA 1900, s. 9, t. XV, p. 412f.)

speaks rather in favour of the date 410-432. *Geiger* refers to the fact that, according to his chronology King Meghavaṇṇa of Ceylon reigned from 352 to 379 A. D., and according to a Chinese account (*Lévi*, l. c., p. 316 f.) this king sent an embassy to Samudragupta, who reigned from 326 to 375 A. D. (*Smith*, Early History, in the 4th edit. gives 330-380). However, even the old dating of Meghavaṇṇa, *viz.*, 304-332 A.D. would not contradict the Chinese account, if the embassy had taken place between 330 and 332 A. D. *Smith*, Early History, p. 345, does, it is true (obviously on the basis of *Geiger's* chronology), give the date of about 360 A. D. for King Meghavaṇṇa's embassy.

APPENDIX V (on page 257).

The Date of Kaniṣka's Reign.

The date of the reign of King Kaniṣka is of the utmost importance for the study of the History of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. Now though there are numerous dated coins of Kaniṣka, and inscriptions in which Kaniṣka is mentioned, there is no sure means of determining according to which era these dates should be reckoned. There are also traditions about Kaniṣka in Tibet, China and Mongolia. Deriving their material from Indian sources, the Chinese give much edifying information concerning Kaniṣka, but they do not give us any synchronisms with Chinese History. Hence even now we have nothing beyond hypotheses as to Kaniṣka's time. Epigraphical, numismatical, archaeological and literary evidence points more and more to the 2nd century A. D. as the time when Kaniṣka reigned, and to round about 125 A. D. as the probable date of his accession. The view, still maintained by a few scholars, that Kaniṣka is the founder of the Śaka era, which began in 78 A. D., is less likely to be correct.

In view of the importance and the difficulty of this question, I give below a summary of the almost overwhelming literature on the problem, which is still further complicated by the fact that there were probably two rulers named Kaniṣka.

(1) The view that Kaniṣka is *the founder of the Vikrama era in 58 B. C.* will find but few supporters now-a-days. It was represented by Alexander *Cunningham* (Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, Vol. II, 1871, p. 68 note, 159 ff.; III, p. 31),[1] J. F. *Fleet* in his Introduction to the English translation of G. Bühler's 'Indian Palaeography' in Ind. Ant. 33, 1904, and in JRAS 1906, 979 ff.; 1903, 334; 1913, 95ff., 965 ff.; 1914, 992 ff.; O. *Franke* in ABA 1904, 61 ff., J. *Kennedy* in JRAS 1912, 665ff., 981ff.; 1913, 369ff., 661 ff., 1054 ff.; S. *Lévi* JA 1896, s. 9, t. VIII, 444 ff., 1897, s. 9, t. IX, 1 ff.,[2] assumes the *1st century B.C. and the beginning of our era* as Kaniṣka's time. The same view is also held by L. D. *Barnett* in JRAS, 1913, 193, and in Calcutta Review, Feb. 1924, p. 252.

(2) The view that Kaniṣka is *the founder of the Śaka era in 78 A.D.* was first put forward by *J. Fergusson* in JRAS, 1880, 259 ff. and by H. *Oldenberg* in Zeitschrift für Numismatik 8, 1881, 289 ff. (English translation in Ind. Ant. 10, 1881, 213 ff.), and is still defended at the present day by E. J. *Rapson* (Cambridge History I, pp. 581, 583 ff.), Daya Ram *Sahni* in JRAS, 1924, 399 ff., L. *Bachhofer* in OZ, 1927, 21 ff., 1930, 10 ff., Hari Charan *Ghosh* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, 760 ff.; 5, 1929, 49 ff. *The first century A.D.* is assumed as Kaniṣka's time by L. A. *Waddell* in JRAS, 1913, 947 ff., on archaeological grounds, and by J. Ph. *Vogel* in Ep. Ind., VIII, 173 ff. on palæographical grounds.

---

[1] *Cunningham* changed his opinion later, and placed Kaniṣka about 80 A.D.

[2] The same Chinese sources on which *Lévi* takes his stand, are utilised by Ed. *Specht* in JA 1897, s. 9, t. X, p. 152 ff., for fixing the date as the end of 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

(3) *The end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.* is assumed by many scholars, s. H. *Oldenberg* in NGGW, 1911, 427 ff. (English translation in JPTS, 1910-11, p. 1 ff.), AR, 17, 1914, 646 ff., Ed. *Specht* in JA 1897, s. 9, t. X, p. 152 ff., A. M. *Boyer* in JA 1900, s. 9, t. XV, 526 ff., H. *Lüders*, Die Inschrift von Āra in SBA, 1912, 824 ff. (English translation in Ind. Ant., 42, 1913, 132 ff.); F. W. *Thomas* in JRAS, 1913, 627 ff., 1011 ff.; 1914, 748 ff., GGA, 1931, 1 ff., and M. A. *Stein* in Ind. Ant., 34, 1905, 77 ff.: "Palæographical and other considerations make it appear probable that the date of Kaniṣka's accession may be somewhat later than the beginning of the Śaka era." According to R. D. *Banerji*, who has formulated all the theories advanced up to that time (Ind. Ant., 37, 1908, 27 ff.) Kaniṣka crossed the Indus in the year 91 A.D. and died in 123 A.D.

(4) *The 2nd century A.D.* is supported on archaeological grounds by A. *Foucher*, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra I, 1905, p. 623, II, 1918, p. 505 ff., Sir John *Marshall* in JRAS, 1914, 973 ff., 1915, 191 ff., Guide to Taxila, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1921, p. 17, V. A. *Smith*, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911, p. 99.[1] The most decided supporter of the view that Kaniṣka did not come into power until after the year 125 A.D. and that the Kaniṣka era begins with the year 128-29 A.D., is Sten *Konow* (ZDMG, 68, 1914, 97; SBA, 1916, 787 ff.; Ep. Ind., XIV, 1918, 130 ff.; Acta Or., II, 1923, 130 ff.; III, 1924, 52 ff.; JBRAS, N. S. 1, 1, 1925, p. 1, ff.; Ind. Hist. Qu., 3, 1927, 851 ff. and lastly in Kharosthi Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp. lxxv ff., lxxx ff., xciii f.). V. A. *Smith*, Early History, 271 ff., gives approximately 120-160 A.D., and R. *Kimura* (Ind. Hist. Qu., 1, 1925, 415 ff.)

[1] Earlier views are discussed and criticised by *Smith* in JRAS 1903, p. 3 ff.

140-180 A.D. as the time of Kaniṣka's reign. *Cf.* also A. V. *Staël-Holstein* in SBA, 1914, 643 ff.; E. *Windisch* Philologie und Altertumskunde in Indien, Leipzig, 1921 (AKM, XV, 3), p. 26 ff., who again gives a survey of the various theories, and *Keith*, Hist. Sansk. Lit., p. xxvii.

(5) *The 3rd century A.D.* is supported only by D. R. *Bhandarkar* (JBRAS, 20, 1899, 269 ff.), R. G. *Bhandarkar* (JBRAS 20, 1900, 385 ff.), R. C. *Majumdar* (Ind. Ant., 46, 1917, 261 ff. and JDL, 1, 1920, 65 ff.).

For a second Kaniṣka, who was probably the grandson of the great Kaniṣka and lived in the 3rd century, s. *Lüders* l.c.; Satis Chandra *Vidyabhushana* in JASB 6, 1910, 477 ff.; *Kimura* l.c.; Daya Ram *Sahni* l. c.; Hari Charan *Ghosh*, Ind. Hist. Qu., 5, 1929, p. 70, and Sten *Konow*, Kharoshthi Inscriptions, p. lxxx f.

APPENDIX VI (on page 424).

The Year of the Death of Mahāvīra.

According to the usual chronology of the Śvetāmbara Jainas, Mahāvīra died 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, *i.e.*, in 527 B.C., but according to the Digambaras, in 605 B.C. These dates are probably based upon erroneous calculations, for they are as difficult to reconcile with the one and only firmly established fact, namely that Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries and lived in the reigns of Kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, as they are with other traditions of the Jainas themselves. There is a tradition of the Jainas, which can be traced as far back as the 11th century A.D., according to which Candragupta was anointed king 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra. Now it is true that even the date of Candragupta's coronation is by no means certain. Otto *Stein* (Archiv Orientální 1, 1929, 354 ff., 368 ff.) has shown that Candragupta cannot have been

crowned king before 318-17 B.C. If we assume 317 B.C., hypothetically, as the coronation year, then the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra would have taken place in 473-72 B.C., and that of Buddha in 480-79 or 483-82 B.C., according to whether we assume 28 or 25 years as the length of Bindusāra's reign. J. *Charpentier* (Ind. Ant., 43, 1914, 118 ff., 125 ff., 167 ff. and Cambridge History, I, 150 ff.) has attempted to prove that Buddha died in 477 B.C. and Mahāvīra in 467 B.C. H. *Jacobi*, who formerly (The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu Ed., Introduction, p. 6 ff.) had likewise assumed the date 467 B.C., now accepts (Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāṇa und die politische Entwicklung Magadhas zu jener Zeit in SBA, 1930, p. 557 ff.) 484 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death and 477 B.C. as that of Mahāvīra, as a "sure foundation" for the history of Magadha, and he sets out from the year 322 B.C. as the year of Candragupta's coronation. S. V. *Venkateswara*, JRAS, 1917, 122 ff., has tried to prove that Māhavīra could not have died earlier than 437 B.C.

None of these datings can be reconciled with the tradition, preserved in three different passages in the Pāli Canon (Dīgha III, 117, 210; Majjhima II, 243f.) and also in the Chinese Dīrghāgama (s. S. *Behrsiug* in Asia Major VII, 1931, p. 1ff), that the Nighaṇṭa Nātaputta died a short time before Gotama. *Jacobi* SBA 1930, 558 ff., assumes that this report was only invented in order to connect with it the story of the quarrels in the community of the Nighaṇṭas after the death of the Master. Of course, this is possible, but I have grave doubts that such a report which, as the Chinese translation shows, belongs to an earlier Canon, should be mere invention. I should prefer to say that the real date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa is still unknown.

Cf. also K. B. *Pathak* in Ind. Ant. 12, 1883, p. 21f.; *Hoernle* in ERE I, 261; *Smith*, Early History (4th ed.), pp. 34, 48f., and *Guérinot*, La religion Djaina, p. 41.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 3, L. 16, read *pāṭimokkha.*

P. 8 note 2, add : That the canon was written down under Vaṭṭagāmani is not only related in the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, but also, with more details in the Nikāyasaṃgraha, composed at the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century A.D. See G. P. *Malalasekera,* Pali Literature of Ceylon, London 1928, p. 43f. It is likely enough that some commentaries may have been written down even before Vaṭṭagāmani, but canonical texts were learnt by heart by the monks and transmitted orally, even in much later times; see *Malalasekera,* l.c., p. 44ff.

P. 9 note 2, L. 2, read *abhidhamma* for *abhdhamma.*

To p. 12ff. : On the value of the Pāli Canon for our knowledge of early Buddhism, see also Friedrich *Weller* in Asia Major 5, 1930, p. 149ff.; *Winternitz* in Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger, Leipzig 1931, p. 63ff.; Bimala Churn *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, p. 171ff.

P. 12, L. 1, read *not* for *oot.*

P. 16 note 3, L. 4, after *Barua* add : *and* K. G. *Singha.*

„ „ „ L. 5, after "Calcutta, 1926" add : *Cf.* J. Ph. *Vogel* in JRAS 1927, 592ff.

P. 21, L. 16, read *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga.*

P. 21 note 1, L. 10f., instead of "*new edition in preparation*" read *second edition, 1929.*

P. 25 note 1, L. 6, read *Frankfurter* for *Frankfurter.*

P. 35 note 2, L. 2, read *translated by* T. W. *and* C. A. F. *Rhys Davids.*

P. 36, L. 21, read *entertainments* for *conversations.*

P. 39, L. 13, read *Nirvāṇa.*

P. 41 notes, L. 6, read *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra, see Carlo.*

To p. 42, L. 10: *Cf.* Friedrich *Weller,* Der chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha. Mit einem Anhang über das Lakkhaṇasuttanta des Dīghanikāya, Leipzig 1923.

P. 48, L. 22, read *reins* for *reigns.*

To p. 53, L. 3: An enlarged version of Majjhimanikāya No. 135 (Cūḷa-Kammavibhaṅga) which also exists in the Chinese Madhyama-Āgama and in two other Chinese recensions, is the Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga, discovered by S. *Lévi* in a Nepalese MS. See Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1929 (Leyden, Kern Institute, 1931), p. 1 ff.

P. 53 note 2, L. 3, read *Bhābrū.*

P. 54 note 1, L. 4, after 1925 add: *and Vol. I, 1930.*

P. 59, L. 17, read *when I was she.*

P. 78 note 2, add: On the relative date of the text cf. B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, p. 176 f.

P. 80 note 2, L. 5, read *L. von Schroeder.*

„ „ L. 8, read *GSAI* for *JSAI.*

P. 94, L. 7 from below, read *Vāseṭṭha-Sutta.*

P. 98 note 3, add: See also Bimala Churn *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, 173 ff.

P. 116 note 3, L. 6 from below, read *Franke in Bezz. Beitr.*— At the end of the note add: See also Gokuldās *De* in Calcutta Review, June 1929, 265 ff.; August 1929, 246 ff.; Jan. 1930, 78 ff.; July 1930, 65 ff.; Feb. 1931, 278 ff.

P. 118 notes, L. 11, add: See *Winternitz* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, 1 ff.

P. 119, L. 6, read *tally* for *tallies.*

P. 120 note 2, add: and Oct. 1927, p. 56 ff.; cf. J. Ph. *Vogel* in JRAS 1927, p. 592 ff.; Gokuldās *De,* "Bharhut Jātakas" in a New Light, in Calc. Rev., August 1929, p. 246 ff.

P. 121 note 1, add : See also A. *Coomaraswamy* in JRAS, 1928, 390 ff.

,, note 2, L. 2, read *nordöstlichen* for *nordostlichen* and add : B. C. *Sen*, Studies in the Buddhist Jātakas, Calcutta 1930, still takes the whole of the Jātaka book as evidence for the "history" of the time of Buddha. Gokuldas *De*, Jātaka-Gleanings bearing on Ancient Indian Culture and Civilisation (Calcutta Review, Sept. 1931, p. 361 ff.; Oct. 1931, p. 106ff.), is more cautious, in taking his "gleanings" from the Gāthās only.

P. 131f. note 3, add : In the Saṃkha-Jātaka (No. 442) and the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (No. 539) we meet with a goddess of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, who saves shipwrecked seafarers. This goddess has a temple in Kānchī (near Madras). See S. *Lévi* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, 597 ff.

P. 133 note 3, add : On the relation between the Jātaka and the Mahābhārata, see above Vol. I, p. 472 note 4; H. *Lüders* in SBA, 1929, 269; N. B. *Utgikar* in JBRAS, N.S., Vol. IV, nos. 1, 2.

P. 156 note 2, add : See also B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, p. 173f.

P. 170 note, L. 2, after "pp. 6 and 16" add : Dwijendra Lal *Barua* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 7, 1931, 367ff.

P. 170 note 2, add : See also B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1931, p. 177f.

P. 174 note 1, add : G. P. *Malalasekera*, Pali Literature of Ceylon, London 1928, and B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, pp. 97-143.

P. 174 note 2, add : A new theory on the composition of the Milindapañha has been suggested by Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, The Milinda Questions—An Inquiry into its Place in the History of Buddhism with a Theory as to its Author, London 1930. She thinks that

there is *one* author of the book who first edited the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena, which she considers to have actually taken place, then—about ten years later—wrote the dialogues on the Dilemmas, and still later, as "a grey-haired man," the book of the Similes. I am not convinced, and see no reason to change my views expressed on pp. 174-83. For an analysis of the work see also B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, pp., 105-22.

P. 177 note 1, L. 1, read *Milindapañho* for *Milindapaūho.*

P. 177 note 2, L. 1, read *F. O. Schrader* for *E. Schrader.*

P. 183 note 1, add : For an analysis of the contents of the Netti, see B. Ch. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, p. 97ff.

,, note 4, read *Fuchs* for *Fuch's*, and add at the end of the note : B. C. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, p. 105.

P. 190 note 1, add : *Cf. Maung Tin* in JRAS, 1923, 265ff.

P. 214 note 2, add : It is now probable that an older Thera Dhammakitti (I), who lived in the reign of Parakkamabāhu I, was the author of the first part of the Cūḷavaṃsa ending with the death of Parakkamabāhu I in 1186 A.D., while chapters 80ff. were written by another Dhammakitti (II), who may be the same who wrote the Dāṭhāvaṃsa in 1211 A.D. The second part of the Cūḷavaṃsa deals with the period 1186-1333 A.D. and the third part, probably composed by the Thera Sumaṅgala in the second half of the 18th century, with the period from 1333 to 1781 A.D. See W. *Geiger* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, 206ff.

P. 215 note 2, add : On the sources of the Mahāvaṃsa see also W. *Geiger* in ZII 7, 1929, 259ff., who shows that Mahānāma probably also used a chronicle of Rohaṇa, and puññapotthakāni (books containing

lists of pious foundations), besides popular (oral) traditions.

P. 216f. note 2, add : On Mahāvaṃsa and Cūḷavaṃsa as sources of history, see also W. *Geiger* in Ind. Hist. Qu. VI, 1930, 208ff.

P. 220 note 1, L. 3, after " p. 96ff." add : and Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, p. 122f.

„ note 1, add at the end : A paper on Buddhadatta, by S. *Jambunathan* in Journal of Or. Res., Madras, April 1928, pp. 111-17, is quoted in BB. I, No. 130.

P. 221 note 1, L. 7, read Mrs. *Rhys Davids*.

P. 222 note 1, add : See also B. C. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, p. 123ff.

P. 222 note 3, add : *Cf.* B. C. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13 1931-32, p. 141ff.

P. 224 note 1, add : *Cf.* B. C. *Law* in Ann. Bh. Inst. 13, 1931-32, p. 134ff.

P. 227 note 1, add : Buddhist texts are known to have been translated into Chinese already in the second century A.D., if not earlier. The earliest Tibetan translations date from the second half of the eighth century A. D.; see A. H. *Francke*, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol. II, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imp. Series, Vol. 50), Calcutta 1926, p. 86.

P. 227 note 2, L. 2, read *Kucha* for *Kuchar*.

P. 229, L. 18, read *even the* for *even in the*.

P. 229 note 1, add : Nalinakṣha *Dutt*, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna, London 1930 (Calcutta Oriental Series No. 23).

P. 230 note 1, L. 2, read *causality* for *cusality*.

P. 232 note 1, L. 3 and note 2, L. 1, read *Oldenberg* for *Oldenburg*.

P. 233 note 2, add : On the legendary matter, Jātakas and Avadānas, in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, see also J. *Przyluski* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, p. 1ff.

P. 235 note 1, add: The Chung-Tsi-King (Chinese version of the Saṃgītisutta) of the Dīrghāgama has been translated into German and discussed by Siegfried *Behrsing* in Asia Major 7, 1931, pp. 1-149. *Cf.* above, p. 45 note 2.

P. 235 note 3, add: The Chinese Fan wang king or "Brahmajāla-Sūtra," a Vinaya work of the Mahāyāna, translated by Kumārajīva from an unknown Sanskrit text, has been edited and translated into French by J. J. M. *De Groot*, Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laique (Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenshappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lett. Deel I, No. 2) 1893. Another Brahmajāla-Sūtra in the Chinese Dīrghāgama, as well as the Brahmajāla-Sūtra in the Tibetan Kanjur, corresponds to the Pāli text in the Dīghanikāya.

P. 237, L. 6, read *Dhammapada* for *Dharmapada*.

P. 237 note 4, add: Fragments of Udānavarga translations in Kucean language are discussed by E. *Sieg* and W. *Siegling* in BSOS VI, 2, p. 483ff.

P. 238 notes, L. 4, read *Schiefner* for *Schiefnen*.

P. 239 note 2, add: See now also Bimala Churn *Law*, A Study of the Mahāvastu, Calcutta and Simla 1930, and Supplement.

P. 240, L. 1, Mm. Haraprasāda *Śāstrī* (Calcutta Review, Sept. 1930, p. 441f.) would translate: "Vinayapiṭaka according to the text of the Mahāsaṅghikas who declare the Buddha to be lokottara." For, he says, all the Mahāsaṅghikas believe the Buddha to be lokottara, and in the list of the eighteen sects "Lokottaravādins" are not mentioned. But Vasumitra and Bhavya mention the Lokottaravādins as a sect of the Mahāsaṅghikas. See Mrs. *Rhys Davids*, Points of Controversy, p. xxxvi f. and Max

Walleser, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1927, pp. 28, 78.

P. 240, L. 3, read *Mahāsaṅgha* for *Mahāsāṅgha*.

P. 243 note 2, L. 1 : read *above* for *avove*.

P. 247 note 2, add: See also B. C. *Law*, A Study of the Mahāvastu, Supplement, p. 17f., and A. B. *Keith*, A Note on the Mahāvastu, in *Law's* book, p. vii.

P. 260 note 2, add : On the style and language of Aśvaghoṣa's poems *cf. Keith*, HSL, p. 56 ff.

P. 262 note 1, add: On the relation between Vālmīki and Aśvaghoṣa, s. Vol. I, p. 512 f., and C. W. *Gurner* in JASB, Vol. XXIII, 1927, p. 347ff. (BB I, no. 102).

P. 262 note 2, L. 4, after "1928" add: An English translation of the Saundarananda by E. H. *Johnston* has been published in the same series, London 1932.

P. 266 note 1, add: It seems to me quite impossible that such texts as the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā, the Gurupañcāśikā, and similar Mahāyāna and Tantra texts which are ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa (s. S. *Lévi* in JA 213, 1928, 204 ff.; 215, 1929, 255 ff.) could be works of the poet. Either they are apocryphal, or their author is another Aśvaghoṣa. *Cf.* J. *Przyluski* in Acad. roy. de Belgique Bulletins de la classe des lettres, 1930, 425ff.

P. 267 note 1, add: It is possible that Aśvaghoṣa is also the author of a lyrical drama treating the legend of Rāṣṭrapāla, s. S. *Lévi* in JA 213, 1928, 200ff.

P. 267 note 2, add: Pages 267ff. were already printed when I saw Joh. *Nobel's* paper "Kumāralāta und sein Werk" (NGGW, 1928, 295ff.; see also S. *Lévi* in JA 213, 1928, 193ff.; 215, 1929, 271ff., and L. de *La Vallée Poussin*, Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi (Buddhica I, 1) Paris 1928, p. 223f.) which makes it most probable that Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti is not identical with the Sūtrālaṃkāra,

but an imitation of it prepared for the use of the Sautrāntikas, and that Aśvaghoṣa is the author of the "Sūtrālaṃkāra" translated by Kumārajīva. On the other hand the colophons of the Turfan fragments leave no doubt that Kumāralāta is the author of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, s. J. *Przyluski* in Acad. roy. de Belgique Bulletins de la classe des lettres, 1930, 425ff. H. *Lüders* (Kātantra und Kumāralāta, SBA 1930, 531f.)has also discovered fragments of a grammar by Kumāralāta.

P. 270, last line, read *Catuḥśataka Stotra.*

P. 277 note 3, add: *Cf. Winternitz* in Comm. Wogihara, p. 7ff.

P. 285 note 4, add: J. *Przyluski* (Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, p. 5) does not think it probable that the Vinaya is the source of the Divyāvadāna. He holds that "the compilers of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins are likely to have borrowed.....from the ancient collection of fables of which our Divyāvadāna is only a late recension."

P. 286 note 3, add: J. *Przyluski* in JA 210, 1927, p. 115ff.

P. 293 note 1, L. 2, read *JRAS* for *JARS.*

P. 294 note 4, add: On the Bodhisattvapiṭaka see also Haraprasād *Śāstrī* in B. C. *Law*, Buddhistic Studies, 1931, p. 846ff.

P. 295, L. 4, add: As there is no Mahāyāna Canon, there is also no special Vinayapiṭaka of the Mahāyāna, though there are Sūtras which treat of Vinaya subjects. Such Sūtras are the Chinese *Brahmajāla-Sūtra* (translated into French by M. *de Groot*, Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine (see p. 622 above addition to p. 235 note 3) and the *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-Sūtra* (edited by Nalinaksha *Dutt* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 7, 1931, 259ff.). See also N. *Dutt*, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna, p. 290ff.

P. 305 note 4, add: On the great importance of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka in Japan, see M. W. de *Visser*, Ancient Buddhism in Japan Sūtras and Ceremonies in use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D., Paris 1928 (Buddhica, sér. I, t. III), pp. 1ff., 43.

P. 306 note 3, L. 1, read *Waddell.*

P. 307 note 1, L. 7, read *Śikṣā-Samuccaya.*

P. 307 note 3, L. 2, read *being in the hope.*

P. 315 note 1, add: See now also the valuable "Note on the Prajñāpāramitā" by Nalinaksha *Dutt*, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, London 1930 (Calcutta Oriental Series No. 23), p. 323ff., and the survey of the Prajñāpāramitā literature by Tokumyo *Matsumoto*, Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur nebst einem Specimen der Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā (Bonner Orientalistische Studien Heft 1), Stuttgart 1932. N. *Dutt*, l. c., pp. 39f., 328 dates the Aṣṭasāhasrikā "as early as the first century B. C." According to *Matsumoto* (l. c., p. 22) the earliest Chinese translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pr. dates 172 A. D. He thinks (l. c., p. 31) that the Prajñāpāramitās originated in Kashmir between the birth of Christ and the time of Kaniṣka.

P. 315 note 2, add: On a list of Prajñāpāramitās in the Tibetan Kanjur, see also Marcelle *Lalou* in JA 215, 1929, pp. 87-102.

P. 316 note 2, add: The Sanskrit text of the Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā has been edited by G. *Tucci* (Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Vol. XVII), Roma 1923, and, together with Hsüan Tsang's Chinese version, by Jiryo *Masuda* in Comm. Wogihara, p. 185ff.

P. 316 note 6, add: N. *Dutt*, l. c., 328ff., by a comparison of the Prajñāpāramitā versions, comes to the conclusion that "the relation between the Aṣṭa. and the Śata.

can be hardly called that of abridgment or expansion, as it can be said between the Śata. and the Pañcaviṃśati." Verbal agreements show "that the Aṣṭa. and the Śata. deal with identical topics, but the arrangement and the emphasis laid on a particular topic are quite different. Besides this, the Śata. introduced new topics like bhūmis and expositions of the various śūnyatās, samādhis, etc., which were only enumerated or referred to in the Aṣṭa. So it may be said that the Śata. utilised the Aṣṭa. and not *vice versa.*" On the other hand, "the Pañcaviṃśati is clearly an abridgment of the Śata. effected by an omission of set enumerations and repetitions." Dr. Dutt is certainly right in saying "that the generalisations regarding abridgment and expansion of the Prajñāpāramitās are not possible and that each book must be judged by its contents." About the Daśasāhasrikā and Aṣṭasāhasrikā in Chinese, s. *Dutt*, l. c., p. 323f. *Matsumoto*, in his list of Prajñāpāramitā texts (l. c., p. 2ff.). does not mention a Daśasāhasrikā at all.

P. 321, L. 4, read *Śatasāhasrikā.*

P. 322 note 1, add : N. *Dutt*, l.c., p. 332ff., would explain the tiresome repetitions in the Prajñāpāramitās as due to the desire of philosophical writers of first wiping out from the minds of the readers old ideas, in order to implant new ideas in their place, but who "sadly lacked the knowledge of *artful* repetitions," and therefore became tiresome. I think that the writers of the Pr. wrote for religious purposes rather than for philosophical teaching.

P. 326 note 5, L. 2, read *Sautrāntikas* for *Santrāntikas.*

P. 327 note 1, add: See also J. *Rahder*, Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese Versions of the Daśabhūmika-Sūtra, Paris 1928 (Buddhica,

sér. 2, tome I) and The Daśabhūmika-Sūtra (Gāthā portion) Edited by Johannes *Rahder* and Shinryu *Susa* in EB 5, No. 4, July 1931.

P. 328 note 1, add: On the Bhūmis and the literature on them see now N. *Dutt*, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 238ff.

P. 332 note 1, add: The Ugradatta Paripṛcchā seems to have been a book of conduct for use by the lay Bodhisattvas, s. N. *Dutt*, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 299.

P. 332 note 2, add: The Sanskrit text of a Nairātmyaparipṛcchā, formerly only known in a Tibetan and in a Chinese version, has been discovered by S. *Lévi* (see JA t. 213, 1928, p. 207ff.). A reconstruction of the Sanskrit text from the Tibetan version has been edited by Sujitkumar *Mukhopadhyaya* in Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 4, Calcutta 1931.

P. 332 note 3, add: See now also Daisetz Teitaro *Suzuki*, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, London 1930 (*cf.* EB V, 1929, pp. 1-79), also Haraprasād *Śāstrī* and S. N. *Dasgupta* in B. C. *Law*, Buddhistic Studies, 1931, pp. 840ff., 859ff.

P. 333, L. 9: The last chapter should not be called "Sagāthakam," but (if it had any title at all) it should be "Gāthāḥ." This is also the meaning of the colophon: ity āryasaddharma-Laṅkāvatāro nāma mahāyānasūtraṃ sagāthakaṃ samāptam. *Cf. Suzuki*, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, p. 22.

P. 335 note 3, add: Of the 884 Gāthās of Chap. X, 200 occur also in the main part of the work. *Suzuki*, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, p. 21ff., describes this Gāthā chapter as "nothing but a heap of rubbish and gems."

P. 336, L. 6, read [1] for [2].

P. 336, L. 18, read [2] for [1].

P. 339 note 2, add: The new edition of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra, prepared by the late Professor Bunyiu *Nanjio* and after his death revised and edited by H. *Idzumi*, The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto 1931, has since been published.

P. 341 note 2, L. 4, read: An Uiguric version of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa has been edited by W. W. *Radloff* and S. E. *Malov* in Bibl. Buddh. XVII, 1913ff., and translated into German by the same in Bibl. Buddh. XXVII, 1930.

P. 343 note 2, add: A Sanskrit biography of the Siddhas, found by G. *Tucci* (JASB, N.S., XXVI, 1930, 138ff.), contains also some information on Nāgārjuna, or rather on the different authors and teachers of this name. On the confusion of the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna and the Tāntrika Nāgārjuna s. also Nalinaksha *Dutt* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 7, 1931, 635ff.

P. 346, L. 3 from below, add: The Vigraha-Vyāvartanī is a polemical treatise; it has been translated from the Tibetan by Susuma *Yamaguchi* (JA 215, 1929, pp. 1-86), who also notes the differences of the Chinese translation. The Tibetan text and an English translation from the Chinese and Tibetan has been published by G. *Tucci* in Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources, GOS No. XLIX, 1929.

P. 346 note 1, L. 2, read *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*.

P. 346 note 4, add: A reconstruction of the Sanskrit text from the Tibetan and Chinese versions, and an English translation, with Introduction and Notes, has been published by Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharyya* in Visva-Bharati Studies No. 1, Calcutta 1931. The Pandit leaves it an open question whether the author of the work is the old Nāgārjuna of about 200 A.D., or

the second Nāgārjuna who " is believed to have flourished in about the first half of the seventh century A.D."

P. 347 note 1, L. 2, after " Oxford 1885 " add : Different from the Sanskrit Dharmasaṃgraha, but closely related to it is the Chinese Dharmasaṃgraha, see F. *Weller*, Der chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha, Leipzig 1923.

P. 348, L. 11, read *grounds* for *ground*.

„ L. 12, read *Sūtra* for *Śūtra*.

P. 350 note 4, add : See now also the Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with Copious Extracts from the Commentary of Candrakīrti. Reconstructed and edited by Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya*, Part II, Visva-Bharati Series, No. 2, Calcutta 1931. An English translation from the Chinese of Āryadeva's *Śataśāstra*, a work which is similar to the Catuḥśataka, though the subjects are differently arranged, has been published by G. *Tucci* in Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources, GOS No. XLIX, 1929. Another Madhyamaka text of Āryadeva, the *Akṣara-Śatakam*, has been translated after Chinese and Tibetan materials by Vasudev *Gokhale*, Heidelberg 1930 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus 14).

P. 351 note 4, add : See also *La Vallée Poussin* in BSOS VI, 2 (1931), p. 411ff.

P. 353 note 3, add : The Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-Upadeśa-Śāstra have been edited by Th. *Stcherbatsky* and E. *Obermiller* in Bibl. Buddh. XXIII, 1929. It is, according to *Stcherbatsky*, " the fundamental work for the study of the Buddhist doctrine of the Path towards moral perfection and the attainment of the condition of a Buddhist Mahāyānistic Saint, and of a Mahāyānistic Buddha in the blessed

Nirvāṇa." *Stcherbatsky* explains *abhisamaya* as a synonym of *mārga*, and says: "*Alaṃkāra* is the name for a literary form popular with the Buddhists. It means that the work in question contains no full and detailed exposition of the doctrine, it is not a mahāśāstra, like the Abhidharmakośa, but it is only a short summary of the salient points of the system contained in the prajñāpāramitā sūtras." The Alaṃkāras are always composed in memorial verses (kārikās) which, like the Brahmanical Sūtras, again require a commentary. See also *Tucci*, On some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya(nātha) and Asaṅga, Calcutta 1930, p. 10ff., and in JASB N.S. XXVI, 1930, p. 127.

P. 354 note 1, add: See also Hakuju *Ui*, Maitreya as an Historical Personage, in Lanman Studies, p. 95ff. Here he says (p. 99) that it " is still a question" whether the authorship of the commentary on the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra belongs to Asaṅga or to Vasubandhu. He ascribes to Maitreya the works: Yogācārabhūmi, Yoga-vibhaṅga-śāstra (now lost), Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, Madhyāntavibhaṅga, Vajracchedikā-Pāramitā-śāstra, and Abhisamayālaṃkāra. G. *Tucci*, On some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya(nātha) and Asaṅga, Calcutta 1930, and in JASB, N.S., XXVI, 1930, p. 125ff., supports, by new evidence, the view that Maitreya or Maitreyanātha is an historical personage and the author of six works, including the Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, and the Yogacaryā-bhūmi-śāstra (this is the correct title). He is of opinion that Maitreya is the author of the Kārikās of all the six works, while Asaṅga, his chief pupil, wrote the commentaries on them. E. *Obermiller*, in the introduction to his translation of the Uttara-

tantra of Maitreya (The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle of Salvation, being A Manual of Buddhist Monism, The Work of Ārya Maitreya with a Commentary by Āryāsaṅga. Translated from the Tibetan, in Acta Orientalia, Vol. IX, 1931, pp. 81-306), states that the following five works are ascribed to Maitreya by Tibetan tradition, *viz.*, Sūtrālaṃkāra, Madhyānta-vibhaṅga, Dharma-dharmatā-vibhaṅga, Abhisamayālaṃkāra, and Uttaratantra. *Obermiller* gives a summary analysis of all these works. As the commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra is ascribed to Asaṅga, and as both text and commentary must have been composed by the same author, *O.* inclines to the opinion that all the 5 treatises which show a great resemblance with each other as regards style, though they are written from different points of view (1-3 from Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, 4 and 5 from Mādhyamika point of view), were written by Asaṅga, and that the tradition of Asaṅga having heard them from Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven is only meant to give a divine sanction to the works.

P. 354 note 2, add: An edition of the Bodhisattvabhūmi, being the 15th section of the Yogācārabhūmi, has been published by Unrai *Wogihara*, Tokyo 1930.

P. 355f. note 1, add: The question of Vasubandhu's date has recently been discussed by J. *Takakusu*, Taiken *Kimura*, and Genmyo *Ono* (in Lanman Studies, pp. 79ff., 89ff., 93f.) who agree in assigning the author of the Abhidharmakośa to the 5th century (420-500 A. D.). T. *Kimura* speaks here also of two Vasubandhus. *Takakusu's* chief arguments are *argumenta ex silentio*: Kumārajīva (383-414 in China) and Fa-hien (399-414 in India) know nothing of Vasubandhu and his Abhidharmakośa. The sources

on which N. *Péri* relies, are declared by *Takakusu* to be "spurious." On the other hand, H. *Ui* (Lanman Studies, p. 101f.) gives the following dates: Maitreya 270-350, Asaṅga 310-390, Vasubandhu 320-400, which Takakusu considers too early by 100 years.

P. 357 note 1, Line 2, after "1918" add: Second Koçasthāna ed. by U. *Wogihara*, Th. *Stcherbatsky*, and E. *Obermiller*, Bibl. Buddh., 1931. The Tibetan version of the Abhidharmakośakārikāḥ and Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam has been edited by Th. *Stcherbatsky* in Bibl. Buddh. XX, 1917 and 1930.

P. 358 note 4, add: A similar work is the Śīlaparikathā, a moral treatise of 11 verses, which is ascribed to Vasubandhu, and preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur only; s. Anathanath *B asu* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 7, 1931, 28ff.

P. 360 note 5, add: A fragment of the Sanskrit text of the Commentary on the Pratītya-Samutpāda-Sūtra has been published by G. *Tucci* in JRAS, 1930, p. 611ff. Instead of "According to G. Tucci," etc. read: H. R. Rangaswamy *Iyengar* (JBORS 12, 1926, p. 587 ff.; Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, p. 81ff.) and G. *Tucci* (Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, p. 630ff.) have proved that the Vādavidhi also is a work of Vasubandhu, and not as A. B. *Keith*, in agreement with Satis Chandra *Vidyabhushana*, tried to prove (Ind. Hist. Qu. 4, 1928, p. 221ff.) the work of Dharmakīrti.

P. 362 note 1, add: The whole extremely complicated problem of the authenticity of the Ta Tch'eng K'i Sin Louen (this is the Chinese title of the Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra) has been fully discussed by Paul *Demiéville*, Sur l'authenticité du Ta Tch'eng K'i Sin Louen (Extrait du Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, tome II, No. 2, Tôkyô 1929).

Mr. *Demiéville* sees no reason to deny the Indian origin of the work which (he thinks) must be later than the Laṅkāvatāra, but earlier than Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Else it would be difficult to explain why they are never quoted in the work. On the other hand it is strange that the work, so famous in China and Japan, is never alluded to in any Sanskrit text, nor in any Chinese or Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit works.

P. 363, L. 10, read *Candrakīrti.*

P. 363 note 2, add : The Nyāyapraveśa has also been edited by N. D. *Mironov* in T'oung Pao, 1931, pp. 1-24.

P. 364, L. 5 and L. 11, read *Candrakīrti.*

P. 364, L. 7, add note to Prasannapadā : Chapters I and XXV of the Prasannapadā have been translated by Th. *Stcherbatsky* in his work The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa (Leningrad 1927), pp. 79-212 ; Chap. X by St. *Schayer* in Rocznik Orjentalistyczny, Lwów 1930, VII, 26-52, and Chapters V, XII, XIII-XVI by St. *Schayer*, Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Prasannapadā in Polska Akademja Umiejetności, Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste Nr. 14, w. Krakowie 1931. An analysis of Chap. XXIV was given by *La Vallée Poussin* in Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leiden 1896.

P. 364 note 2 : An edition of the Sanskrit text of the Madhyamakāvatara is now being published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VI, 1932 (Supplement).

P. 365, L. 7, read *Candrakīrti.*

P. 366 note 1, L. 15, read *Keith.*

P. 367, L. 4, read *neither* for *nither.*

P. 369, L. 2, read *Ākāśa-*

P. 369, L. 11, read *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa.*

To p. 369, L. 12: The Avalokita-Sūtra in the Mahāvastu II, 363 ff., agrees with the Avalokana-Sūtra quoted by Śāntideva in general, but differs from it in so many details that Śāntideva's text cannot possibly be a quotation from the Mahāvastu.

P. 369, L. 19, read *Daśabhū-*

P. 369, L. 19, read *Tathāgataguhya-Sūtra.*

P. 370 note 1, add: A Mongolic translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra ed. by B. J. *Vladimircov* in Bibl. Buddh. XXVIII, 1929.

P. 375 note 3, add: *Cf.* Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharya* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, 757ff.

P. 377 note 1, L. 1, read *The Tibetan text with a French translation*; and add at the end of the note: The first and the last of the four hymns, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts, have been edited, with an English translation, by G. *Tucci* in JRAS, 1932, p. 309ff.

P. 385 note 2, add: The Mahā-Māyūrī has been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, and three times more. See also G. *Tucci* in JASB, N.S. XXVI, 1930, p. 129.

P. 391 note 2, add: See also P. C. *Bagchi* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, 576ff.

P. 392 note 2, L. 3, read *Sādhanamālā, II.*

P. 392 note 2, add: G. *Tucci* also (JASB XXVI, 1930, p. 129 ff.) is of opinion that the Tantras go back to the times of Harivarman and Asaṅga (4th century A.D.) because they allude to a "Somasiddhānta" which he identifies with the "Tantric sect" of the Kāpālikās. I am afraid, the use of the terms "Tantric" and "Tantras" is too vague to allow any safe dating of Tantra literature. In line 3 of the note read Sādhanamālā II (instead of III).

To p. 393, L. 9, Uḍḍiyāna is probably not Orissa, but the Swat country; s. P. C. *Bagchi* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, p. 580f.

P. 393 note 4, add: See also P. C. *Bagchi* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 6, 1930, 389ff. The Sandhā-bhāṣā is also used in the *Dohākośa*, Sahajayāna poems written in Apabhraṃśa, s. Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha. Les Dohā-Koṣa (en apabhraṃśa, avec les versions tibétaines) et Les Caryā (en vieuxbengali)...édités et traduits par M. *Shahidulla*, Paris 1928. Kāṇha lived about 700, Saraha about 1000 A.D.

P. 394 note 2, L. 1, read *C. Bendall.*

P. 395 note 3, add: None of the passages quoted from a Tathāgataguhya-Sūtra in the Śikṣāsamuccaya occur in the Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka edited by Benoytosh *Bhattacharyya*, Baroda 1931 (GOS No. 53). The latter is a genuine Tantra. In the colophons it is called "Guhyasamāja Mahāguhyatantrarāja." It is a work belonging to the Yogatantra class. Dr. Bhattacharyya would ascribe this Tantra to Asaṅga, but his arguments are very weak indeed.

P. 397 note 1, add: See also Marcelle *Lalou*, Iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Paris 1930 (Buddhica, sér. 1, t. VI). B. *Bhattacharyya* (GOS, Vol. LIII, p. xxxiii ff.) would ascribe the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in its original form to the second century A.D. But his arguments are by no means convincing.

To p. 399, L. 22: Some scholars (see *e.g.*, G. *Tucci* in JASB N.S. XXVI, 1930, p. 128ff.) claim a higher antiquity for the Tantras. But no real Tantra can be proved to have existed before the 7th century A.D. Neither the Suvarṇaprabhāsa nor the Mahāmāyūrī can be called "Tantras." Nor are the Kāpālikas a "Tantric sect." All we can say is that some of the elements of Tantrism are already found in earlier works.

P. 400 note 4, add: On foreign elements in the Tantra, see also P. C. *Bagchi* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 7, 1931, 1ff.

P. 401 note 1, L. 3, read *popular* for *oppular*.

P. 401 note 1, add: A goddess Lāmā often appears in Buddhist Tantras connected with the cult of Ḍākinīs and Yoginīs. Lāmā is the same as Tibetan Lhamo, "she-devil." On this Lāmā and on Tibetan influence on the Tantras s. also G. *Tucci* in JASB N.S. XXVI, 1930, p. 155ff.

P. 406 f. note 2, add: See also W. *Wüst*, Buddhismus und Christentum auf vorderasiatisch-antikem Boden, in Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 1932, 33ff.

P. 411, L. 1, read: *Vimalakīrti-Nirdeśa*.

P. 419 note 3, L. 2, read *Angelo de Gubernatis*.

P. 422 note 2, add: The Italian original was published in Milano in 1925.

P. 427 note 2, add: Also Franklin *Edgerton*, Notes on Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, in Lanman Studies, p. 27ff.

P. 427 note 3, add: Also *Bloomfield*, On Diminutive Pronouns in Jaina Sanskrit, in Lanman Studies, p. 7ff.

P. 428, L. 7, read *Canon* for *Canons*.

P. 429, L. 21, read *Mahā-Pratyākhyāna*.

P. 430, L. 3, read *Ohanijjutti*.

P. 432, L. 20, read *Puvvas* for *Puvuas*.

P. 432, L. 2 from below, read Mahāvīra.

P. 443, L. 21, add: [1]

P. 443, L. 26, read "*Numerous parables, which* for "*Numerous parables,*" *which*.

P. 449, note 2, add: A new edition of the Uvāsagadasāo by P. L. *Vaidya* has been published at Poona 1930.

P. 470, L. 12, read *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka-* for *Saḍāvāśyaka-*.

P. 474, L. 16, read *Canon* for *Cannon*.

P. 489 note 2, read *pavvam* for *pevvam*.

P. 494 note 4, L. 4, read *Stutterheim*.

P. 498 note 1, L. 1, read *Glasenapp.*

After p. 503, L. 17, add: Another "Mahāpurāṇa" is the *Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra* in Apabhraṃśa by the poet *Puphayanta* or *Puṣpadanta.* This Mahāpurāṇa also consists of two parts, an Ādipurāṇa in 37, and an Uttarapurāṇa in 65 Chapters. It was completed in 965 A. D. Puṣpadanta is also the author of two other Apabhraṃśa works, a *Nāgakumāracariu,* and a *Jasaharacariu* (Yaśodharacarita).[1] The subject of the latter is the life of Yaśodhara, which has also been treated in Somadeva Sūri's Yaśastilaka and Vādirāja Sūri's Yaśodharacarita.

1) Jasaharacariu of Puṣpadanta. Critically edited with an Introduction, Glossary and Notes by P. L. *Vaidya* (The Ambādās Chaware Digambara Jain Granthamālā or Karanjā Jain Series edited by Hiralal Jain, Vol. I), Karanja, Berar 1931. On the Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra, see Introduction, p. 19 ff. and also *Hiralal,* Catalogue, p. xliii ff.

P. 506 note 2: The Ādīśvaracaritra, the first book of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, has been translated into English by Helen M. *Johnson,* Baroda 1931 (GOS No. 51).

P. 540, L. 8, read *Caritra* for *Charitra.*

P. 543 note 1, add: But No. 13 in *Grimm,* Kinder-und Hausmärchen, has more in common with the Kathākośa story, as A. *Wesselski,* Versuch einer Theorie des Märchens, Reichenberg i. B. 1931, p. 75 ff., has shown.

P. 548 note 4, add: Translated into German by H. *Jensen* in Das indische Schattentheater bearbeitet von G. *Jacob,* H. *Jensen,* H. *Losch,* Stuttgart 1931, p. 48 ff.

P. 558 note 2, add: As to the relative pronoun *yaka,* see M. *Bloomfield* in Lanman Studies, p. 9 ff.

P. 561, L. 3, read *There is also a S.*
P. 561 note 3, L. 1, read *Āśādhara's.*
P. 561 note 5, Ll. 1 and 2, read *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya.*
P. 581, L. 15, read *Nyāyaviniścaya.*
P. 581, L. 16, read *pasambodhana.*
P. 583, L. 3, read *Jñānārṇava.*
P. 586, L. 6, read *Cāmuṇḍarāya.*
P. 594, L. 14, read *Dharma* for *Dhārma.*
Addition to Appendix II: The latest discussions on the problem of Pāli and its home are those by R. *Siddhārtha*, Origin and Development of Pāli Language with special reference to Sanskrit Grammar, and by A. B. *Keith*, The Home of Pāli, in B. C. *Law*, Buddhistic Studies, p. 641 ff., and p. 728 ff.

ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS

P. 304, L. 13, read *Nepalese.*
P. 304, L. 20, read *Buddha-Bhakti.*
P. 314, L. 17, read *Sūtra.*
P. 343 note 2, L. 2, read *Nāgārjuna.*
P. 353, L. 15, read *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Kārikās.*

INDEX

COMPILED BY W. GAMPART, PH.D.

Abbhutadhamma, 10,
Abegg, E., 273n., 289n.
Abhaya, 30f., 72f., 506f., 571.
Abhayacandra, 586n.
Abhayadeva Sūri, 441n., 442 n., 445n., 449n., 450n., 452 n., 470 n., 481f., 503n., 554 n., 555, 580n., 584n., 588 f.
Abhayanandin, 585.
Abhayarājarṣi-Kathānaka, 567n.
Abhidhamma, 9 n., 10n., 11, 15n., 22n., 157, 165 f., 168, 172 f., 220, 222 ; s. Abhidharma.
Abhidharmapiṭaka, 9, 11 f., 15n., 22 n., 33, 34n., 44, 49, 66, 76, 157, 165-173, 183, 184n., 191, 239.
Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha, 222.
Abhidhammāvatāra, 220.
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 165n., 505 n.
Abhidharma, 232n., 238f., 257n., 355, 356 n., 357 n., s. Abhidhamma.
Abhidharmakośa, 356-359, 630ff.
Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam, 632.
Abhidharmakośakārikāḥ, s. Abhidharmakośa.
Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā, 235, 293 n., 356 f., 358 n.
Abhidharmapiṭaka, 11 n., 15 n., 44 n., 173, 194.
Abhidharma-Samuccaya, 352 n.
Abhiniṣkramaṇa, 242.
Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra, 161 n., 242 n., 248 n.
Abhisamayālaṃkāra(-Kārikās), 316 n., 352n., 353, 354 n., 630 f.
Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-Upadeśa-Śāstra, 629.
Abhisamayālaṃkārāvaloka, 354 n.
Abhisambuddha-Gāthās, 116 n.
Abhivinaya, 9 n.
Ācāradaśāḥ, s. Āyāradasāo.
Ācāradinakara, 587.
Ācārāṅga-Sūtra, s. Āyāraṃga-Sutta.
Ācāravṛtti, 577.
Ācārya Sūri, 479 n.
Adharma, 333, 576.
Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 316 n., 320 n., 382 n.
Adhyātmakalpadruma, 557 n.
Adhyātmaparīkṣā, 593.
Adhyātmāṣṭaka, 555.
Adhyātma-Tattvāloka, 594.
Adhyātmopaniṣad, 567 n.
Ādibuddha, 306 f.
Ādikarma-Pradīpa, 324 n., 384 n., 389.
Ādikarmika-Bodhisattva, 369, 390.
Ādinātha, 306.
Ādi-Purāṇa, 481, 497 ff., 512, 582 n., 637.
Ādīśvaracaritra, 637.
Advaita philosophy, 388.
Advayasiddhi, 393.
Advayavajra, 375.
Æsop, 126.
Agaladatta, 488.
Āgama (Buddhist), 77 n., 234 ff., 284 n. ; (Jaina Canon), s. Siddhānta.
Āgamodaya Samiti, 427 n.
Aggañña-Sutta, 43.
Aghaṭa-Kumāra-Caritra, 540 n.
Aghaṭa-Kumāra-Kathā, 540.
Agni, 244 n.
Ahiṃsā, 103, 425, 436, 468, 483, 569.
Ahiqār, 138.
Ahriman, 405.
Aitareya Āraṇyaka, 145 n.
Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, 58 n.
Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, 520 n., 553 n.
Aiyar, K. G. Śankara, 598.
Aiyer, V. Gopala, 597.
Ajantā, 128 n., 139, 155, 276.
Ajātaśatru (Ajātasattu, Kuṇiya), 37, 282, 312 424 n., 454, 458, 598, 614.
Ajātasattu, s. Ajātaśatru.
Ajita, 554.
Ajitaprabha, 516.
Ajita-Śānti-Laghustavana, 554 n.
Ajita-Śānti-Stava, 554.
Ajitasena, 585, 587.
Ājīvikas, 445.
Ajiyasantithaya, 554.
Ajja Sāma (Ayya Sāma, Ārya Śyāma), 433, 456, 537 n.
Ajja Suhamma (Ārya Sudharman), 433, 449 f.
Akalaṅka, 478, 497, 531, 555 n., 576, 581 f.
Ākāśa-Garbha-Sūtra, 369.
Ākhyāna, 48 f., 58 f., 93, 96, 123 n., 185 n.
Ākhyāyikās, 364 n.
Akṣapāda, 336.
Akṣara-Śatakam, 629.
Akṣayamati-Paripṛcchā, 329 n.
Akṣobhya, 312, 397 n.
Akṣobhya-Vyūha, 312, 328.
Akutobhayā, 344 f.
Alaṃkāra, 107, 260, 324 n., 630.
Alaṃkāraśāstra, 555 n., 573.
Ālāpapaddhati, 585.
Ālavaka-Sutta, 96.
Ālaya, 333.
Albērūnī, 343 n.

Alexander the Great, 154, 194, 216.
Alexander-legend, 193.
Aliya-vasāṇi, 607.
Allegory, 527 f., 530 f., 572.
Alpākṣarā Prajnā-Pāramitā, 315 f., 381.
Alsdorf, Ludwig, 544 n., 561 n. (correct for "Alsberg"), 570 n., 571 n., 572 n., 573 n.
Āmagandha-Sutta, 94.
Amaracandra, 521.
Āmarāja, 553.
Amara Sūri, 540.
Amarāvatī, 155.
Amaru, 100.
Ambaḍa, 540.
Ambaḍa-Caritra, 540.
Ambapālī, 30, 107.
Ambaṭṭha-Sutta, 37, 44, 197.
Amida, 312.
Amir Shikār, 547.
Amitābha, Amitāyus, 310 ff., 326 n., 327, 360.
Amitagati, 481, 561-569, 577 n.
Amitāyurdhyāna-Sūtra, 301n., 312.
Amitāyus, s. Amitābha.
Amoghavajra, 386 n., 400.
Amoghavarṣa I, 478n., 481, 499, 560.
Amṛtacandra (Sūri), 561 n., 576, 577 n., 584.
Amṛtānanda, 259, 378.
Aṃtagaḍadasāo (Antakṛddaśāḥ), 429, 450 f.
Anāgata-bhayāni, 607.
Anāgatavaṃsa, 220, 221 n.
Anamatagga-Saṃyutta, 54.
Ānanda, 22, 28 f., 39 ff., 52, 64, 101 n., 102, 159, 250 f., 263, 273, 286 f., 310, 412, 419.
Anaṅgapaviṭṭha, 430.
Anantaratha, 492.
Anāthapiṇḍika, °piṇḍada, 28, 187, 189, 293.
Anatomy, 460.
Anattatā, 231.
Andersen, Dines, 92 n., 116 n., 121 n., 224 n.
Andha-Aṭṭhakathā, 184 n.
Andhagajanyāya, 88 n.
Āndhra dynasty, 348.
Andrew St. John, R. F. St., 133 n.
Anecdotes, 114, 125, 127 n., 134-137, 138 n., 177 n., 193, 209, 402, 480, n., 519 f., 526, 544 f., 549 n., 564, 565 n.
Anekāntajayapatākā, 584 n.
Anesaki, M., notes to 19, 45, 69, 77, 92, 232, 235 f., 256, 295, 305, 314, 323, 339 f., 345, 355, 400, 404.
Aṅgabāhiriyas (°bāhyas), 430, 457 n., 472 ff.
Aṅgapaviṭṭha, 430.
Aṅgas (Buddhist), 9 f., 219; (Jaina), 428-433, **435-453**, 454 n., 458, 466 n., 472 f., 481, 487, 498, 579, 587, 592.
Aṅgulimāla, 48, 109.
Aṅguttara Nikāya, 6 n., 9 n., 11 n., 16 n., 23 n., 34, 41 n., 44, 49, 51 n., **60-66**, 67, 69, 76, 77 n., 78, 91, 92 n., 110 n., 166, 168, 191, 198, 234 f., 264 n., 330, 384 n., 413 n., 441, 607, 608 n.
Animal fairy tales, 125, 128 f.
Animals, good and noble, 156, 539; grateful a. and ungrateful man, 129, 151, 225; language of, 130
Animal sacrifice, 491, 524.
Animisacetiya, 198.
Aṅkuśa, 494.
Antakṛddaśāḥ, s. Aṃtagaḍadasāo.
Antara-Kathā-Saṃgraha, 543, 544 n.
Anthologies, 574 f.
Anthropology, 589.
Anugītā, 94, 145 n.
Anukramaṇī, 33, 101 n.
Aṇuogadāra (Anuyogadvāra), 429f., 451 n. 472, 473 n., 522, 589.
Anupreksās, the twelve, 577.
Anurādhapura, 184 n., 190, 202, 205, 210, 215 n.
Anuruddha, 159, 222.
Anusundara, 531.
Anuttaraupapādikāṅga, 454 n.
Anuttaraupapātikadaśāḥ, s. Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo.
Anuttarayoga-Tantras, 389, 395.
Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo (Anuttaraupapātikadaśāḥ), 429, 450-452.
Anuyoga, 453, 454 n.
Anuyogadvāra, s. Aṇuogadāra.
Anyayogavyavacched(ik)ā, 556, 590.
Apabhraṃśa, 226 n., 428, 475, 496 n., 510 n., 511, 516 n., 517, 521, 532, 543, 545, 558, 570-573, 589, 590 n., 635, 637.
Apadāna, 35, 77 n., 123, **157-160**, 207, 277, 283; commentary, 191.
Aparājitā, 492.
Aparimitāyuḥ-Sūtra, 382.
Aparimitāyur-Jñāna-Nāma-Mahāyāna-Sūtram, 382 n.
Aparimitāyus-Sūtropadeśa, 360.
Aphorisms, 10, 57, 77, 124, 559; s. also Gnomic poetry.
Apologetics, 181.
Apsaras, 263.
Āpta, 563, 567.
Āptamīmāṃsā, 474, 581.
Āptaparīkṣā, 582.
Arabian Nights, 127 n., 130 n., 138, 542.
Ārādhanā-Kathā-Kośa, 544.
Ārādhanasāra, 585.
Ardhabarbara, 493.
Ardha-Māgadhī, 430 f., 604.
Ardhaśatikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315 n.
Arhat, 36, 44, 48, 84, 86, 100, 106, 158 f., 170, 182, 195, 203 f., 228 f., 263, 268, 280, 289 n., 321, 323 n., 436, 459, 547.
Arhatpravacana, 583 n.
Ariṣṭanemi (Ariṭṭhanemi, Nemi, Neminātha), 334, 458, 469, 495 f., 504, 510-513, 517, 557.
Ariṣṭanemipurāṇasaṃgraha-Harivaṃśa, 495 n.
Ariṭṭhanemi, s. Ariṣṭanemi.
Arjunadeva, 590.
Arnold, Edwin, 418 f.
Ārṣa, 430.
Art, Indian, 154, 284, 304 f., 322 n.
Arthavāda, 33, 185 n.
Arthavargīya-Sūtra, 92 n., 236 n.
Āryā (metre), 269, 354, 451 n., 465 n., 483, 489, 525, 588, 591 n.

Āryācala-Mahākrodharāja-Guhya-Dhāraṇī-Sūtra, 383 n.
Āryacandra, 272.
Āryadeva (Deva), 257 f., 342, 345, 349-352, 356 n., 362, 363 n., 364, 365 n., 629.
Āryamūlasarvāstivāda, 231 n.
Ārya-Prajñā-Pāramitā, 316 n.
Āryāsaṅga, s. Asaṅga.
Ārya Sudharman, s. Ajja Suhamma.
Āryaśūra, 273 f., 276.
Ārya Śyāma, s. Ajja Sāma.
Ārya-Tārā-Nāmāṣṭottaraśataka-Stotra, 379.
Ārya-Tārā-Sragdharā-Stotra, 378.
Āsaḍa, 503 n.
Aśādhara, 542 n., 561 n., 577 n., 590, 591 n.
Āśaga, 516.
Asaṅga, 234 n., 271, 324, 337, 352, 354 f., 356 n., 359, 363 n., 392, 394 n., 630-635.
Āsavas, 103.
Ascetic morality, 425, 569 n.
Ascetic poetry, 121, 125, 145 n., 147, 176 n., 425, 466, 468 f., 523, 562, 573.
Ascetics, 36, 42, 50, 65, 82, 87 f., 94 n., 97, 126, 129 f., 134 n., 144, 147, 161 n., 177 f., 206, 388, 445, 450, 463, 467 ff., 471 f., 479 n., 494 f., 500, 502, 513, 518, 523, 534, 591, 594.
Asita, 96, 97 n., 187, 253, 411.
Asitapaṭa, 560 n.
Aśoka, 5 ff., 13-16, 18, 20, 41, 42 n., 53, 66, 93, 110, 160 n., 188 n., 209, 213, 216, 217 n., 224 n., 238, 254, 283, 285 f., 288-292, 599 ff., 604, 606-609.
Aśokarāja-Sūtra, 285 n.
Aśokarājāvadāna, 285 n.
Aśokāvadāna, 289 n.
Aśokāvadānamālā, 290 f.
Assalāyana-Sutta, 47, 53.
Aṣṭakāni, 561, 584 n., 594 n.
Aṣṭakaprakaraṇa, 561 n., 583 n., 584 n., 594.
Aṣṭakavṛtti, 584 n.
Aṣṭa-Mahā-Śrīcaitya-Stotra, 377.
Aṣṭamīvrata-Vidhāna, 390.
Aṣṭasahasrī, 581.
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 295, 314 n., 315 ff., 321, 323 f., 328 n., 354 n., 652 f.
Aṣṭaśatī, 581 f.
Aṣṭāvakra, 65 n., 66 n.
Astikāyas, the five, 576.
Astrology, 595.
Astronomy, 226, 343, 351, 456 f., 476 n., 554 n., 595.
Asuras, 280 f., 311, 491, 513 f.
Aśvaghoṣa, 87 n., **256-276**, 285 n., 342, 347 n., 349 f., 356 n., 361 f., 623 f.
Āśvalāyana, 336.
Āṭanāṭiya-Sūtra, 234.
Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta, 44.
Atharvaveda, 286 n., 380.
Atītavatthu, 116, 120 n., 122 n.
Ātman, 552 n., 572.
Ātmānuśāsana, 561.
Attenhofer, A., 150 n.
Aṭṭhakathā, 117, 118 n., 184 f., 189 f., 191 n., 202 n., 205, 208-211, 215, 217 f., 221 n., 603.
Aṭṭhakavagga, 10 n., 92, 166, 236.
Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka, 339 n.
Atthasālinī, 9 n., 169 n., 176 n., 190 n., 191, 192 n., 197, 201 n., 221 n.
Āturapratyākhyāna, s. Āurapaccakkhāṇa.
Aufhauser, Joh. B., 406 n., 407 n.
Aufrecht, Theodor, 516 n., 517 n., 588 n.
Aung, Shwe Zan, 169 n., 183 n., 202 n., 222 n.
Aupapātika, s. Uvavāiya.
Āurapaccakkhāṇa (Āturapratyākhyāna), 429, 459, 461 n.
Avacūrṇis, 483.
Avadāna, 158, 160, 177 n., 239 n., 241, 244, 267, **277-294**, 313, 376 n., 518 n., 621.
Avadāna-Kalpalatā, 293, 376 n.
Avadānamālās, 290 f.
Avadānaśataka, 160 n., 277 n., 279-284, 290 ff., 452.
Avalokana-Sūtra, 245 n., 369, 634.
Avalokitasiṃha, 238 n.
Avalokita-Sūtra, 245 n., 369, 634.
Avalokiteśvara, 303, 305-310, 377 f.
Avalokiteśvara-Guṇakāraṇḍa-Vyūha, 305.
Āvassaga, s. Āvassaya.
Āvassaya (Āvassaga, Āvaśyaka), 429, 470, 476 n., 481, 485, 489 n., 496 n., 536, 575, 589.
Āvaśyaka, s. Āvassaya.
Āvaśyaka narratives, 484 n., 485 n., 488.
Āvaśyaka-Niryukti, 489 n., 575.
Āvaśyakavṛtti, 589.
Avataṃsaka school, 324.
Avataṃsaka-Sūtras, 325-328, 396.
Avidūrenidāna, 186, 240 n., 249.
Āyāradaśāo (Ācāradaśāḥ), 429, 443, 462.
Āyāraṃga-Sutta (Ācārāṅga-Sūtra), 428, 431, **435-438**, 441 n., 463 f., 476 n., 506, 577.
Ayogavyavacchedā, 556.
A-yu-wang-ch'uan, 285 n., 288 n.
A-yu-wang-king, 285 n., 288 n.
Ayya Sāma, s. Ajja Sāma.

Bachhofer, L., 612.
Bagchi, Probodhchandra, notes to 228, 248, 253 f., 304, 307, 312 f., 315, 325, 328 f., 332 f., 341, 347 f., 355, 360, 362, 369, 386, 634 ff.
Bāhubali, 585 n.
Bairāt (Bhābrū) edict, 16, 53 n., 66, 93, 606-609.
Baka, 546.
Bālacandra, 548.
Baladeva(s), 458, 492, 496 f., 505.
Bālādityа, 356 n.
Balāha, 308.
Balarāma, 495.
Ballads, 36, 40 n., 48, 58 ff., 93, 96 f., 100, 108 ff., 118, 124 f., 141, 142 n., 143, 145, 185 f., 211, 243, 253, 256, 466, 468 f., 471, 484, 570 n.
Ballini, A., 488 n., 517 n., 525 n., 526 n., 544 n., 580 n.
Bambhacerāiṃ (Brahmacaryāṇi), 435 n., 436 n., 441 n.

Bāṇa, 342, 347 n., 358, 385, 525, 534, 538, 549 f.
Bandhasvāmitva, 591.
Banerjee, Panchcowrie, 393 n.
Banerji, R. D., 613.
Bapat, P. V., 35 n., 604.
Bapoo, Soobajee, 265 n.
Bappabhaṭṭi, 520, 552.
Bappabhaṭṭi-Sūri-Carita, 552 n., 553 n.
Barlaam and Josaphat, 416-418.
Barnett, L. D., 174 n., 370 n., 450 n., 612.
Barodia, U.D., 426 n.
Barth, A., 1 n., 20 n., 170 n., 174 n., 177 n., 239 n., 243 n., 246, 273 n., 323 n., 370 n., 428 n., 449 n., 590 n., 598, 608.
Barua, Benimadhab, 16 n., 17 n., 121 n., 124 n., 238 n., 445 n., 464 n., 606ff.
Barua, Dwijendra Lal, 619.
Baston, A., 262 n.
Basu, Anathnath, 632.
Bāuls, 393.
Baynes, Herbert, 25 n., 41 n.
Beal, Samuel, notes to 161, 236 f., 248, 258 f., 268, 290, 324 342, 347, 349, 358.
Becaradāsa, s. Das, Bechar.
Beckh, H., 39 n., 228 n., 238 n., 273 n.
Behrsing, Siegfried, 615, 622.
Belloni-Filippi, F., 567 n., 574 n., 584 n.
Benares, 120 n.; s. Sermon of B.
Bendall, C., notes to 14, 228, 234, 246, 295 ff., 304, 306, 313, 315 f., 324 f., 327, 329, 337, 339, 354, 357, 365 f., 363 ff., 383 f., 389, 394.
Benfey, Th., 126 n., 127 n., 129 n., 130 n., 134 n., 136 n., 138 n., 139 n., 150 n., 154, 215 n., 424 n., 504 n.
Bergh van Eysinga, G. A. van den, 403 f., and notes to 406 f., 409-412, 415.
Bertholet, A., 21 n.
Beth, Karl, notes to 405, 407, 410 f., 416.
Bhābrū edict, s. Bairāt edict.
Bhādrabāhavī Saṃhitā, 476 n.
Bhadrabāhu, 431 ff., 438, 462 f., 464 n., 470n., 471, 476 f., 486, 496, 519, 549, 556, 575, 577.
Bhadrabāhu-Carita, 519 n.
Bhadrabāhu-Saṃhitā, 476 n.
Bhadracarīpraṇidhānagāthāḥ, 326.
Bhadracaryā, 326 n.
Bhadrakalpāvadāna, 291.
Bhadrēśvara, 503 n.
Bhagavadgītā, 94, 229 n., 250, 302.
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 448 n., 457 n., 473.
Bhāgavatas, 225.
Bhagavatī, 388, 398 f.; s. Bhagavatī Viyāha-Pannatti.
Bhagavatī Prajñā-Pāramitā, 316 n.
Bhagavatī-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sarva-Tathāgata-māta Ekākṣarī, s. Ekākṣarī.
Bhagavatī Viyāhapannatti (Vyākhyā-Prajñapti), 429, 442-445, 459 n., 473 n.
Bhairava, 400.
Bhaiṣajyarāja, 303.
Bhaktāmara-Stotra, 549 ff., 557.
Bhakta-Parijñā, s. Bhattaparinnā.
Bhakti, 87, 229 n., 255, 379.
Bhaktilābha, 538 n.
Bhakti-Śataka, 379.
Bhāṇaka, 17.
Bhāṇavāra, 10 n.
Bhandarkar, D. R., 521 n., 614.
Bhandarkar, R. G., 614, and notes to 123, 226, 427, 434 f., 454, 473, 476, 478, 494-497, 499, 516, 543 f., 553 f., 557, 560, 570, 573, 576 f., 579, 590, 592.
Bhandarkar, S. R., 547 n.
Bharadvāja, 95.
Bhāraṇḍa birds, 504.
Bharata, 457, 492 f., 303 f.
Bharatādi-Kathā, 544.
Bhāravi, 534.
Bharhut stūpa, 16 f., 120 f., 126 n., 127, 134 n., 142 n., 147, 150 n., 155, 161 n., 254.
Bhartṛhari, 534, 544, 562 n., 570.
Bhāsa, 534.
Bhāṣyas, 483; s. also Commentaries.
Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh, 635, and notes to 174, 374 f., 389, 391-395, 397, 400 f., 479.
Bhattacharyya, Harisatya, 463 n.
Bhattacharyya, Vidhushekhara, 264 n., 348 n., 350 n., 363 n., 391 n., 393 n., 560 n., 628 f., 634.
Bhattaparinnā (Bhakta-Parijñā), 429, 448 n., 459 f., 461 n.
Bhava, 523.
Bhavabhāvanā, 589.
Bhavabhūti, 534.
Bhāvadeva Sūri, 512, 537 n.
Bhāvaprabha Sūri, 557.
Bhavavairāgyaśataka, 575.
Bhāvavijaya, 488 n.
Bhāvaviveka (Bhavya), 345, 362 f., 622.
Bhavisatta Kahā, 532.
Bhavya, s. Bhāvaviveka.
Bhayahara-Stotra, 551, 556 n.
Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī-Pāṭimokkha, 221; s. Pāṭimokkha.
Bhikkhunī, nun, 54.
Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta, 54, 58, 110.
Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, 21, 24.
Bhikṣuṇikā-dharma-vacana, 234 n.
Bhikṣunī-Prātimokṣa, 19 n.
Bhīma (Sena), 504. 546.
Bhoja, 520, 544, 549 n., 551, 582.
Bhūmis, the ten, 246, 327 n., 328, 334, 353, 626 f.
Bhūpāla Kavi, 556 n.
Bhusuka, 366 n.
Bhūtas, 79.
Bhuvanaka Bāhu I, 224.
Biblical stories, s. Christian and biblical legends.
Bibliolatry, 295 n.
Bidyabinod, Pandit B. B., 315 n.
Bigandet, Bishop F., 224 n.
Bilhaṇa, 241 n., 590 n.
Bimbisāra, Seṇiya (Śreṇika), 23 n., 31, 252 f., 282, 312, 424 n., 458, 489 f., 498, 506, 517 f., 598, 614.
Bindusāra, 615.
Birds, three wise, 244.

Bleek, W. H. J., 150 n.
Bloch, Jules, 238 n.
Bloch, T., 254 n., 609.
Blonay, G. de, 193 n., 379 n.
Bloomfield, M., 138 n., 427 n., 488 n., 513n. 514 n., 516 n., 517 n., 518 n., 636 f.
Bode, Mabel H., notes to 77, 80, 153, 156, 159, 198, 205, 219, 221 f., 225 f., 283.
Bodhi, 353 f., 371 ff., 398 n.
Bodhicaryāvatāra, 366, 367 n., 370, 374, 634.
Bodhicittam, 367, 371.
Bodhiruci, 312 n., 328 n., 333, 352.
Bodhisatta, 51, 113-116, 121, 125, 128, 131 n., 133 ff., 137, 139, 142, 150, 152 f., 155, 162, 181, 187 f.
Bodhisattva, 229 f., 240, 243-246, 249-252, 271, 274-279, 282, 284, 289 n., 290, 296 f., 300-303, 305-311, 313 f., 317-320, 323 n., 325 ff., 330 f., 333 f., 335 n., 337 f., 342, 349, 353, 354 n., 365 n., 366-372, 374, 377 f., 382-385, 390, 394 f., 397 n., 400, 411, 414, 417 f., 627.
Bodhisattva-Bhūmi, 354 f., 631.
Bodhisattvapiṭaka, 294, 328, 624.
Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-Sūtra, 624.
Bodhisattvāvadānamālā, 277.
Bodhivaṃsa, 218.
Bodōpayā, 225.
Böhtlingk, O., 127 n., 258 n., 485 n.
Books of stories, 541, 545, 564.
Boro-Budur, 155, 254.
Bosch, F. D. K., 294 n.
Bose, Phanindranath, 227 n., 228 n.
Botany, 589.
Bousset, W., 150 n., 200 n.
Boyer, A. M., 613.
Brahmacaryāṇi, s. Bambhaceraiṃ.
Brahmadatta-Kathānaka, 567 n.
Brahmadeva, 585 n.
Brahmajāla-Sūtra, 235, 622, 624.
Brahmajāla-Sutta, 36, 197.
Brahman, the highest principle, 37, 71, 552n., 556; the god, 47, 52, 110, 250, 252, 308, 376.
Brāhmaṇa-Dhammika-Sutta, 94.
Brahmānanda, 401.
Brāhmaṇas, 25, 33, 185, 250 n.
Brahmanemidatta, 544 n.
Brahmanical Philosophers, 88 n., 350, 359, 478.
Brahmanical ritual and rites, 440, 498 f.
Brahmanical sources of Buddhist texts, 84 n., 97 n., 132, 232 n., 265, 347, 379; of Jaina texts, 486.
Brahmanism, 50; its relation to Buddhism, 38, 94, 236, 351; to Jinism, 425 f., 480, 482, 499, 560, 562-566, 569.
Brahmans (priests, Brāhmaṇas), 36, 47 f., 63, 65, 69, 71, 75, 79, 82, 87 f., 94 f., 108, 125, 132, 134, 139 f., 143 f., 151 f., 154, 161, 177 f., 185, 191, 243, 265, 269, 274, 279, 282, 287, 290, 334, 336, 339 f., 342, 344, 348, 355, 378 f., 396, 437, 439 f., 443, 467 n., 468, 480, 491, 502, 509, 513 f., 526, 545 f., 554, 561, 572, 610.
Brahmavihāra, 392.
Brahmayāmala-Tantra, 401.
Brāhmī script, 442.
Brahmodyas, 469.
Braj dialect, 551 n.
Brewster, E. H., 186 n.
Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, 37 n.
Bṛhad-Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa, 495 n.
Bṛhajjātakamālā, 291 n.
Bṛhaspati, 336.
Bṛhat-Dravyasaṃgraha, 585 n.
Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra, s. Kappa.
Bṛhatkathā, 499.
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, 294 n.
Bṛhatpañcanamaskāra-Stotra, 552 n.
Bṛhat-Sādhu-Kalpa-Sūtra, s. Kappa.
Bṛhat Svayambhū-Purāṇa, 376 n.
Bṛhat-Svayambhū-Stotra, 552.
Brown, William Norman, 408, 410 n.
Buddha, 1 ff. passim, 451, 473, 604, 607 f., 619; s. also Tathāgata; biography and life of, 17, 38-40, 51, 85, 96 f., 160 f., 185 f., 188, 197, 224, 240 f., 248 f., 251-254, 262 f., 276, 419 n., 422, 598 f.-bodies of, 388; conception and birth of, 97, 187, 188 n., 240, 242, 250 f., 405; date of, 1-3, 216, 424 n., 458, 506, 597-601, 610, 615; death of, 38, 52, 175 n., 283, 412; spoke the dialect of Kosala, 12; B. epic, 186, 256, 260, 404; future B., s. Maitreya; halo of, 247 n.; a historical personage, 599, 600 n.; a human being, 170; images of, 79 n., 255, 297, 305, 322 n., 372; reminds of Kṛṣṇa, 302; B. legend, 17, 27, 42, 51, 96, 98, 185 f., 189, 209, 212, 219, 223, 242, 251-256, 260, 331, 402 f., 411, 415-419, 421 f., 514; B. and Mahāvīra, s. Mahāvīra; represented by Māra, 288, 415; names of, 354, 424 n.; compared to a physician, 299; utters prophecies, 281 f., 314 n., 331, 336, 361 n.; relics of, 41, 162, 181, 189, 282, 297, 304 f., 339 f., 599 f.; Śakti of, 388, 398ff.; smile of, 280 ff., 321; appointed no successor of himself, 22; his teaching methods, 50, 70, 111; as epithet of a Tīrthakara, 550, 552; B. vehicle, 297 f.; regulated Vinaya, 26; worship of 43, 56, 110, 112, 122 n., 152, 164, 183, 187, 195, 203, 223, 225, 229 f., 246, 255, 264 n., 268, 270, 274, 277, 279, 281, 287, 303, 322, 368, 370, 377, 380, 383, 390; six B., 42; seven B., 122 n., 378, 598; the Buddhas, 61, 158-162, 208, 220, 221 n., 229 f., 240, 244 ff., 247 n., 249, 265, 284, 296 f., 300, 308 n., 310-313, 319, 326 f., 334, 336, 338, 353 f., 367, 370 ff., 376, 384, 390, 392, 396, 401, 629.
Buddhabhadra, 325.
Buddha-Bhakti, 183, 230, 257, 268 n., 304, 379.
Buddha-Carita, 256, 258-265, 276, 361.
Buddhadatta, 220, 223 n., 621.
Buddhadatta, A. P., 192 n., 220 n., 222 n.
Buddhadeva, 374.
Buddhaghosa, 9 n., 10 n., 17 n., 22 n., 34 n., 93 n., 117 n., 156 n., 159 n., 165 n.,

167 n., 169 n., 170, 175, 182 n., 184 f., **190-192**, **196-205**, 207 f., 212, 214 n., 218, 220, 221 n., 223 n., 225, 418, 602 f., **609-611**.
Buddhaghoṣa. 276.
Buddhakṣetra, B.-land, 246, 310 f., 321.
Buddhālaṃkāra, 225.
Buddha-land, s. Buddhakṣetra.
Buddhamitra, 356 n.
Buddhānusmṛti, 246.
Buddhāpadāna, 155 f.
Buddhapālita, 345, 362 f.
Buddhappiya, 221, 223.
Buddharakkhita, 223.
Buddha-Sāsaṇaṃ, 473.
Buddhavacanam, 10, 278, 601 ff.
Buddhavaṃsa, 34, 77 n., **160-162**, 186 f., 209 f., 220, 236 f., 242, 277.
Buddhavaṃśa, 226.
Buddhāvataṃsaka, 324 f.
Buddhi, 572.
Buddhila, 232 n.
Buddhisāgara Sūri, 536.
Buddhism, 1ff. passim; early B., 20, 93, 95, 100, 115n, 166f., 230, 255, 304n., 386, 575, 601n., 617; its relation to Brahmanism, 38, 94, 230, 351; changes of, 601; decay of, 110f.; ethics of, 9, 15n., 32, 38, 55f., 65, 79, 81, 96, 103, 165ff., 178, 181, 202, 222, 235, 338n., 339f., 345n., 348, 357, 367, 370, 394, 419; and Jinism, 424ff., 434, 436, 439, 480, 488, 560, 566, 583, 590; our knowledge of, 21, 255; popular B., 153, 255; propagation in foreign lands, 7; Tantra B., 399; vitality of, 423; as world-religion, 154, 402, 425.
Buddhist Canon, s. Tipiṭaka, and Sanskrit Canon.
Buddhist confession of faith, 78.
Buddhist Councils, 4-8, 12, 15n., 25, 64, 162, 169, 173, 184, 208ff., 213, 219, 294, 332n.
Buddhist cult, 78, 80; s. Buddha (worship).
Buddhist iconography, 391.
Buddhist philosophy, Hīnayāna, 15n., 37f., 166f., 172, 204f., 222, 226; Mahāyāna, 77n., 230, 266n., 313, 324, 334f., 337, 339, 346, 354, 358, 360n., 361, 364f., 373, 388f., 397f., 626.
Buddhist poetry, 48, 57f., 77f., 92-111, 121, 126n., 145ff., 152, 160, 177, 208, 220, 222-225, 242f., 253, 259-266, 270ff., 290, 303, 351, 354, 365, 370-380, 423.
Buddhist Sanskrit literature, 2f., 10n., 11n., 19ff., 23n., 36, 41n., 50, 60n., 66, 69, 74n., 92, 114f., 132n., 154n., 158, 160, 162, 164, 173, 189, 192n., **226-401**, 622, 625, 627ff., 632ff.
Buddhist schools and sects, 5f., 19f., 153, 171, 173, 184, 208, 226, 228, 231, 233n., 235, 239, 246, 247n., 248n., 251f., 257, 294f., 305, 312, 324, 344, 350-357, 361f., 364, 366n., 374, 424n., 425, 622.
Buddhist terminology, 165.
Bühler, G., 612, and notes to, 9, 14, 16, 121, 160, 226, 238, 255, 425f., 428, 474, 482, 506, **519ff.**, 547, 551, 555, 567f., 589.
Bunyan, 527n.
Burgess, J., 425n., 503n.
Burlingame, E. W., 196, 610, and notes to, 109, 115, 117, 148, 174, 182, 191-195, 197f., 200f., 206f., 263.
Burma, 13, 18n., 77n., 79n., 80n., 133n., 150n., 152f., 155, 171n., 173, 190, 192n., 193n., 202n., 204, 219-222, 224ff., 289n., 610.
Burnouf, Eugène, notes to, 228, 251, 265, **277**, 284, 287, 295, 306f., 314, 323, 325, 334, 339, 357, 380, 389, 395, 400f.
Bu-ston, 352n., 360.

Caccarī (Carcarī), 570.
Caityas, 278, 324n., 375, 378.
Caityavandana, 527n.
Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Sutta, 43.
Cakravartin, 333, 497f., 505, 511.
Caṃdapannatti (Candraprajñapti), 429, 456 f.
Caṃdāvijjhaya (Caṃdā-Vejjhagā), 429, 461.
Campakaśreṣṭhi-Kathānaka, 539.
Campbell, W. L., 340n., 348n.
Campū, 531f., 538.
Cāmuṇḍa-Mahārāja, 587.
Cāmuṇḍarāya, 481, 585ff.
Cāmuṇḍarāya-Purāṇa, 585.
Cāṇakya, 217, 509.
Caṇḍāla, 48, 145, 283f., 395, 419, 525.
Caṇḍa(mahā)roṣaṇa, 397n., 398.
Caṇḍikā-Śataka, 550.
Candra, 365n.
Candradāsa, 365n.
Candragomin, 365, 379n.
Candragupta (Maurya), 216f., 336, 431, 434, 509, 614f.
Candragupta I (Gupta), 356n.
Candrakīrti, 328n., 344n., 345f., 350, 363ff., 629.
Candramahattara, 591.
Candraprabha (Candrapradīpa), 337; (Jaina author), s. Prabhācandra.
Candrapradīpa, s. Candraprabha.
Candrapradīpa-Sūtra, s. Samādhirāja.
Candraprajñapti, 473f.; s. also Caṃdapannatti.
Candrarṣi, 453n.
Candrasūri, 458n., 496n.
Candrodaya, 582n.
Candrottarā-Dārikā-Paripṛcchā, 332.
Cannibal fairy tales, 132.
Cappeller, Carl, 258n.
Caraka, 257n.
Caraṇānuyoga, 474.
Carcarī, s. Caccarī.
Caritra, 497, 504, 510, 517, 521.
Cāritrasāra, 587.
Cāritrasundara, 536, 574.
Cariyāpiṭaka, 34, 77n., 78n., **162-165**, 186f. 205, 209f. 236n., 274.
Carpenter, J. Estlin, notes to 35, 58, 192, 201, 405, 407, 410f.
Carter, J. M., 412n.

Cārucandra, 538n.
Carus, Paul, 421f.
Cārvāka, 583.
Caryā-Tantras, 389.
Castes, 37, 44, 47f., 71, 94, 265, 287, 425, 491, 566.
Catholic Vesper, 65n.
Catuḥśaraṇa, s. Caüsaraṇa.
Catuḥ-Śataka (Catuḥśatika), 350f., 364, 365n., 629.
Catuḥ-Śataka-Stotra, 270, 272n.
Catuḥstava, 376.
Catunekāyika, 18n.
Caturhārāvalī-Citrastava, 558.
Caturviṃśatijinabhavastava, 556n.
Caturviṃśati-Jina-Stavana, 552.
Caturviṃśati-Jina-Stuti, 553, 556.
Caturviṃśatistava, 474.
Caturviṃśat-Jina-Stuti, 557.
Caüpannamahāpurisacariya, 506n.
Caüsaraṇa (Catuḥśaraṇa), 429, 459, 461n.
Cave-temples, 244.
Central Asia (Eastern Turkestan, Idikuccbari, Khotan, Turfan), 19, 227, 231-234, 236ff., 266n., 267, 271, 272n., 273, 304, 315n., 316n., 320n., 329, 340n., 341, 347n., 382n., 384n., 387, 407, 417, 624.
Ceylon, 5, 7f., 10, 12ff., 18, 20, 23n., 25n., 77n., 78-81, 117, 119, 120n., 124n., 152n., 155, 167, 169, 173f., 177n., 183ff., 189ff., 192n., 204f., 207ff., 210n., 212ff., 218ff., 221n., 222, 224, 226, 228n., 308, 332, 349, 379, 381, 422, 504, 597, 605, 609ff.
Chaddanta-Jātaka, 124n., 151n.
Chakesadhātuvaṃsa, 219.
Chakravarti, Chintāharan, 491n., 494n.
Chakravartinayanar, A., 477n., 576n.
Chalmers, Lord R., 10n,, 21 n., 46 n., 48 n., 50 n., 116 n.
Chanda, R. P., 598.
Channa, 47.
Chappāhuḍa (Ṣaṭprābhṛta), 577, 592.
Charpentier, Jarl, 59, 597, 615, and notes to 94, 119, 124, 132, 145, ff., 154, 164, f., 242 f., 274, 308, 405, 408, 410 f., 415 f., 425, 428, 433 f., 447, 466, 468 ff., 472 f., 476, 481, 485 f., 488.
Chatterji, S. K., 13 n., 605.
Chattravastu, 245.
Chaturavijayi, Muni, 547 n., 548 n.
Chaucer, 127 n., 140.
Chauvin, V., 417 n.
Chavannes, Ed., 154, and notes to 30, 130, 133, 140, 152, 177, 228, 243, 294, 315, 416.
Cheda-Sūtra (Cheya-Sutta), 429 f., 433, 453n., 461 f., 464 f., 471.
Chess-board, 554.
Cheya-Sutta, s. Cheda-Sūtra.
Childers, R. C., 22 n., 38 n., 78 n., 80 n., 184 n., 603 n.
China, 19 n., 150 n., 226, 232, 235, 237, 305, 312, 314, 324, 341, 352 n., 355, 356 n., 358, 387 n., 400, 401 n., 610 f., 631, 633.
Chinese language, 247.
Chinese texts and translations, 3, 14 n., 19, 21, 23 n., 30 n., 41 n., 45 n., 69 n., 77 n., 91, 92 n., 122 n., 132 n., 133 n., 137 n., 138 n., 143 n., 152 n., 154, 161 n., 171, 176, 177 n., 190, 202 n., 217, 226 f., 228 n., 232-238, 239 n., 243 n., 248 n., 253, 256 n., 257, 259, 266 f., 271, 273, 276, 277 n., 279, 284 n., 285 f., 288, 290 n., 292, 294, 303 n., 304 ff., 307 n., 310 n., 311-314, 315 n., 316 n., 324-333, 337, 339, 340 n., 341 f., 344 n., 346 n., 347 ff., 350 n., 351 n., 352 f., 355, 356 n., 357, 359, 360 n., 361 f., 363 n., 369 n., 370 n,, 377, 382, 383 n., 386 f., 394 n., 395, 397, 409, 416, 565 n., 610 f., 612 n., 615, 618, 621 f., 624-629, 633 f.
Chinese tradition, 248 n.
Christian and biblical legends and stories, 33 n., 97 n., 109 n., 114, 132 n., 150 n., 201 n., 308 n., 403-416, 447 n., 467, 508.
Christian and Buddhist literature, 402.
Christian missions, 408.
Christianity, 404, 406 f., 416 f.
Chronicles of Ceylon, 5, 7 f., 18, 169, 208-220, 605.
Chuang-yen-lun, 267 n.
Chung-Tsi-King, 622.
Cīna, 252, 400f. ; s. China.
Citta, 145, 468 n.
Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa, 351.
Clauson, G. L. M., 25 n.
Clemen, Carl, notes to 150, 407, 409 ff., 415.
Clichés, 280 n., 450.
Commandments for monks, ten, 78.
Commentaries, 167, 171, 182-202, 204-213, 217 f., 220, 225, 257 n., 294 n., 324, 325 n., 328 n., 342-345, 348, 350, 351 n., 352, 354 n., 355, 357-360, 362 ff., 366, 370 n., 374 f., 379 n., 390, 418, 427, 433 n., 435 n., 438 n., 441 n., 442 n., 445 n., 449 n., 450 n., 451, 452 n., 454 n., 455 n., 456 n., 457 n., 458 n., 461 n., 462 n., 466 n., 468 n., 470 f., 472 n., 474, 476, 481-489, 496 n., 505 n., 507, 510 n., 512 n., 513 n., 516 n., 517, 519, 521, 527 n., 534 n., 536 f., 543, 544 n., 548, 551 n., 552 n., 553, 554 n., 555 n., 556 n., 557 n., 559 n., 560 f., 567 f., 576-585, 586 n., 587-593, 602 f., 609 f., 617, 629-632 ; s. Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇana.
Comparisons, s. Similes.
Conrady, L., 415 n.,
Consolatory stories, 142 f., 193, 207, 487.
Conversion stories, 28, 94, 104 ff., 108, 132, 188, 200, 207, 293, 415, 455, 458, 495, 508, 537, 540, 551, 564.
Coomara Svāmy, 218 n.
Comaraswamy, A., 619.
Copleston, R. S., notes to 1, 7 f., 33, 40 f., 79.
Cosmography, 579.
Cosmology, 456, 503, 587.
Councils, s. Buddhist C., and Jaina C.
Cowell, E. B., notes to 116, 133, 258, 261 284, 308, 347, 358, 385, 396, 400.
Cosma de Kōros, Alexander, notes to 228,

307, 312 f., 315 f., 324, 328, 330, 339, 382 f., 387, 397.
Cressmann (read *Gressmann*), 138 n.
Cūḷa-Kammavibhaṅga, 618.
Cuḷālaṅkaraṇa, King of Siam, 21 n.
Cūḷās, 437 f.
Cūlavagga of the Suttanipāta, 92.
Ćūlavaṃsa, 212 n., 214, 620 f.
Cūlikāḥ, s. Cūliyā.
Cūlikā Sūtras, 430 n.
Cūliyā (Cūlikāḥ), 453.
Culla-Gandhavaṃsa, 219 n.
Culla-Niddesa, 124 n., 146.
Cullavagga, s. Vinayapiṭaka (Cullavagga).
Cunha, J. Gerson da, 218 n.
Cuñ-lun, 344 n.
Cunningham, Alexander, 16 n., 126 n., 142n., 147 n., 150 n., 155 n., 161 n., 612.
Cūrṇis, 483, 484, n., 485, s. also Commentaries.
Cyrus, 217 n.

Dahlke, P., 35 n., 46 n., 80 n., 152 n., 423.
Dahlmann, J., 408.
Daji, Bhāu, 519 n., 537 n.
Ḍākinīs, 636.
Ḍalal, Ch. D., 532 n., 547 n.
Dānadharma-Kathā, 518.
Dāna-Kalpa-Druma, 540.
Dānāvadāna, 518.
Dancing song, 570.
Dārikā-Vimalaśraddhā-Paripṛcchā, 332.
Darśanasāra, 584.
Das, Bechar, 497 n., 512 n., 516 n.
Das, Haragovind, 497 n., 512 n., 516 n.
Dās, Mahendra Lal, 290 n.
Das, Śarat Chandra, 25 n., 293 n., 339 n.
Daśabhūmaka (°bhūmikasūtra, °bhūmīśvara), 295, 325 n., 327 f., 355 n., 369, 627.
Daśabhūmi, s. Bhūmis.
Daśabhūmi(ka)vibhāṣāśāstra, 328 n., 342n., 348.
Daśabhūmikleśacchedikā-Sūtra, 328 n.
Daśabhūmīśvara, s. Daśabhūmaka.
Daśāḥ, s. Dasāo.
Dasā-Kappa-Vavahāra, 462, 474.
Daśamukha, 491.
Dasāo (Daśāḥ), 429, 435, 462.
Daśapūrvins, 507.
Daśaratha, 147, 492ff.
Dasaratha-Jātaka, 119n., 143.
Daśasāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315n., 316n., 626.
Dasasikkhāpadāni, 3.
Daśāśrutaskandha, s. Dasāsuyakkhandha.
Dasāsuyakkhandha (Daśāśrutaskandha), 429, 462, 476 n.
Daśavaikālika, 474; s. also Dasaveyāliya.
Daśavaikālika-niryukti-ṭīkā, 479 n.
Dasaveyāliya (Daśavaikālika), 429, 433 n., 470 f., 476 n., 481, 484, 509.
Dasgupta, Surendra Nath, 359 n., 360 n., 361 n., 575 n., 627.
Dasuttara-Sutta, 44, 60 n., 607,
Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa, 218 n.
Dāṭhāvaṃsa, 209 n., 218, 620.
Datta, Bibhutibhusan, 595 n.
Davadantī, 542.
Davvasaṃgaha (Dravyasaṃgraha), 585.
Dawa-Samdup, Kazi, 398 n.
Dayanandi Svami, 411 n.
De, Gokuldās, 618 f.
De, Harinath, 337 n.
Death, voluntary, s. Suicide.
De Groot, J. J. M., 622, 624.
Delamaine, James, 516 n.
Dellamahattara, 526.
Demiéville, Paul, 632 f.
Denecke, W., 427 n., 477 n., 577 n.
Deva, s. Āryadeva.
Devacandra, 482.
Devadatta, 28.
Devāgama-Stotra, 581.
Devagupta (Jinacandra Gaṇin), 588.
Devakī, 469, 544 n.
Devamūrti, 507 n.
Devānaṃpiyatissa, 213.
Devāṇandā, 443, 463.
Devanandin, 558; s. also Pūjyapāda Devanandin.
Devapāla of Bengal, 377, 396.
Devapāla of Mālava, 591 n.
Devaprabha Sūri, 496 f.
Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa, 432-435, 464, 472, 476, 478 n.
Devasena, 584.
Devasūri, 516, 518 n., 546, 547 n.
Devatā-Saṃyutta, 54, 57.
Devavijayagaṇin, 495, 497.
Devendra (14th cent.), 559 n.
Devendra(gaṇin) (11th cent.), 470 n., 481, 486 ff., 510, 512 n., 574.
Devendrasamaya, 340.
Devendrastava, s. Deviṃdatthaa.
Devendra Sūri (12th cent.), 503 n.
Devendra (Sūri) (13th cent.), 453 n., 465 n., 472 n., 532 n., 557, 591.
Deviṃdatthaa (Devendrastava), 429, 461.
Dhamma, 4, 9, 10 n., 11, 15 n., 17, 23 n., 34, 45, 52, 56, 60 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 122 n., 158, 165 ff., 173, 185; s. also Dharma.
Dhammacakkappavattana-Sutta, 55.
Dhammādāsa, 41.
Dhammadesanā, 192 n., 194.
Dhammakahā, 449.
Dhammakathika, 11, 17.
Dhammakitti (I), 214, 218, 221, 620.
,, (II), 222.
Dhammapada, 3, 10 n., 14 n., 15 n., 22 n., 34, **80-84**, 93, 94 n., 103, 110, 193 n., 194, 236 ff., 242, 347, 358, 467, 471; Dh. commentary, 115 n., 182, 191 n., 192 f., 195 f., 197 n., 201 n., 207, 263 n., 418
Dhammapāla, 44 n., 99, 101, 183, 191 n., 196 f., 205, 206 n., 207 f.
Dhammasaṃgaha, 221.
Dhammasaṃgaṇi, **166-167**, 169 n., 184 n., 190 n., 191.
Dhammasiri, 221.
Dhammillahiṇḍi, 506 n.

Dhanapāla (Digambara), s. Dhaṇavāla.
Dhanapāla (Śvetāmbara), 532 n., 534, 553 f.
Dhaṇavāla (Dhanapāla), 532.
Dhaneśvara, 503, 536.
Dhaniya-Sutta, 95.
Dhāraṇī, 303, 316, 335, 340, 369, 375-401.
Dhāraṇī-(mantra)-saṃgraha, 384 n.
Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka, 384 n.
Dharma, 264 n., 313, 317, 318 n., 323, 331, 333, 340, 346, 383, 459, 576; nine Dharmas, 295; s. also Dhamma.
Dharmabindu, 584.
Dharmābhyudaya, 548.
Dharmacakra, 533 n.
Dharmacarya, Dharma Aditya, 238 n.
Dharmadāsa, 560.
Dharma-Dharmatā-Vibhaṅga, 352 n., 631.
Dharmaghoṣa, 518, 557.
Dharmagupta, 304, 355.
Dharmaguptas, 24 n., 231 n., 233, 248 n.
Dharma Kalpa-Druma, 545.
Dharmākara, 311.
Dharmakathā, 522, 525.
Dharmakāya, 340, 394.
Dharmakīrti, 266, 363, 374, 392 n., 496 n., 580 n., 632.
Dharmakṣema, 341.
Dharmakumāra, 517.
Dharmāmṛta, 590 f.
Dharmanātha, 517.
Dharmapada, 236 f.
Dharmapāla (Buddhist teacher), 206 n., 352 n., 360 n., 362 f., 366.
,, (king), 354 n.
Dharmaparīkṣā, 563, 565 n.
Dharma-Paryāya, 295 n.
Dharmapravacanas, twelve, 10 n.
Dharmarakṣa, 228 n., 236 n., 254, 259 n., 273 n., 304, 307 n., 325 n., 328.
Dharmasāgara (Gaṇin), 519, 593.
Dharma-Saṃgīti-Sūtra, 369.
Dharma-Saṃgraha, 313n, 347, 594, 629.
Dharmasaṃgrahaṇi, 479n.
Dharmasamuccaya, 238n.
Dharma-Śarīra-Sūtra, 347n.
Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, 517, 535n.
Dharmaśāstra, 144n.
Dharmasūtra, 584.
Dharmatrāta, 237, 374.
Dharmavardhana, 558.
Dharmopadeśaśataka, 517.
Dhātukathā, 166n, 168, 171.
Dhātusena, 212n.
Dhavala, 496n.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra, 133.
Dhruva, A. B., 363n.
Dhutaṅgas, 182.
Dhyāna s. Meditation.
Dhyāni-Buddhas 391.
Diagrams, 390.
Dialogues, 9f., 34-76, 93, 95f., 98, 108, 110, 118, 124, 141, 142n., 143f., 175f., 177n., 178, 250f., 253, 273, 287, 291f., 314, 317, 330, 337, 399f., 442, 449, 455, 460, 466, 468 f., 485, 620.
Dibben, Cecilia, 171 n.
Dickson, J. F., 23 n., 24 n., 25 n.
Dick Whittington, story of, 289 n.
Dictionaries, 157.
Didactic poetry, 96, 107, 481 f., 539, 541, 559 ff., 566 f., 570, 573 f.
Digambaras, 427 f., 432 ff., 447 n., 454 n., 473 f., 476 f., 478 n., 479 n., 481, 497, 498 n., 504, 521, 532, 534 f., 546, 549, 551, 560 ff., 576, 578 ff., 582 n., 583 ff., 587, 593, 614.
Dīghabhāṇakas, 17 n., 122 n.
Dīgha-Nakha-Sutta, 242.
Dīgha Nikāya, 9 n., 11 n., 22 n., 23 n., 34, 35-46, 50 f., 54 n., 56, 60 n., 67, 69, 71, 85 n., 112 n., 114 n., 115 n., 168, 176, 187 n., 191, 197 n., 206 n., 220, 231, 242, 289, 384 n., 455 n., 603 n., 607, 615, 622,
Dīghāvu, 33, 115.
Dignāga, 271, 348 n., 352 n., 360 n., 362 f., 374, 583.
Dīnanātha, Rāmacandra, 520 n.
Dīnāra, 279, 286, 477 n.
Diṅnāga, s. Dignāga.
Diogo do Conto, 417 n. (read *Diogo de Couto*).
Dīpaṅkara, 160 n., 161, 186 f., 219, 240.
Dīpavaṃsa, 5 n., 8 n., 15 n., 18, 77 n., 184 n., 208, 209 n., 210-216, 217 n., 617.
Dīrghāgama, 45 n., 231, 284, 615, 622.
Dīrghāyus, 267.
Diśa-Svāstika-Sūtra, 384 n.
Diṭṭhivāya (Dṛṣṭivāda), 429, 431 n., 432, 441, 453, 591 f.
Dīvasāgara-Pannatti, 456 n., 457 n.
Divyāvadāna, 4 n., 66, 131 n., 137 n., 140 n., 232, 234, 236 n., 269 n., 284 ff., 288 ff., 380 n., 412, 624.
Divyāvadānamālā, 284 n., 376 n.
Dodhaka stanzas, 326.
Dohākośa, 635.
Dohā metre, 585, 589.
Dohāpāhuda, 590 n.
Dovaī, s. Draupadī.
Dramas, 59 f., 124 n., 141, 256, 266, 273, 288, 473 483, 514, 546 ff., 554 n., 623.
Dramatic performances, 36, 60, 152.
Draupadī (Dovaī), 140, 448, 489, 544 n.
Draupadī-Svayaṃvara, 546.
Draviḍa-Saṃgha, 476 n.
Dravidian languages, 595.
Dravyānuyoga, 474.
Dravyasaṃgraha, s. Davvasaṃgaha.
Dreams, 541.
Drinking songs, 143.
Droṇācārya 471 n.
Dṛṣṭānta-paṅktiḥ, 267 n., 623.
Dṛṣṭivāda, 473, 498; s. also Diṭṭhivāya.
Dsanglun, 136 n., 284 n.
Duff, C. Mabel, 503 n., 539 n.
Duka-Paṭṭhāna, 172.
Dūrenidāna, 186, 240 n.
Durgasvāmin, 526.
Duroiselle, Ch., 224 n., 289 n.
Dūsagaṇi, 472.
Dutoit, Julius, 21 n., 38 n., 116 n., 126 n 186 n., 242 n., 406 n.
Dutreuil de Rhins, J. L., 238.

Dutt, Nalinaksha, 7 n, 11 n., 231 n., 234 n., 604, 621, 624-628.
Dutt, Sukumar, 22 n., 24 n., 26 n.
Duṭṭhagāmani, 214, 216, 217 n.
Dvādaśa-Nikāya-Śāstra, 351.
Dvāravatī, 487.
Dvātriṃśad-Dvātriṃśikā, 551 n., 580.
Dvātriṃśatikā, 567.
Dvātriṃśikā-Stotra, 551, 556.
Dvāviṃśatyavadāna, 291.
Dvemātikā, 221.

Eastern Turkestan, s. Central Asia.
Edgerton, Franklin, 636.
Edkins, J., 41 n., 236 n.
Edmunds, Albert J., 80 n., 91 n., 404 f., 406 n., 407 n., 410 n., 411 n., 412, 413 n., 467 n., 606 f.
Eggeling, J., 396 n., 400 n.
Ekākṣarī, 315.
(Ekallavīra-) Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-Tantra, 397.
Eka-Śloka-Śāstra, 348.
Ekaśṛṅga, 243.
Ekaśṛṅga-Avadāna, 294 n.
Ekaviṃśatidvātriṃśikā, 580 n.
Ekaviṃśati-Stotra, 379.
Ekībhāva-Stotra, 555.
Ekottarāgama, 60 n., 69 n., 234 f.
Ekuttaranikāya, 60 n.
Elācārya, 476 n.
Eḷāra, 215.
Elephant in animal legends, 151 n.
Eliot, Sir Charles, 1n., 3n., 7n., 45n., 69n., 173n., 229n., 304n., 309n., 324n., 325n., 329n, 341n, 600, 605f.
Encyclopædias, 472 498, 593.
Engelmann, R., 138n.
Epics, 94, 96, 107, 122n., 123, 125, 133f., 147n., 148n., 151f., 163, 186, 192n., 208, 210-218, 256, 259f., 265, 269, 276, 285n., 404, 483, 487, 489, 492ff., 496n., 497f., 503, 505, 510, 616f., 521, 532f., 535f., 564f.
Erotics, 388, 573; s. Kāma-Śāstra, Kāma-Sūtra.
Erudite literature, 559, 575.
Ethics, s. Buddhism, and Jinism (ethics of).

Faber, G., 407n.
Fables, 17, 32, 77, 114, 115n., 118, 120, 123-128, 133f., 142, 163, 348, 402, 418, 484, 514, 544f., 624.
Fa-hien, 8n., 124n., 155, 236n., 306, 324n., 610, 631.
Fairy-tales, 77, 114, 118, 120, 122n., 123ff., 128-134, 154, 195, 200f., 214, 217, 243, 402, 409ff., 447, 507, 514, 521, 523f., 533, 535f., 538ff., 542, 543n., 544f.
Fa-k'in, 285n.
Fan wang king, 622.
Farquhar, J. N., 15n., 302n., 389n., 474n., 506n., 578n.
Fa-shang, 266n.
Fausböll, V., 98, and notes to 80, 92, 116, 120, 164, 186, 189, 193, 198, 263.
Feer, Léon, notes to 50, 54, 58, 80, 98, 115f., 124, 132, 151, 155, 158, 160, 197, 222, 228, 277ff., 233f., 290ff., 313, 316, 382.
Fergusson, J., 161n., 612.
Fick, R., notes to 121, 129, 139, 143, 152 156, 407, 487.
Finot, L., 609, and notes to 23f., 174, 176 233, 258, 330f., 370.
Fire sermon 28, 451.
Fīrūz II, Sultan, 544n.
Fleet, J. F., 41n., 211n., 212n., 217n., 479n 495n., 560n., 597, 612.
Foley, Mary C., 171n.
Fo Nien, 328n.
Fool's stories, 134, 545, 564.
Fo-pen-hing-king, 253n.
Forke, Alfred, notes to 131, 307, 312, 325, 328, 331f., 341.
Formichi, C., 258n.
Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, 259n.
Foucaux, Ph. Ed., 248n., 254n., 416n., 560n.
Foucher, A., 613. and notes to 16, 149, 151f., 155, 161, 188, 247, 254f., 263, 306f., 370 391.
Foulkes, Thos., 184n., 190n., 609f.
Fournereau, L., 155n.
Francis H. T., 116n., 141n.
Francke, A. H., 621.
Francke, Hermann, 284n.
Franke, O., 315n., 612.
Franke, R. Otto, 45, 598, 601, 604, and notes to 1, 15, 21f., 35, 38, 44, 52f., 69, 74, 80f., 84, 92f., 98, 102, 116, 120, 122, 126, 136, 208, 210, 217, 238, 274, 406, 600.
Frankfurter, O., 25n.
Fries, Karl, 76.
Fuchs, Rudolf, 183n.

Gacchāyāra (Gacchācāra, 461).
Gad, 408,
Gadyacintāmaṇi, 535.
Gaidoz, H., 138n.
Gāmani the wicked, s. Duṭṭhagāmani.
Gaṇa, s. Jaina sects and schools.
Gaṇā, 526n.
Gaṇadharas, 431f., 463, 472.
Gaṇadharasaptati, 570n.
Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka, 570n.
Gaṇapati-Dhāraṇī, 387n.
Gaṇapati Śāstrī, T., 397n.
Gaṇḍavyūha-Mahāyāna-Sūtra, 295, 325f., 369.
Gandhāra, 231, 283, 604; sculptures, 149f., 247, 255.
Gandharvas, 40.
Gandhavaṃsa, 9n., 34n., 117n., 189, 191 206n., 219, 221n., 223n., 224n.
Gandhi, Lalchandra Bhagawandas, 554n., 570n.
Gaṇḍīstotra-Gāthā, 266.
Gaṇeśa, 560n.
Gaṅgā, Ganges, 49, 150, 487, 552, 565.
Gaṇivijjā (Gaṇi-Vidyā), 429, 461.
Garbe, R., 406, 416, and notes to 99, 109,

132, 138, 150, 174-177, 201, 299, 306, 308, 405, 408-413, 415, 447, 467, 544.
Gardabhilla, 433n., 537f.
Gardner, 174n.
Garr, B. L., 470n.
Garuḍa, 132n., 133, 272, 280f.
Gaster, M., 131n., 150n.
Gāthā, 3n., 10, 15n., 35f., 57, 58n., 62, 92, 93n., 101, 115-120, 122f., 152n., 177n., 194, 218, 243, 247, 251, 253, 274n., 285, 296, 297n., 302f., 305n., 320n., 325ff., 331, 333, 334n., 335, 338, 358, 449n., 451n., 453n., 561, 576, 588f., 592, 603, 619, 627.
Gāthā dialect, 226n., 328.
Gāthā-Kośa, 574.
Gāthāsahasrī, 479n., 574.
Gāthā-Saṃgraha, 358.
Gauḍapādīya-Kārikās, 335.
Gaüḍavaha, 517n.
Gautama, s. Goyama.
Gautamī, 268n.
Gautamīputra, 348.
Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī, 348.
Gauthiot, R., 152n., 227n., 387n.
Gawronski, A., 258n,, 262n., 273n., 285n.
Geiger, B., 426n.
Geiger, Magdalene, 224n.
Geiger, Wilhelm, 212, 214, 597, 601f., 605, 610f., 620f., and notes to 1, 7, 13f., 45, 54, 80, 116, 170, 174, 184, 190, 192, 208, 210f , 213, 215, 217-221, 223f., 232.
Geography, 334, 456f.
Gerasimov, N., 80n.
Gesta Romanorum, 114, 127n., 130n., 215n., 539n.
Getty, Alice, 307n., 310n.
Geyya, 10, 59n., 93n.
Ghata, 142.
Ghata-Jātaka, 119n.
Ghate, V. S., 88n.
Ghoṣa, Pratāpacandra, 315n.
Ghoṣaka, story of, 201.
Ghoṣaka (Buddhist teacher), 374.
Ghoṣanandi, Kṣamāśramaṇa, 578.
Ghosh, Batakrishna, 494 n.
Ghosh, Hari Charan, 612, 614.
Ghosh, Krishnachandra, 425 n., 428 n., 430 n.
Ghoshal, Sarat Chandra. 474 n., 585 n., 587 n.
Ghoṭakamukha, 473.
Gildemeister, 539 n.
Gīta-Kathā, 604.
Gjellerup, Karl, 420 f.
Glasenapp, Helmuth von, notes to 425 f., 432 f., 447, 453, 457, 463, 471, 480, 497 ff., 505, 511 535, 544, 571, 577, 586 f., 592 f.
Gnomic poetry and wisdom, 65, 84, 107, 143 f., 348, 466, 497, 515, 518, 541, 543, 569 ; s. also aphorisms.
Gnosis, 317 n.
Godhika, 195.
Goethe, J. W. von, 489 n., 564, 565 n.
Gokhale, Vasudev, 629.
Gommoṭa, 585, 586 n., 587 n.
Gommaṭasāra, 481, 586 f.
Gooneratne, E. R. J., 60 n., 98 n., 168 n., 223 n., 224 n.
Goor, Maria T. Lulius van, 400 n., 159 n., 207 n.
Gopā, 325, 398.
Gopinatha Rao, T. A., 535 n.
Gosāla Makkhaliputta, 445, 449.
Gospels, 29 n., 41, 74 n., 75 n., 97 n., 109 n., 286 n., 299 n., 402 ff., 405 n., 406, 409-414, 446 n., 467 n. ; apocryphal, 252 n., 308 n., 414 f.
Gotama Buddha, s. Buddha.
Götz, A., notes to 405, 407, 409-412, 415.
Govindabhaṭṭa, 546.
Goyama (Gautama) Indabhūti, 442 ff., 451 f., 454, 456, 458, 460, 489 ff., 495, 498.
Graeco-Bactrian Empire, 53, 174.
Graeco-Buddhist monuments, 254- 255 n.
Grammar, 226, 365, 473, 482, 554 n., 595.
Gray, James, 190 n., 223.
Gṛdhrakūṭa, 296, 310, 321.
Gṛdhrapiccha, 476 n., 578.
Great Men, Jaina, 497 f., 517, 590 n.
Greek, 127 n., 135, 136 n., 154, 174 f., 176 n., 177, 194, 216, 247 n., 317, 347 n., 351, 405, 417 f.
Gressmann, Hugo, 138 n. (correct for Cressmann).
Gṛhyasūtras, 29 n., 390.
Grierson, Sir G., 201 n., 604.
Griffiths, John, 128 n.
Grimblot, M., 80 n.
Grimm, Georg, 423 n.
Grimm, J. and W., 64 n., 131 n., 215 n., 543 n., 637.
Grünwedel, A., 232, 417, and notes to 16, 74, 116, 129, 133, 155, 161, 254 f., 310, 322, 341, 343, 347, 363.
Gubernatis, Angelo de, 419 n.
Guérinot, A., 615, and notes to 425 f., 454, 466, 473 f., 476, 495, 506, 512, 519, 522, 542, 583, 585, 588.
Gueth, Anton, s. Nyāṇatiloka.
Guhyasamāja (-Tantra), 394 f., 396 n., 635 ; s. Tathāgataguhyaka.
Guhyasiddhi, 393.
Gujarat, 482 f., 538, 547 f., 591.
Gujarātī, 428, 534, 538 n., 545, 549 n., 551 n., 570 n., 594 f.
Guṇabhadra (Buddhist translator), 307 n., 311, 333.
Guṇabhadra (Jaina author), 497, 499, 534 f., 561.
Guṇacandra Gaṇin, 510.
Guṇādhya, 499, 534.
Guṇākara Sūri, 583 n.
Guṇamati, 362 n.
Guṇaratna, 583 n.
Guṇavarman, 347 n.
Guṇavijaya Gaṇin, 556 n.
Gundaphorus, 408.
Gune, Pandurang Damodar, 516 n., 532 n., 570 n., 571 n., 589 n.
Gunkel, H., 405 n.
Günter, H., 416, and notes to 109, 132, 150 154, 405 ff., 410 f., 415, 417 f., 488.
Guptas, 336 f.
Gurner, C. W., 262 n., 623.

Gurupañcāśikā, 623.
Gurvāvalī-Sūtra, 519.
Gutschmid, A. von, 174 n.

Haas, Hans, 312 n., 405 n., 406 n., 408, 409 n., 410 n., 411 n., 415 n., 416 n.
Haenisch, Erich, 341 n.
Hahn, J. G. von, 66 n., 127 n.
Halo, 247 n.
Hammīra-Madamardana, 547.
Haṃsa, 480.
Haṃsarāj, Hīrālāl, 536 n., 538 n., 540 n., 591 n., 593 n.
Haṃsaratna, 532 n.
Hannye, Shaku, 316 n.
Hanumant, 492 f.
Haragovindadāsa, s. Das, Haragovind.
Haraprasāda Śāstrī, 622, 624, 627 and notes to 228, 239, 242, 247, 259, 262, 264, 272 f., 306, 314 ff., 335, 337, 350 f., 353 f., 365 f., 375 f., 379, 382 f., 389, 393, 395, 397 f., 401.
Hardy, E., 606 and notes to 16, 60, 62, 66, 103, 183, 201, 205 ff., 217, 211, 279, 369, 407, 487.
Hardy, R. Spence, 152 n., 153 n., 158 n., 173 n., 263 n., 312 n.
Hare in the moon, 150 n.
Haribhadra (Buddhist author), 354 n.
,, (Jaina author), 465 n., 470 n., 479 f., 485, 488, 489 n., 507, 511, 512 n., 519 f., 522 f., 526 f., 528 n., 532, 535 f., 561, 574, 579, 583, 584 n., 589, 594 n.
Haricandra, 517, 535.
Haridās Śāstrī, 560 n.
Harihara, 521.
Harikeśa, 468.
Hariścandra, 514.
Harivaṃśa (-Purāṇa), 209 n., 474, 495 f., 499.
Harivarman, 269 n., 350 n., 634.
Harlez, C. de, 316 n.
Harnack, A., 408 n.
Harṣa (Harṣadeva, Harṣavardhana, Śrīharṣa), 294 n., 307, 385, 521, 549 n.
Harṣacarita, 342, 347n., 358n., 385.
Harun al Rashid, 542.
Hastavāla-Prakaraṇa, 352.
Hastimalla, 546.
Hāthīgumphā inscription, 431 n., 597.
Hauer, J. W., notes to 332 f., 380, 387, 335 f.,
Hearn, Lafcadio, 422.
Hebel, J. P., 485 n.
Heiler, F., 38 n.
Hemacandra (Hemācārya), 165 n., 482 f., 494 f., 505-511, 517, 519 ff., 532, 536, 546 f., 555 f., 557 n., 561 n., 567-571, 589 f.
Hemacandra Sūri, s. Maladhāri-Hemacandra Sūri.
Hemācārya, s. Hemacandra.
Hemahaṃsa Sūri, 589.
Hemakumāracaritra, 570 n.
Hemasūri, 544.
Hemavijaya, 485 n.. 544.
Hennecke, E., 415 n., 467 n.
Herod legend, 448 n.
Herodotus, 127n., 135, 136n.
Hertel, J., notes to 118 f., 131, 467, 480, 485, 488 f., 507, 523, 533-539, 541, 544 f., 562, 564, 567 f,
Hīnayāna, 19 n., 153, 173, 203, 227, 2 8 n., 229 ff., 235, 236 n. 239, 245, 246 n., 248, 252, 264, 271, 277, 279, 284, 289 n., 294, 297, 313n., 341, 353, 357f., 361, 380.
Hindī, 428, 545, 566n., 577n., 579n., 581n., 586n., 587n., 594f.
Hinduism, 230, 387, 399, 401n., 426, 499, 551.
Hirala', Rai Bahadur, 637, and notes to 427, 477, 479, 494-497, 499, 512 543, 552, 576f., 580-584, 586, 590.
,, Haṃsarāj, s. Haṃsarāj.
Hippokleides, 127 n.
History, historical works, 208, 213, 216, 218, 519 ff., 537, 544.
Hitopadeśa, 127.
Hodgson, Brian Houghton, 227 n., 228 n., 265, 295 n., 376 n., 385 n.
Hoernle, A. F. Rud., 615, and notes to 92, 226 f., 232 ff., 236, 270 ff., 302, 304, 315 f., 341, 382, 387, 428, 445, 449, 478 f., 495, 519, 582.
Hoey, W., 234 n.
Hoffmann, E. L., 222 n.
Hokke-shū sect, 305.
Holtzmann, A., 487 n.
Hopkins, E. W., 407 n.
Horā-pāṭhaka, 244.
Hornstein, Ferdinand, 419.
Hornstein, Robert von, 419 n.
Hṛṣīkeśa, 552.
Hsüan-Tsang, 91, 155, 206 n., 226, 228 n., 236, 258 n., 268, 294, 312, 314, 342, 349 f., 351n., 352 n., 355, 356 n., 357, 360 n., 362, 377, 379 n., 384 n., 625.
Hû, Fernando, 80 n.
Hua-yen, 324.
Huber, Éd., notes to 23, 232 f., 267, 269 f., 285, 289, 409, 565.
Hui-hsi, 305.
Hultzsch, E., 597, 606, and notes to 6, 15 f., 121, 188, 215, 217, 258, 262, 427, 500, 512, 515, 517, 520, 534 f., 546 ff.
Humour, 65, 74, 125, 128, 163, 195, 485, 539.
Hūṇas (Huns), 247, 252, 337.
Hunt, Mabel, 60 n., 78 n., 171 n., 192 n.
Huth, G., 233n.
Hüttemann, W., 446n., 463.
Hwui Li, 372n., 347n., 349n., 358n.

Iddhis, 42, 157.
Idikucchari, s. Central Asia.
Idzumi, Hotoku, 339n., 628.
Ikṣvāku, 94, 198, 333, 491.
Indabhuti, s. Goyaina.
Indra, 43, 46, 55, 66, 87, 272, 290, 331, 388, 396, 490ff.
Indrabhūti, 393f.
Indranandin, 585.

Indravijaya, Muni, 516n.
Inscriptions, 8 n., 14 n., 15 ff., 18 n., 173, 188 n., 217 n., 226 n., 232 n., 234 n., 276, 356 n., 431 n., 434, 463, 476 n., 479 n., 590 n., 597, 599 f., 604, 606, 609 ff.
Isidāsī, 111.
Isimaṇḍala (Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Stotra), 557.
Isisiṅga, s. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.
Iṣṭopadeśa, 561.
Īśvara, 249, 334.
Īśvarakṛṣṇa, 346 n., 359.
Itihāsa, 145, 185 n.
Itihāsa-saṃvāda (dialogue), 34, 44, 46, 76, 100, 144 f., 442, 468.
Itivuttaka, 3, 10, 34, 81 n., **89-92**, 205, 236, 607.
I-tsing, 28 n., 231., 232, 258 f., 266, 270 f., 273 n., 276, 277 n., 305, 340 n., 341, 347, 350, 352 n., 356 n., 365 n., 386 n., 401 n.
Ityukta, 91 n.
Ivanovski, A. O., 276 n.
Iyengar, H. R Rangaswamy, 348 n., 632.
Izumi, Hokei, 369 n.

Jacob. G., 637.
Jacob, G. A., 75 n., 88 n.
Jacobi, Hermann, 451, 597, 615, and notes to 1, 108, 352, 424 f., 427 f., 431, 433-441, 462, 466 ff., 476-482, 484, 486 f., 489, 506 f., 510 ff., 516 f., 519, 522, 525, 527, 532, 534, 537, 547, 549, 551, 553, 557, 560 f., 575 f., 578 ff., 584, 588, 590, 593.
Jagaccandra, 591.
Jagannātha, 552.
Jagic, V., 138 n.
Jaimini, 583.
Jaimini-Bhārata, 201.
Jain, Banarsidas, 489 n., 497 n., 506 n.
Jain, Champat Rai, 561 n., 581 n.
Jain, Hiralal, 637.
Jain, Kamta Prasad, 463 n., 499 n.
Jain, Lālārām, 497 n.
Jaina Canon, s. Siddhānta.
Jaina Councils, 431-435.
Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, 427 n.
Jaina-Jātakas, 489 n., 506 n.
Jaina Jñāna Prasāraka Varga, 427 n.
Jaina literature, canonical, 424-474; non-canonical, 475-595.
Jaina-Mahābhārata, 496, 565 n.
Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, 431, 475, 483, 484 n., 489, 521, 525, 560.
Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa, 494, 495 n.
Jaina Sanskrit Texts, 475, 478, 480 f., 483 f., 486, 494, 496 n., 511, 516, 525, 531-538, 544-558, 571-574, 579-585, 587 n., 588 f., 593 f.
Jaina sects and schools (gaṇa), 428, 432 ff., 445, 463, 474 f., 477, 519, 549, 554 n., 579, 593.
Jaina-Tattva-Jñāna, 594.
Jaina Vidyā Prasāraka Varga, 427 n.
Jaina Vidyā Śālā, 427 n.
Jainendrayajñavidhi, 592.
Jaini, J. L., 473 n., 476 n., 578 n., 579 n., 586 n.
Jains, 44 n., 50, 65 n., 84, 88 n., 94 n., 145 n., 154, 195, 206, 269, 288 n., 293, 334 n., 424 ff. passim, 600, 614.
Jaitugideva, 591 n.
Jalhaṇa, 385 n.
Jamālgarhi sculptures, 149 n.
Jāmāli, 445.
Jambū, 449.
Jaṃbuddīvapannatti (Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti) 429, 456 f.
Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti, 473; s. also Jaṃbūddīvapannatti.
Jambunathan, S., 621.
Jambusvāmin, 557.
Janaka of Videha, 146, 492.
Japan, 19 n., 150 n., 235, 305, 312, 351, 355 n., 358, 362, 381, 400, 422, 625, 633.
Japanese texts and translations, 383 n.
Jasaharacariu, 637.
Jātaka, 10, 15 n., 17, 22 n., 34, 37 n., 48, 77 n., 78 n., 100 n., **113-156**, 157 f., 162 ff., 165 n., 178 n., 185 n., 186, 191, 194, 196, 209 n., 210, 225, 238, 241, 243 ff., 263 n., 267, 273 f., 277 f., 280, 282, 289, 292 n., 293 n., 308 n., 331, 339 n., 384 n., 409, 410 n., 411, 412 n., 416, 418, 468 n., 469, 484, 489 n., 506 n., 523 n., 542 n., 619 621.
Jātaka Book, s. Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā.
Jātaka Commentary, s. Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā.
Jātakamālā, 152 n., 155 n., 164, 165 n., 273 f., 576 f., 290, 291 n., 292 n.
Jātaka reciters, 122 n.
Jātakaṭṭhakathā, 117, 189.
Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā (Jātaka Book, J. Commentary), 100 n., 115-119, 121-126, 128, 133 f., 136, 139, 141, 143 f., 147, 151, 153 n., 154 n., 156 f., 163, 164 n., 165, 181 f., 186, 189 f., 191 n., 192 f., 195 ff., 207, 209, 225, 238, 243, 274, 409 f., 418 n., 603, 619.
Java, 155, 254.
Javeri, N. G., 555 n.
Jayadeva, 366, 554 n.
Jayadhavalā, 474.
Jayakīrti, 561.
Jayanta Vijaya, 466 n.
Jayaśekhara, 554.
Jayasiṃha, 547, 561.
Jayasiṃha (Gujarat King), 547.
Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla, 515.
Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, 482 f., 512 n., 546 f.
Jayasundara, A. D., 60 n.
Jayaswal, K. P., 597 f.
Jayatihuyana-Stotra, 555.
Jayatilaka (Sūri), 534, 558.
Jayavallabha, 575 n.
Jensen, H., 637.
Jewels, the three, 79.
Jhāna-Samyutta, 55.
Jhaveri, Sheṭh Devchand Lalbhai, 427 n.
Jīmūtavāhana-Avadāna, 293 f.
Jina, 271, 327, 336, 378 n., 380, 424 n., 447 n., 463, 471, 489 n., 490 ff., 495 f., 500 f., 503 ff., 507, 510, 513, 515, 522,

528, 535, 548 f., 551 ff., 554 n., 557 f., 561, 567, 569, 572, 584 n., 585 n.; s. also Tīrthakara.
Jinabhadra (Jinabhaṭa), 429, 465, 479 f., 589.
Jinabhaṭa, s. Jinabhadra.
Jinacandra, 511.
Jinacandra Gaṇin, s. Devagupta.
Jinacarita, 224.
Jinacaritra, 462 ff.
Jinacaturviṃśatikā, 556 n.
Jinadāsa, 496.
Jinadatta (Sūri), 479, 570.
Jinadharmapratibodha, 570 n.
Jinagupta, 248 n.
Jinakīrti, 539.
Jinālaṃkāra, 223.
Jinapadma, 558.
Jinapati Sūri, 554 n.
Jinaprabha Sūri, 521, 544 n., 551 n., 556, 590.
Jinapravacanarahasyakośa, 584.
Jinarakṣita, 570 n. (read: "composed by Palha who wrote before 1113 A.D., the date of the MS. written by Jinarakṣita").
Jinasena (author of Ādipurāṇa), 481, 497, 499, 512, 560, 582 n.
,, (author of Harivaṃśa), 495 f., 499.
,, (teacher of Cāmuṇḍa), 587.
Jina-Stotra-Ratna-Kośa, 557.
Jinavallabha (Sūri), 554, 570.
Jinavijaya, Munirāja, 479 n., 516 n., 546 n., 547 n., 570 n., 573 n.
Jitendrabuddhi, s. Pūjyapāda Devanandin.
Jineśvara, 481, 536, 543.
Jinism, 424 ff. passim; and Brahmanism, s. Brahmanism; and Buddhism, s. Buddhism; dogmatics of, 442, 470, 575 f., 579, 585, 594; ethics of, 505, 515, 518, 559, 562, 566 f., 576 f., 579, 581, 584, 586 f., 589; history of, 469, 519-521, 537, 544.
Jiṣṇu, 552.
Jita-Kalpa, s. Jīyakappa.
Jīvābhigama, 429, 442, 456.
Jivājīvābhigama, s. Jīvābhigama.
Jīvaka, 30 f., 197, 394.
Jīvakacintāmaṇi, 535 n.
Jīva-manaḥ-karaṇa-saṃlāpa-Kathā, 572.
Jīvandhara, 499-503, 535.
Jīvandhara-Campū, 517 n., 535.
Jīvandhara-Caritra, 500 n.
Jīvas, 586, 588.
Jīvasamāsa, 589.
Jīvavicāra, s. Jīvaviyāra.
Jīvaviyāra (Jīvavicāra), 588.
Jīyakappa (Jita-Kalpa), 429, 465.
Jñānabinduprakaraṇa, 593.
Jñānagupta, 304.
Jñānalocana-Stotra, 555.
Jñānārṇava, 583.
Jñānasāgara Sūri, 541.
Jñānasāra, 594.
Jñānasiddhi, 393.
Jñānolka-Dhāraṇī, 387 n.
Jñātādharmakathāḥ s. Nāyādhammakahāo.
Jñātṛ-Dharma-Kathāṅga, 473.
Jñātṛputra, s. Nāyaputta.
Jodo-shu sect, 312.
Joglekar, K. M., 258 n.
Johnson, Helen M., 506 n., 507 n., 637.
Johnston, E. H., 258 n., 262 n., 337 n., 623.
Joindu (Yogīndra), 590 n.
Jolly, Julius, 31n., 343 n.
Josaphat, s. Barlaam and Josaphat.
Julien, Stanislas, 292 n.

Kādambarī, 534.
Kaikeyī, 492 f.
Kālacakra, 401.
Kālaka, 433 n., 537.
Kālakācārya-Kathānaka, 537, 589 n.
Kālasvarūpakulakam, 570.
Kalhaṇa, 342.
Kālī, 449, 522, 524.
Kālidāsa, 100, 256, 260, 261 n., 266, 276, 277 n., 512, 514, 534, 574, 590, 601.
Kalikālasarvajña, 482.
Kali-Yuga, 336, 590.
Kalmāṣapāda, 132.
Kalpa, 160, 375
Kalpadrumāvadānamālā, 290.
Kalpanālaṃkṛtikā, 267.
Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, 160 n., 265 n., 267, 269, 273, 277, 285 f., 288, 409, 623 f.; s. Sūtrālaṃkāra.
Kalpa-Pradīpa, 521.
Kalpa-Sūtra, 424 n., 428 n., 433 n., 438, **462-464**, 4 6, 506, 519, 537, 588 n., 593 n.
Kalpāvataṃsikāḥ, s. Kappāvadaṃsiāo.
Kalpa-Vyavahāra, 474.
Kalyāṇamandira-Stotra, 477 n., 551 f.
Kalyāṇavijaya, Muni, 479 n.
Kāmaghaṭakathā, 538 n.
Kamalabuddhi, 363.
Kamalasaṃyama, 466 n.
Kamalaśīla, 374.
Kāma-Śāstra, 488, 572 f.
Kāma-Sūtra, 473.
Kamma, s. Karman.
Kammavācā, 25, 234.
Kamma-Vivāga-Dasāo, 452 n.
Kamptz, Kurt von, 448 n., 459 n., 460 n., 461 n.
Kaṇāda, 336.
Kāṇadeva (Aryadeva), 349.
Kanakanandin, 585.
Kanakasena Vādirāja I, 555 n.
Kanarese, 428, 585, 587, 595.
Kaṇayamañjarī, 488.
Kaṇha, s. Kṛṣṇa.
Kaṇhā, s. Kṛṣṇā.
Kāṇha, 635.
Kanika, 270 n.
Kaniṣka, 18 n., 233 n., 237, 255 n., 257, 269f., 286, 294, 329, 337 n., 342, 347 n., **611-614**, 625.
Kanjur, 139 n., 153 n., 228 n., 232 n., 273 n., 306, 307 n., 312 n., 315, 316 n., 324, 328, 332, 339 n., 341 n., 382, 383 n., 387, 622, 625.

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, 191 f., 221.
Kāpadiā, Hiralal Rasikadās, 594 n.
Kāpālikās, 634 f.
Kapila (Sāṃkhya teacher), 334, 336, 468 n., 473, 583.
,, (Jaina author), 467, 468 n.
Kapilavatthu, 599.
Kappa (Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra), 429, 464.
Kappāvadaṃsiāo (Kalpāvataṃsikāḥ), 429, 458.
Karaṇānuyoga, 474.
Kāraṇaprajñapti, 357 n.
Kāraṇḍavyūha, 131 n.. 305-310.
Kārṣkās, 344, 348 n., 350, 352 n., 354, 357, 366 f., 630.
Karma-Granṭha, 453 n., 591.
Karman (Kamma), 46, 53, 60, 74, 98, 144 f., 157, 170, 178, 183, 195, 268, 278, 283 f., 287, 293, 355, 372, 414, 439, 444, 452, 453n., 465, 467, 487, 492, 505, 523 ff., 528, 577 f., 586 ff., 591 f.
Karmapariṇāma, 529.
Karma-Pradīpas, 390.
Karma-Prakṛti, 453 n., 592.
Karmaśataka, 129 n., 284, 452.
Karma-Siddhi-Prakaraṇa, 360.
Karmastava, 591.
Karmavipāka, 591.
Karṇa, 495.
Karpelès, Suzanne, 377 n.
Kārttikeyānuprekṣā, s. Kattigeyāṇupekkhā.
Kārttikeya Svāmin, 477, 577.
Karuṇā, 391.
Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka, 312 f., 369.
Karuṇā-Vajrāyudha, 548.
Kasawara, Kenjiu, 347 n.
Kashmir, 231, 233.
Kasibharadvāja-Sutta, 95.
Kāśikā, 365 n.
Kassapa, s. Kāśyapa.
Kassapa-Saṃyutta, 55.
Kāśyapa (Kassapa), 44, 55, 86, 159, 221 n., 283, 329 f., 378, 467 n.
Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, 341.
Kāśyapa-Parivarta, 328ff., 362.
Kāśyapīyas, 231n.
Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad, 145n.
Kathākośa, 512n., 539n., 542ff., 637.
Kathā-Mahodadhi, 544.
Kathānaka, 481, 484n., 537.
Kathānaka-Kośa, 543.
Kathā-Ratnākara, 485n., 544.
Kathāsaritsāgara, 129n., 132n., 148n., 201 n., 289n.
Kathāvatthu, 6, 11, **169-171**, 172, 175n.
Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā, 192n., 208.
Kattigeyāṇupekkhā (Kārttikeyānuprekṣā), 577.
Kātyāyana, 336.
Kātyāyanīputra, 257n.
Kauravas, 336, 495.
Kauśika, 355.
Kauśika-Sūtra, 286n.
Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, 473.
Kauṭilya, 336.
Kāvilīyaṃ, 467.
Kāvya, s. Ornate poetry.
Kāvyaprakāśa, 516n.
Kāvyarasa, 473.
Kayya, 378n.
Kegon sect, 324.
Keith, Arthur Berriedale, 598, 605, 614, **623**, 632, 638, and notes to 1, 9, 15, 124, 166, 170, 178ff., 229, 342, 363, 366, 378, 385, 407, 427, 602.
Kellner, Leon, 419n.
Kennedy, J., 229n , 407n., 415n., 612.
Kern, H., 606, and notes to 1, 4, 6-11, 20-23, 39, 113, 132, 150, 152, 160, 165, 173, **182**, 184, 186, 226, 229, 251, 263, 273, **295**, 302ff., 312, 342, 365, 379f., 384, 406, 412.
Kern, M., 407n.
Keśava, 469.
Keśavavarṇin, 586n.
Kesi, 455f.
Kevadha-Sutta, 42n.
Kevalajñāna, 447n.
Kevalin, 463, 514, 593.
Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-Sūtra, 247.
Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta, 95, 156, 158, 242, 247.
Khamāsamaṇa, 472.
Khandhakās, 21, 24ff., 27n.
Khantivādi-Jātaka, 149.
Kharatara-Gaccha-Paṭṭāvalī, 477n., 478n., 587n.
Khāravela, 431n.
Kharoṣṭhī script, 238.
Khemā, 159, 199.
Khotan, s. Central Asia.
Khotanese language, 227n., 315n., 316n., 341n., 382, 387n.
Khuddakanikāya, 34, 66, **76-165**, 205, 236.
Khuddakapāṭha, 34, **78-80**, 143n., 191f., 237, 242, 413n.
Khudda-Sikkhā, 221.
Kielhorn, F., notes to 123, 258, 516, 527, 547, 590f.
Kimura, Ryukan, 226n., 229n., 236n., 342n., 361n. 613f.
Kimura, Taiken, 356n., 631.
Kinnara, 133, 243, 280f.
Kinnarī-Jātaka, 243.
Kirfel, W., 456n., 457n., 525n.
Kīrtisena, 499n.
Kīrtivijaya Gaṇi, 462n.
Kisā-Gotamī, 58f., 106, 159, 193, 199, **418**, 487.
Klatt, J., notes to 426f., 476-481, 516, **519**, 539, 551, 553ff., 557, 578, 587, 591.
Koch, Max, 420n.
Kohler, K., 66n.
Köhler, R., 126n., 131n., 138n., 139n., 539n., 565n.
Koliyas, 198.
Koṇāgamana, 160n.
Konow, Sten, 14n., 209n., 224n., 227n., 238n., 316n., 382n., 431n., 537n., 604, 613f.
Kon-ts'egs, 328.
Kopetzky, O., 422n.
Kośā, 508f., 572.
Kośa-Kārikā-Śāstra, 358n.

Kosala, 12, 120n.
Kosambi, Dharmananda, 14n., 93n., 157n., 192n., 606.
K'ouei-Ki, 268n.
Krause, Charlotte, 540n., 594n.
Krishnamacharya, Embar, 374n.
Kriyā-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā, 389n.
Kriyā-Tantras, 389f.
Kṛkin, 244, 293.
Krom, N. J., 254n.
Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇha) Vāsudeva, 37, 119n., 142, 149, 250, 302, 379, 448n., 451, 458, 463n., 469, 487ff., 495, 504, 510, 570n.
Kṛṣṇā (Kaṇhā), 140.
Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa, 499.
Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti, 203.
Kṛṣṇadāsa, 495n., 517.
Kṛṣṇa Upendra, 550n.
Kṣamākalyāṇa, 588n.
Kṣapaṇāsāra, 587.
Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi, 535.
Kṣatriyas, s. Warriors.
Kṣemendra, 292n., 293, 294n., 376n., 485n.
Kṣudraka, 236.
Kṣudrakavastu, 239n.
Kūbara, 496.
Kubera, 491.
Kuchean (Tokharian) language and texts, 227n., 233n., 271n., 272n., 273n., 313n., 622.
Kuhn, E., 604, and notes to 99, 131, 138, 150, 252, 406, 417f.
Kuladatta, 389n.
Kumāragupta, 304, 356n.
Kumārajīva, 228n., 233n., 235, 256n., 267, 273n., 304, 310n., 311, 313n., 315n., 328n., 342f., 344n., 348n., 349, 350n., 369n., 622, 624, 631, 634.
Kumāra Kassapa, 44.
Kumāralabdha, s. Kumāralāta.
Kumāralāta (Kumāralabdha), 160 n., 258 n., 265 n., 267 ff., 285 f., 288, 342, 350 n., 623 f.
Kumārapāla, 482 f., 505 f., 511, 520, 544, 546 f., 555 f., 568, 569 n., 570 f.
Kumārapāla-Pratibodha, 570.
Kumārasena, 499 n.
Kumārila, 478, 580 n., 581.
Kumbhakarṇa, 490.
Kumudacandra, 477 n., 546.
Kuṇāla, 283, 289.
Kuṇāla-Jātaka, 140.
Kundakunda, 474, 476 f., 496 f., 543 n., 576 ff., 582, 584, 592.
Kunike, H., 150 n.
Kuṇiya Bhiṃbhasāraputta, s. Ajātaśatru.
Kuntī, 544 n.
Kupakṣakauśikasahasrakiraṇa, 592.
Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī, T. S., 276 n., 500 n., 512 n., 535 n.
Kurral, 477 n.
Kuru, 49, 133, 143, 447, 504 n.
Kurukullā-Sādhana, 393 n.
Kuśa, 493 f.
Kuśajātaka, 136 f., 243.
Kuṭadanta-Sutta, 37, 115 n.
Kuvalayamālā, 479 n
Kuvaṇṇā, 215.

Labdhisāra, 587.
Laber, J., 575 n.
Laboulaye, 417 n.
La Fontaine, 64 n., 127 n., 134 n.
Laghīyastraya, 581.
Laghu-Dravyasaṃgraha, 585 n.
Lāghulovāde, 607.
Laghvarhannīti-Śāstra, 569 n.
Lagna, 477 n.
Lakkhaṇa-Sutta, 42.
Lakṣaṇapuruṣa, 504 n.
Lakṣhmaṇa Śāstrī, 224 n.
Lakṣmaṇa, 492, 495.
Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin, 516.
Lakṣmī, 552.
Lakṣmīṃkarā, 393.
Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri, 544.
Lakṣmīvallabha, 486.
Lālā Rāmajī, 587 n.
Lalitāditya, 378 n.
Lalitavistara, 17, 42 n., 51, 189, 232, **248-256**, 260 f., 295, 303, 304 n., 328 n., 369, 376, 386 n., 402, 411 n., 416, 417 n., 463.
Lalitavistarā, 527 n.
Lalita-Vistara-Purāṇa, 248 n.
Lalou, Marcelle, 328 n., 332 n., 625, 635.
Lāmā, 636.
Lamaism, 375, 393.
Landsberg, G., 192 n.
Lang, E., 291 n.
Laṅkā, 333, 490, 492; s. Ceylon.
Laṅkāvatārasūtra, 295, 332, 337, 352, 361 n., 369, 386, 627, 633.
Laṅkāvatāra Tantra, 335 n.
Lanman, Ch., 21 n.
Lava, 493 f.
La Vallée Poussin, Louis de, 255, 608, 623, 629, 633, and notes to 1, 4, 7, 15, 18, 20 f., 66, 77, 113, 156, 170 f., 173, 193, 229, 233 ff., 238 f., 246 f., 262, 267, 271, 284, 289, 295, 299, 304, 306 f., 309 f., 312, 324, 326 ff., 330, 340, 344 ff., 350 f., 353 f., 356 ff., 360, 364, 368 ff., 373 f., 376 f., 380, 384, 387, 389, 391, 395, 397, 399, 401, 407, 583.
Lavaṇa, 494.
Law, Bimala Charan, 98 n., 142 n., 162 n., 168 n., 169 n., 184 n., 190 n., 192 n., 202 n., 204 n., 206 n., 207 n., 218 n., 220 n., 276 n., 617-624, 627, 638.
Le Coq, A. von, 232, 417.
Leemans, C., 155 n.
Lefmann, S., 226 n., 248 n., 250 n., 252 n., 253 n.
Legends, 121, 147, 185, 208; s. also Christian and biblical legends.
Legends, Brahmanical, 119 n., 142, 265, 448 n., 451, 458, 463 n., 469, 487 ff., 493-496, 504, 564 f.
Legends, Buddhist, 46, 48, 54 f., 86, 97 f., 101 n., 106 n., 114 f., 121, 125, 142-152, 158 ff., 161 n., 182, 187, 190 f., 193 ff.,

197 ff., 201, 203, 206-209, 215 ff., 220, 223 ff., 233, 243, 263 n., 267 f., 270, 274, 278 f., 282, 286-294, 308 n., 313, 335, 339 f., 342, 349, 375-378, 402-405, 409-416, 599, 610, 623; s. also Buddha (legend).
Legends, Jaina, 432 n., 433 n., 434, 445, 447-453, 457 f., 460, 465, 468-471, 480, 484, 486 n., 487 ff., 493-500, 504 f., 508-514, 517-521, 533, 535-540, 542, 544, 548, 550, 552, 554 f., 557, 561 n., 564 ff., 567 n.
Legge, J., 8 n., 124 n., 155 n.
Lehmann, Edv., 407 n., 409 n., 410 n., 412n., 414.
Léjeau, G., 66 n.
Leumann, E., 609, and notes to 60, 145, 220, 227, 258 f., 273, 289, 316, 320, 326, 341, 355, 382, 387, 405, 427, 441, 446-449, 451, 453 ff., 457, 464 ff., 470, 478 f., 483, 485, 489 f., 495 f., 519, 522, 537, 562.
Lévi, Sylvain, 216, 256, 269, 285, 354, 604, 606, 610 ff., 618 f., 623, 627, and notes to 4, 116, 160, 175, 177, 227 ff., 231-237, 239, 257, 265, 267 f., 271, 289, 291, 294, 313, 315, 317, 325, 353, 355 ff., 360, 365, 370, 376 f., 386 f., 392, 407, 454.
Lexicography, 482, 595.
Lhamo, 636.
Lichtenberger, H., 420 n.
Liebich, B., 365 n.
Liebrecht, Felix, 417 n.
Lies, tales of, 564.
Līlāvatī-Kathā, 543 n.
Lilley, Mary, E., 158 n.
Liṅga cult, 400, 552.
Logic, 346, 363, 547 n., 552, 554 n., 575, 579-582.
Lokadīpasāra, 222.
Lokakṣema, 312 n., 325 n.
Lokānanda, 365.
Lokapaññatti, 289 n.
Lokaprajñapti, 357 n.
Lokaprakāśa of Kṣemendra, 485 n.
Lokaprakāśa of Vinayavijaya, 593.
Lokasena, 499.
Lokatattvanirṇaya, 583.
Lokāyata, 336, 374, 473.
Lokeśvararāja, 311.
Lokeśvara-Śataka, 377.
Lokottaravādins, 230, 240 ff., 245 f., 622.
Lope de Vega, 418.
Lorenzo, G. de, 75 n.
Losch, H., 637.
Lovarini, E., 538 n.
Love for one's enemies, 149.
Love of nature, 106 f.
Love lyrics, 473.
Lüders, Else, 116 n.
Lüders, H., 267, 604, 613 f., 619, 624, and notes to 116, 119, 122 f., 144, 232, 234, 238, 244, 257 f., 266, 268 ff., 276, 288 f., 294, 302, 304, 341.
Lu-Trub (=Nāgārjuna,) 339 n., 348 n.
Lyric poetry, 100, 106 f., 133, 256, 266, 473, 548; s. also Stotras.

Mac Govern, W. Montgomery, 305 n., 340 n., 351 n., 355 n., 361 n.
Madana Kīrti, 521.
Madhyamāgama, 234, 618.
Madhyamakālaṃkāra-Kārikās, 375.
Mādhyamaka school, 344 f., 347, 350, 361 ff., 364, 373, 388, 393, 628 f., 631.
Mādhyamakāvatāra, 328 n., 364, 633.
Madhyamaka-Vṛtti, 345 n., 350 n.
Mādhyamika-Kārikās, 344.
Mādhyamika-Śāstra, 344 n., 348 n., 351.
Mādhyamika-Sūtras, 344, 350.
Madhyānta-Vibhāga, 360.
Madhyānta-Vibhaṅga, 352 n., 630 f.
Magadha, 12, 16, 120 n., 177 n., 356 n., 424 n., 431 f., 490, 597, 609, 615.
Māgadhī, 13, 427, 558, 588 n., 602, 604 f., 608; M. canon, 15, 233. 604, 609.
Māgha, 517, 526.
Magic, 36, 42, 51, 128, 130 f., 139, 203, 245, 249, 286 n., 300, 303, 316, 335, 343, 366, 369, 380 f., 383 f., 386 ff., 390 f., 396 f., 399 f., 491, 502, 514, 533, 537 f., 540, 549.
Mahā-Apadāna-Sutta, 42, 51.
Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā, 184 n.
Mahābala-Malayasundarī-Kathā, 533.
Mahābhārata, 34, 46, 58, 65 n., 76, 84, 94, 96, 122, 126 n., 133 f., 142, 144, 146 f., 148 n., 176 n., 244 n., 265, 269, 336, 377, 411, 448, 451, 469, 473, 487 n., 489, 495 f., 504 f., 510, 533, 542, 546, 565, 619.
Mahābhāṣya, 123 n.
Mahābodhivaṃsa, 218.
Mahācīna, 400 f.
Mahādeva Buddharūpa, 401.
Mahā-Govinda-Sutta, 242.
Mahājanaka-Jātaka, 146, 619.
Mahājātakamālā, 291 n.
Mahākaccāna, 183.
Mahākāla, 400.
Mahākāla-Tantra, 399.
Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga, 618.
Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka, 10 n.
Mahā-Kassapa, °Kāśyapa, s. Kāśyapa.
Mahākāvya, 260, 276, 505, 512, 554 n.
Mahāmaitrī, 335.
Mahāmaṅgala, 190 n.
Mahāmaṅgala-Jātaka, 143.
Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta, 143 n.
Mahāmati, 333 f., 335 n
Mahā-Māyūrī, 385, 386 n., 634 f.
Mahā-Megha-Sūtra, 383 n.
Mahānāma, 190, 211 f., 214 f., 610, 620.
Mahā-Nidāna, 248 n.
Mahānidāna-Sutta, 38.
Mahā-Niddesa, 156.
Mahā-Nipāta, 119 n.
Mahānisīha (Mahā-Niśītha), 429, 461, 465, 560 n., 591 n.
Mahā-Niśītha, s. Mahānisīha.
Mahāpaccakkhāṇa (Mahā-Pratyākhyāna), 429, 459, 460 n., 461 n.
Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, 28, 112, 159, 160 n., 199.
Mahā-Pakaraṇa, 171.
Mahāparinibbānasutta, 2, 14 n., 38 f., 40 n.,

41, 51, 52 n., 62 n., 67, 85, 112 n., 283 n., 405, 413, 421 n.
Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra, 41 n., 235, 289, 360.
Mahā-Paritta, 80 n.
Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Śāstra, 235 n.
Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra, 314.
Mahā-Pratisarā, 385.
Mahā-Pratyākhyāna, s. Mahāpaccakkhāṇa.
Mahā-Pratyaṅgirā-Dhāraṇī, 387 n.
Mahā-Purāṇa, 474, 497 ff., 637.
Mahāpuruṣa, 250.
Mahāpuruṣa-Carita of Śīlāṅka, 481.
Mahāpuruṣa-Carita of Merutuṅga, 517.
Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha, 270.
Mahā(rakṣā)mantrānusāriṇī, 385.
Māhārāṣṭrī, 427, 545, 558; s. Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.
Mahā-Ratnakūṭa-Dharmaparyāya, 329 n.
Mahā-Sahasrapramardinī, 385.
Mahāsāmi, 221.
Mahāsaṅghikas (Mahāsaṅgītikas), 7, 15 n., 77 n., 226 n., 233, 240, 245, 384 n., 622.
Mahāsaṅgīti, 7.
Mahāsaṅgītikas, s. Mahāsaṅghikas.
Mahāśāstra, 630.
Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta, 38, 67.
Mahāsattva, 317 n.
Mahāsena, 213, 214 n., 215 n.
Mahā-Śītavatī, 385.
Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta, 37 n., 115 n.
Mahāsukha, 388, 398.
Mahatī Prajñā-Pāramitā, 316 n.
Mahā-Tissa, 203.
Māhātmya, 289 n., 292, 340 n., 375-401, 503.
Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, 137, 541.
Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya, 35 n.; of the Suttanipāta, 92; of the Vinayapiṭaka, s. Vinayapiṭaka (Mahāvagga).
Mahāvaipulya Sūtras, 301 n., 396 f.
Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi, 400 n.
Mahāvaṃsa, 5n., 18, 184 n., 190, 208, 209 n., 210n., 211-218, 223n., 225, 617, 620 f.
Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā, 291n., 217.
Mahāvastu(-Avadāna), 17, 232, 237, **239-247**, 248, 253 n., 255, 260, 285 n., 294 n., 303, 328, 369, 376, 634.
Mahāvibhaṅga, 21, 24.
Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura, 184 n., 190, 202, 205, 210, 215 n., 218.
Mahāvīra, Vardhamāna, Niganṭha Nātaputta, 424 ff. passim; adversary of the Buddha, 72, 424 f., 439, 614; supposed author, 431, 498; biography of, 434, 437 f., 443, 463, 464 n., 506, 510, 517, 519; birth of, 490; his date, 424n., 478n., 479n., 489, 600, 614 f.; names of, 446n., 461; preached in Ardha-Māgadhī, 430; prophecies of, 504, 506; the last Tīrthakara, 447 n., 507, 510; worship of, 448, 455, 458, 472, 503, 548, 551 f., 555 f., 569.
Mahāvīra-Caritra, 506, 510, 517.
Mahāvīra-Cariyam, 510.
Mahāvīra-Stava, 558.
Mahāvīra-Stotra, 554 n., 556.
Mahāvyutpatti, 23 n., 24 n., 231 n., 294 n., 307n., 321 n., 324, 329 n., 347 n.
Mahāyāna, 19 n., 20 n., 77 n., 110, 153, 162, 189, 202 n., 203, 224 f., 227-231, 235, 238 n., 241 n., 245-249, 252, 255, 257, 264 f., 268, 271, 277, 279, 284, 289 n., 290 f., 292 n., 294 f., 301 n., 304, 313 n., 314 n., 324, 326, 328, 340 n., 341 f., 344, 352 f., 359, 361 f., 365 ff., 375, 380 ff., 387, 389 f., 394, 396 f., 399, 408, 421, 566, 575, 622ff., 629.
Mahāyānābhidharma-Saṃgīti-Śāstra, 355.
Mahāyāna Saṃgraha, 352 n.
Mahāyāna-Samparigraha, 355.
Mahāyāna-Śraddhotpāda (śāstra), 257 n., 266 n., 337, 361 f., 632.
Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, 234 n., 306 n., 328 n., 329 n., 352 n., 353, 354 n., 355 n., 360, 392 n., 630.
Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra-Śāstra, 352 n.
Mahāyāna Sūtras, 197, 248, 252, 284 n., **294-341**, 342 ff., 359 f., 367, 375, 382 f., 386, 389, 394 ff., 402, 411, 449, 627.
Mahāyāna-Uttaratantra-Śāstra, 352 n.
Mahāyāna-Viṃśaka, 346.
Mahesara Sūri, 589.
Maheśvara, 308, 349 n.
Mahinda, 7 f., 184, 209, 213, 605.
Mahīpāla, 536 f.
Mahīpāla-Caritra, 536.
Mahīśāsakas, 6 n., 231 n., 233.
Mahosadha, 138 f., 541.
Maisey, F. C., 16 n., 155 n.
Maithilī-Kalyāṇa, 546.
Maitra, S., 121 n.
Maitrakanyaka, 282, 290.
Maitreya, Metteyya, the future Buddha, 43, 162, 220, 221 n., 273, 289, 291, 297, 300, 352, 355, 378, 631.
Maitreya (nātha), 306 n., 328 n., 329 n., 337, 352-355, 360, 630 ff.
Maitreyasamiti, 272.
Maitreyavyākaraṇa, 272.
Maitrī, Mettā, 79, 89, 103, 157, 330, 338 n., 340, 383, 384 n., 391, 567.
Majjhima, 8 n.
Majjhimabhāṇakas, 17 n., 122 n.
Majjhima Nikāya, 6 n., 9 n., 12 n., **22** n., 23 n., 34, 35 n., 38 n., **46-53**, 54 n., 56, 64 n., 67, 69 n., 70 n., 72, 74 f., 76 n., 93 n., 101 n., 110, 115 n., 133 n., 159 n., 166, 168, 183, 187 n., 191, 197 n., 206 n., 234, 242, 283 n., 289 n., 405 n., 413, 603, 607, 615, 618.
Majumdar, R. C., 174 n., 598, 614.
Makhādeva, 48, 146.
Makhādeva-Sutta, 115 n.
Maladhāri-Devaprabha, 536.
Maladhāri-Hemacandra Sūri, 470 n., 472 n. 481, 511, 561 n., 589.
Mālālaṃkāra-Vatthu, 224.
Malalasekera, G. P., 598 n., 617, 619.
Malayagiri Sūri, 592, and notes to 455 ff., 470 ff., 544, 591.
Malayasundarī-Caritra, 534.
Malayasundarī-Kathā, 533.

Malayasundarīkathoddhāra, 533 n.
Mallī, 447 f.
Mallinātha, 512 n.
Mallināthacarita, 511 n.
Malliṣeṇa, 497 n., 590.
Malov, S. E., 628.
Māluṅkyā, son of, 70.
Man in the well, 417, 523, 566.
Manas, 56, 572.
Mānatuṅga, 478, 520, 549 ff., 556 n., 557.
Mānavijaya, 594.
Manchu translations, 316 n.
Maṇḍala, 397.
Maṇḍalin, 333.
Maṇḍiya, 488.
Maṅgala, 79, 143, 499 n.
Maṅgala-Sutta, 78 n., 79, 143.
Maṇibhadra, 559 n.
Maṇicūḍāvadāna, 376.
Māṇikyacandra, 515 f.
Māṇikyanandin, 582.
Māṇikyasāgara, 518 n.
Māṇikyasundara, 533.
Māṇikya Sūri, 535, 536 n.
Maṇimekhalā, 619.
Maṇipadmā, 309 n.
Maṇiratna, 588 n.
Mañjuśrī, 301, 312 n., 325, 327, 366, 374, 391, 397, 401 n., 560 n.
Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-Guṇa-Vyūha, 312 n., 328.
Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa, 397, 635.
Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti, 397 n.
Mañjuvarmā, 366 n.
Manoratha, 356 n.
Manoratha-Pūraṇī, 191, 192 n., 197 f., 201, 206, 207 n.
Manovijñāna, 333.
Mansukkhāi, Sheṭh Bhagabāi, 427 n.
Mantra, 25, 78, 286 f., 380 f., 387 f., 391 f., 395, 397-400.
Mantrapadāni, 381.
Mantrayāna, 387, 389, 397, 400.
Manu-Smṛti, 84, 126 n., 265, 569.
Māra, 54, 58 f., 69 n., 97, 110, 188, 195, 201, 240, 252 f., 262, 288, 405, 415, 514.
Maraṇa-Samāhī (Maraṇa-Samādhi), 461.
Māra-Saṃyutta, 54, 58, 242.
Mārasiṃha II, 585.
Mariners' fairy tales, 131, 132 n., 447.
Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, 244, 308 n.
Markaṭa Jātaka, 243 n.
Marshall, Sir John H., 16 n., 255 n., 613.
Marvārī, 595.
Masson-Oursel P., 340 n., 353 n.
Masuda, Jiryo, 353 n., 625.
Masurākṣa, 336.
Mātaṅga, 341.
Mathematics, 441, 473, 595.
Maticitra, 270 n.
Mātikās, 11, 41n, 166, 182 n.
Mātṛceta, 269 ff., 272 n., 376.
Mātṛkā, 11 n.
Matsumoto, Tokumyo, 625 f.
Mātugāma-Saṃyutta 55.
Maudgalyāyana, s. Moggallāna.
Maurya, 336, 431, 434, 509.
Mauthner, Fritz, 421.
Maxims, s. Gnomic poetry.
Māyā, 187, 188 n., 240, 250, 325, 398.
Māyā, doctrine of, 319, 335.
Mayūra, 377 n., 385 n., 549 f.
Mazumdar, B. C., 84 n., 85 n.
Mdo (Sūtra), 387.
Medhaṃkara, 222, 224.
Medicine, 226, 334, 343.
Medicine girl, parable of the, 394.
Meditation, 46, 55, 61 f., 78, 107, 146, 188, 202 ff., 249, 252 n., 306, 312, 321, 327, 338 f., 349, 366 n., 368, 390-393, 398, 411, 413 n., 437, 471, 514, 518, 531, 561, 568, 571, 577, 586.
Meghacandra, 582 n.
Meghadūta, 512, 574.
Meghaprabhācārya, 548.
Megha-Sūtra, 383, 384 n.
Meghavaṇṇa of Ceylon, 611.
Mehta, Motichand Jhaverchand, 594 n.
Meissner, B., 138 n.
Menandros, s. Milinda.
Merutuṅga, 517, 519 f., 534 n., 539 n., 549 n.
Metaphysics, 56, 70, 165, 345 n., 374, 583.
Metrics, 482.
Mettā, s. Maitrī.
Metta-Sutta, 78 n., 79.
Metteyya, s. Maitreya.
Meyer, J. J., 131 n., 136 n., 139 n., 140 n., 486 n., 488 n., 508 n., 548 n.
Meyer, W., 150 n., 200 n.
Milinda, Menandros, 174 f., 177 f., 620.
Milindapañha, 6 n., 9 n., 18, 23 n., 60 n., 77 n., 80 n., 115 n., 122 n., 123 n., 149 n., 173. **174-183**, 184 n., 619.
Mīmāṃsā, 375, 478.
Minayeff, J. P., 609, and notes to 1, 15, 98, 170, 190, 192, 219 ff., 347, 365, 370, **377**, 397.
Ming-ti, 341.
Miracles, 40, 42, 51, 61, 87, 109 f., 148 n., 161, 163, 183, 187 ff., 203, 214, 216, 230, 240, 247 n., 250, 256, 260, 279, 282 f., 293, 405 f., 408, 410 f., 413 f., 501, 513, 533, 550 f.
Mironov, N. D., 304 n., 563 n., 564 n., 565 n., 583n., 633.
Mithras, 386 n.
Mitra, Rājendralāla, 395, and notes to 228, 230, 248, 284, 286, 290-293, 306, 313 ff., 325 ff., 337, 339, 357, 376 ff., 382, 384 ff., 387, 389, 394, 400, 430, 495, 587.
Mitra, Sailendranath, 238 n.
Mittavindaka, 132, 282.
Mitzky, Dora, 422 n.
Moggallāna, Maudgalyāyana, 28 46, 51, 55, 99, 101 n., 112 f., 159, 195, 204, 244 n., 267, 280, 357 n.
Moggallāna-Saṃyutta, 55.
Mohanaghara, 447 n.
Moha-Rāja-Parājaya, 547.
Moneyasute, 607.
Mongolia, 611.
Mongolian texts and translations, 341 n., 634

Moon dynasty, 491.
Moore, J. H., 88 n., 89 n., 91 n.
Mora-Jātaka, 385.
Morality, 425, 569; s. Buddhism, and Jinism (ethics of).
Moral narratives (tales) and sayings, 125, 132, 141 ff., 530, 570, 573 f.
Morris, R., notes to 60, 64, 116, 140, 160, 162, 168, 218, 222.
Moses, 405 n.
Mṛgavatī-Caritra, 536.
Much, Hans, 423.
Mudrā, 391, 397.
Mudrita-Kumudacandra-Prakaraṇa, 546.
Mukherjee, Prabhatkumar, 227 n.
Mukhopadhyaya, Sujitkumar, 627.
Mukhtara, Jugala Kiśora, 581 n.
Mūla-Aṭṭhakathā, 184 n.
Mūlācāra, 474, 577.
Mūladeva, 488.
Mūla-Madhyamaka-Kārikās, 364.
Mūlarāja, 543 n.
Mūlasarvāstivādins, 4 n., 19, 24 n., 231 n., 232 ff., 239, 284 f., 621, 624.
Mūla-Sikkhā, 221.
Mūla-Sūtra, 390, (of the Jaina Canon), 429 f., 433, 462 n., 466, 470 ff., 474, 481.
Mūla-Sutta, s. Mūla Sūtra.
Müller, Ed., 604, and notes to 39, 100, 109, 158, 160 f., 166, 192, 197, 201, 205, 221.
Müller, F. Max, notes to 80 f., 190, 216, 236 f., 310, 316, 347, 382, 416.
Müller, F. W. K., notes to 227, 272 f., 304, 341, 387.
Municandra Sūri, 496 n., 516 n., 574, 584 n.
Munigāthā, 607.
Munipaticaritrasāroddhāra, 584 n.
Muni-Sutta, 607.
Muṇivaicariya, 584 n.
Murakami, Senshoi, 352 n.
Muṣṭi-Prakaraṇa, 352.
Mythology of Buddhism, 230, 247, 277, 279, 388; of Jinism, 507, 589.
Myths, 46, 97, 125, 208, 216 f., 599.

Nagai, M., 192 n., 202 n.
Nāgakumāracariu, 637.
Nāgānanda, 294 n.
Nāgārjuna (philosopher), 257 f., 304, 324, 328 n., 339 n., 341-351, 356 n., 361 n., 362 ff., 366 n., 370 n., 376 n., 628.
Nāgārjnna (author of Tantras), 343 n., 392, 396, 628 f.
Nāgas, 55, 133, 161 n., 243, 280 f., 301, 343, 375, 513.
Nāga, Saṃyutta, 55.
Nāgasena, 173, 177 n., 178-181, 620.
Naggaī, 488.
Nahar, Puran Chand, 425 n., 428 n., 430 n., 575 n.
Naipālīya-Devatā-Kalyāṇa Pañcaviṃśatikā, 378.
Nairātmyaparipṛcchā, 623, 627.
Nakṣatra, 457.
Nala, 496, 542, 571.
Nālaka, 97.
Nālaka-Sutta, 96.
Nālandā (university), 226, 363, 366, 375.
Nalinikā-Jātaka, 147.
Nalopākhyāna, 148 n.
Nāmarūpapariccheda, 222.
Nami, 468.
Nānak, 600.
Nanda (half-brother of Buddha), 87, 263 f., 421.
,, (king of Magadha), 177n., 520, 544.
Nandapaṇṇa, 219.
Nandas, 336, 509.
Nandiṣeṇa, 554.
Nandī (Nandi)-Sutta (Nāndī-Sūtra), 429 f., 433, 442 f., 452, 453 n., 456 n., 461 n., 472, 473 n., 544 n., 592 n.
Nanjio, Bunyiu, 628, and notes to 228, 253, 266, 276, 295, 304 f., 307, 310, 312 f., 315 f., 324 f., 328-333, 339, 344, 347, 350 ff., 355, 360, 382 f., 394, 400.
Nāṇodaya, 190 n.
Nārada, 99, 145, 491.
Nārakacandra, 456 n.
Nārāyaṇa, 308.
Nārāyaṇa-Paripṛcchā, 383 n.
Narrative literature (stories, tales), 17, 26-34, 46, 48 f., 76-165 passim, 177 n., 181, 185, 187, 189, 192-201, 203, 207, 209, 211, 215 n., 224 f., 233 f., 236 n., 241, 243 ff., 265, 267 ff., 274, 276-285, 288 f., 291 ff., 294 n., 364 n., 394 n., 402, 405 n., 406 f., 409 f., 414, 416, 418, 437, 446-449, 451, 455, 458, 469 ff., 475, 481, 483 f., 485 n., 486 ff., 489 n., 490, 492, 495, 498 f., 504-511, 514 f., 517-521, 523 ff., 527, 530, 533, 536-545, 548, 559, 561, 563 ff., 567, 570 ff., 590, 604, 637.
Nāstikas, 345 n.
Nāstivāda, 575.
Naṭabhaṭika, 289 n.
Nāṭaka, 273.
Nāṭakasamayasārakalaśāḥ, 584 n.
Nāṭakatraya, 576.
Nātaputta, s. Mahāvīra.
Navapaya (Navapada-Prakaraṇa), 588.
Nava Tatta, 588.
Navatattva-Prakaraṇa, 588.
Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātādharmakathāḥ), 131 n., 132 n., 429, 445-449, 514 n.
Nāyaputta (Jñātṛputra), 446 n.
Nāyas, 446 n.
Neil, R. A., 116 n., 284 n.
Nemi, s. Ariṣṭanemi.
Nemibhaktāmaram, 557.
Nemicandra Siddhānta-Cakravartin, 481, 510, 580 n., 585, 587.
Nemidatta, 544.
Nemidūta, 512.
Nemi-Jina-Stava, 558.
Nemināhacariu, 511.
Nemināth, s. Ariṣṭanemi.
Neminātha-Carita, 511.
Nemi-Nirvāṇa, 512.
Nepal, 14 n., 19, 21, 227 n., 233, 234 n., 237 n., 238 n., 295, 375, 385, 401 n.

Nestorian Christians, 386 n.
Netti (-Gandha-Pakaraṇa), 77 n., 183, 205 n., 620.
Neumann, K. E., 98, 102, 111, 204, 420, 606 f., and notes to 16, 21 f., 35, 38, 46, 52, 75 f., 80, 92 f., 100, 110, 113, 221, 406, 412 f., 421.
Nibbāna, s. Nirvāṇa.
Nichiren, 305.
Nicodemus, 308 n.
Nidāna, 186 n., 239 n., 277 n. ; twelve n., 54.
Nidānakathā, 10 n., 17, 51, 164, 186-189, 218, 224 f., 240, 249, 263 n., 411 n., 412.
Nidāna-Saṃyutta, 54.
Niddesa, 15 n., 34, 77 n., 92, 156 f., 184 n.
Nie Tao-Tchen, 248 n.
Nigamas, 430 n.
Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, s. Mahāvira.
Nigaṇṭhas, 424, 445.
Nigdukar, Dattatraya Shastri, 258 n.
Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka, 150 n.
Nijjutti (Niryukti), 462, 465, 470, 476, 483-864.
Nikāyas, 9, 12, 17 f., 34, 57, 58 n., 62, 66-69, 74, 76 f., 110, 167 f., 234 ff.
Nikāyasaṃgraha, 617.
Nīlakāṇṭha-Dhāraṇī, 387 n.
Nīlanetra(-Āryadeva), 349.
Nipāta, 61, 92 n., 118.
Nirayāvalī, 429, 457.
Nirayāvaliyāo, 458.
Nirbhaya-Bhīma-Vyāyoga, 546.
Nirmāṇakāya, 340 n.
Nirvāṇa, Nibbāna, 3, 38 f., 44-48, 51 f., 62, 74, 84, 86 f., 100, 103, 105 ff., 110, 172, 182, 195, 202, 228, 230, 246, 264, 268 n., 283, 288, 290, 296 f., 300, 309, 318 f., 334, 336, 340, 344 n., 346, 352, 368, 371, 391, 412 f., 433, 462, 471 n., 476 f., 479 n., 491, 493, 495 f., 506, 514, 529, 584, 615, 630.
Niryukti, s. Nijjutti.
Nisaḍha, 458.
Nisami, 489 n.
Niṣedha, 464n.
Niśīha (Niśītha), 429, 464.
Nīti, 65 n., 125, 498.
Nītiśāstra, 262, 569 n.
Niyamasāra, 576.
Nobel, Joh., 228 n., 269 n., 313 n., 362 n., 599 n., 609, 623.
Noeldeke, Th., 136 n.
Norman, H. C., notes to 193 ff., 201, 217, 224.
Northern Buddhist Literature, 19 n.
Novels, 125, 447, 478, 483, 521-535, 539 f.
Novices, 78, 81.
Number riddles, 65 n.
Numbers, 300.
Nuns, founding of order, 28, 62 n., 64, 102; s. also Bhikkhunī and Therīs.
Nyāṇatiloka (Anton Gueth), 60 n., 168 n., 174 n., 201 n.
Nyāya, 374, 575, 583.
Nyāyabindu, 363.
Nyāyakumudacandrodaya, 582.
Nyāya-Kusumāñjali, 594.
Nyāyānusāra-Śāstra, 358 n.
Nyāyapraveśa, 363, 583, 633.
Nyāyapraveśaka Sūtra, 479 n.
Nyāyatīrtha Sāhityaratna, Darbārī Lāla 494 n., 495 n.
Nyāyāvatāra, 580.
Nyāyāvatāra-vṛtti, 479 n.
Nyāyavijaya, 594.
Nyāyaviniścaya, 555 n., 581 f.

Oaten, E. F., 419 n.
Obermiller, E., 629-632.
Obolonsky, A., 419 n.
Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṃha, 535.
Oedipus tragedy, 508.
Ogha-Niryukti, s. Ohanijjutti.
Ohāṇasuyaṃ, 437.
Ohanijjutti (Ogha-Niryukti), 430, 433, 465, 471, 476.
Ohara, Karichi, 369 n.
Oldenberg, Hermann, 19, 597, 599, 603, 605 ff., 609, 612 f., and notes to 1, 3 f., 8, 11, 20-25, 27, 29, 32, 37, 41, 45, 64, 69f., 92 f, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 113, 115 f., 118, 123 f., 140, 147, 160, 164, 169, 178 ff., 182, 208, 210, 216 f., 232 f., 236 f., 239, 241 f., 251, 274, 279, 284 f., 289, 407, 434 464, 600.
d'Oldenburg, S., notes to 116, 120, 155, 238, 243, 273 f., 278, 292 f.
Oltramare, P., 39 n.
Oman, J. C., 601 n.
Omens, 541.
Om maṇipadme hum, 309.
Ono, Genmyo, 631.
Ontology, 579.
Oral transmission, 8, 68, 77 n., 117, 185, 254, 404, 434, 564, 617, 621.
Ornate poetry (kāvya), 107, 111 n., 211, 216, 223, 260-264, 267, 273 f., 276, 285, 289 f., 293, 365, 376, 378 f., 427, 460, 463, 483, 505, 511, 517 n., 518, 520, 525, 534-538, 549, 553, 558, 562, 567, 573.
Ornate prose, 140 n., 451.
Otto, Rudolf, 379 n.
Ovavāiya, s. recte Uvavāiya.

Pabbajjā-Sutta, 96 f., 242.
Pacanekāyika, 17.
Paccekabuddha (Pratyekabuddha), 49, 146 n., 158, 247, 279 f., 282, 297, 468, 487, 518.
Paccekabuddhāpadāna, 158.
Paccuppannavatthu, 115, 120 n., 189.
Pācittiyā dhammā, 24 n.
Pada, 80 n.
Pādalipta, s. Pālitta.
Paderia inscription, 599.
Padhāna-Sutta, 96 f., 242.
Padma (Buddhist wonderland), 313.
,, (female organ), 388.
,, (-Rāma), 489 f., 492 ff.
Padma-Carita, s. Paümacariya.

Padmamandira, 557 n.
Padmanandin, 476 n., 582.
Padma-Purāṇa, 474, 494, 565 n.
Padmasambhava, 375, 393.
Padmasundara, 516.
Padmavajra, 393.
Padmāvatī, 536.
Padmāvatī,Avadāna, 294 n.
Padmottarā, 313.
Padumavatī, 200.
Padyacūḍāmaṇi, 192 n., 276.
Paësi, 455 f.
Paiṇṇa (Prakīrṇa), 429 f., 448 n., 458-461, 472.
Paiśācī, 226 n., 558, 604.
Pāḷiyalacchī, 532 n., 553 n.
Pajja-Madhu, 223.
Pajjasavaṇākappa (Paryuṣaṇā-Kalpa), 464.
Pajjunna, 215.
Pajjusan, 464.
Pakiṇṇaka-Nipāta, 119 n.
Pakkhi (Pākṣika-Sūtra), 430, 471, 513 n.
Pākṣika-Sūtra, s. Pakkhi.
Pāla-Gopāla-Kathānaka, 539.
Palha, s. Jinarakṣita.
Pāli, 13 f., 117, 118 n., 184 f., 190, 210, 218, 223, 292, 430, 601-605, 638.
Pāli Canon, s. Tipiṭaka.
Pāli literature, non-canonical, 174-226.
Pali Text Society, 21 n.
Pālitta (Pādalipta), 477 n., 478, 522.
Pallava dynasty, 477 n.
Paṃcakappa (Pañca-Kalpa), 429 f., 465.
Pañcabhūmi, 352 n.
Pañcagati-Dīpana, 222.
Pañca-Kalpa, s. Paṃcakappa.
Pañcakrama, 395 f.
Pañcakramopadeśa Śrīghaṇṭa, 396 n.
Pañcamīvrata, 532.
Pañcanekāyika, 18 n.
Pañcarakṣā, 385
Pañcasaṃgraha, 567 n., 586, 591.
Pañcaśatikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315 n.
Pañcaśatī-Prabodha-Sambandha, 544.
Pañcasiṃha, 366.
Pañcaskandha-Prakaraṇa, 360.
Pañcāstikāyasāra, s. Pañcatthiyasāra.
Pañcatantra, 84, 126 f., 129 n., 130 n., 134 n., 136 n., 150 n., 163, 215 n., 348, 497 n., 504 n., 514, 541, 545.
Pañcatthiyasārā (Pañcāstikāyasāra), 576.
Pañcaviṃśatikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-hṛdaya, 382 n.
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315, 316 n., 324, 342, 353, 626.
Pāṇḍava-Carita, 496.
Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa, 496, 565 n.
Pāṇḍavas, 140, 336, 495 f., 504.
Pandit Shankar Pandurang, 518 n., 519 n., 520 n., 553 n.
Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ (Praśna-Vyākaraṇāni), 429, 452.
Pāṇini 260, 336. 554 n., 603.
Paññā, prajñā (wisdom), 36, 202, 381.
Paññasāmi, 219.
Pannavaṇā (Prajñāpanā), 429, 442, 456.
Pao-chi, 328.
Paoli, Betty, 308 n.
Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathānaka, 538.
Papañcasūdanī, 191, 192 n., 197, 201 n.
Parables, s. Similes.
Parakkamabāhu I, 620.
Parākramabāhu, 214, 379.
Paramahaṃsa, 480.
Paramajoti-Stotra, 551 n.
Paramāra dynasty, 550 n.
Paramārtha, 341, 352 n., 355, 356 n., 357, 359 ff., 362 n.
Paramārthanāma-Saṃgīti, 377.
Paramārtha-Saptati, 346 n., 359.
Paramātmaprakāśa, 590 n.
Paramattha-Dīpanī, 205.
Paramatthajotikā, 93 n., 192, 198 n.
Paramattha-Kathā, 191.
Pārami, 152 n.
Pāramī-Mahāśataka, 222.
Pāramitā (perfection), 152 n., 158 n., 161-164, 165 n., 187, 222, 230, 274, 313, 314 n., 321, 354, 368, 372, 381, 398.
Parātmaparivartana, 373.
Parātmasamatā, 373.
Pārāyana, 69 n., 92, 156, 236.
Pargiter, J. E., 316 n.
Parikarmāṇi, 453, 473.
Parikammaṃ, 453.
Parīkṣāmukha-Sūtra, 582.
Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra, 41 n., 279, 283 n.
Paripṛcchās, 328, 330-332.
Paris, Gaston, 130 n.
Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan, 507 f., 519 f., 532, 536, 557n., 572.
Pariśiṣṭas, 33, 458.
Parittā, 80, 380 n., 381.
Parivāra (pāṭha), 15 n., 21, 33, 182 n., 245 n.
Pārśva, s. Pārśvanātha.
Pārśvābhyudaya, 512.
Pārśva(nātha), 257, 424 n., 445, 463, 469, 486 n., 504, 507, 510, 512 ff., 517, 519, 548 f., 551 f., 555, 573.
Pārśvanātha-Caritra, 512, 515, 516 n., 535 n., 555.
Pārśvanāthakāvya, 516 n., 585 n.
Pārvatī, 398, 401.
Paryuṣaṇā-Kalpa, s. Pajjosavaṇākappa.
Passover Hagada, 66 n.
Paṭācārā, 105, 106 n., 159, 199.
Pāṭaliputra, 6 f., 8 n., 13, 431 f., 435, 578, 602, 605, 610.
Patañjali, 123 n., 473.
Pātayantikā dharmāḥ, 24 n.
Path, the noble eightfold, 2, 103 (correct !), 106.
Pathak, K. B., 356 n., 477 n., 478 n., 495 n., 497 n., 512 n., 580 n., 582 n., 615.
Paṭiccasamuppāda, 54, 230.
Pāṭika-Sutta, 42.
Pāṭikavagga, 35 n.
Pāṭimokkha, 3, 22-26, 41 n., 52, 61, 184 n., 191, 221, 607.
Paṭisambhidā, 15 n., 77 n.
Paṭisambhidāmagga, 34, 157.
Pātrakesarin, s. Vidyānanda.

Pātrakesari-Stotra, 552.
Patraparīkṣā, 582.
Paṭṭāvalīs, 475 f., 478 n., 479 n., 519, 550 n., 561 n., 578, 582 n.
Paṭṭhāna-Pakaraṇa, 171 f., 192.
Paümacariya (Padma-Carita), 477, **489-493**, 494, 498, 560 n.
Pavāraṇā celebration, 25.
Pavayaṇasāra (Pravacanasāra), 576.
Pavayaṇasāra Pañcatthiyasaṃgaha (Pravacanasāra Pañcāstikāyasaṃgraha), 576.
Pavolini, P. E., notes to 30, 80, 88, 132, 146, 224, 488, 512, 544, 559, 567, 573, 576.
Pāyāsi-Sutta, 44, 176.
Pelliot, P., 177 n., 227 n., 232, 233 n., 271 n., 325 n., 610.
Penzer, N. M., 148 n., 340 n.
Peppé W. C., 599.
Perfections, s. Pāramitā.
Péri, N., 355 n., 356 n., 362 n., 365 n., 632.
Persians, 136 n., 154.
Peta, 99 f.
Peṭakin, 17.
Peṭakopadesa, 77 n., 183.
Petavatthu, 34, 77 n., **98-100**, 280; commentary, 142 n., 205, 207.
Peterson, P., 574, and notes to 427, 471, 476°f., 479, 481, 495 f., 506, 510, 516 ff., 521 f., 525, 532, 534, 539, 543 f., 551 ff., 555, 557, 561, 567, 570, 576-580, 584, 588-593.
Petroffsky, M., 238.
Petrus de Natalibus, 418 n.
Pfleiderer, O., 406 n.
Pfungst, Artur, 150 n., 419 n.
Phantasmagorias, 245, 297, 300.
Philosophy, 269, 323, 337, 359, 363, 374, 399, 419 f., 473, 482, 552 n., 555, 575, 580 f., 583, 584 n., 586, 589 f., 594 f.; s. also Buddhist philosophy.
Physiologus, 154 n.
Physiology, 460.
Piṃḍanijjutti (Piṇḍa-Niryukti), 429 f., 433, 465, 471, 476.
Piṅgalaka, 99.
Piprāvā, 599.
Pirit, 80, 381.
Piśācas, 212.
Pischel, R., 604, 606, and notes to 4, 90, 97, 100, 136, 140, 164, 226, 234, 237, 405 f., 411, 431, 466, 564, 599.
Piṭaka, 8 n., 9 n., 17, 171, 363; two P., 11 n., three P., 219, 343.
Piṭakasampradāya, 9 n.
Piṭakattayaṃ, 18.
Pitāputrasamāgama, 328.
Planudes, 138.
Plato, 76, 176.
Pleyte, M., 254 n.
Plutarch, 175 n.
Poetics, 482, 512 n., 595.
Po-Fă-tsu, 236 n.
Poison girl, 394 n.
Politics, 595.
Porāṇā, 184.
Porāṇa-Aṭṭhakathā, 184 n.
Porāṇa-Kathā, 184 n.
P'ou-yao king, 253.
Prabandhacintāmaṇi, 517, 520, 535 n., 539 n., 549 n.
Prabandhakośa, 520, 552 n.
Prabandhas, 519.
Prabhācandra, 478, 479 n., 519 f., 576, 581 f., 583 n.
Prabhākaramitra, 352n.
Prabhānanda, 555n.
Prabhāvaka, 526.
Prabhāvaka-Caritra, 517n., 519, 526f., 547n., 552n.
Prābhṛtatraya, 576.
Prabuddha-Rauhineya, 548.
Pradyumna Sūri, 516n., 517, 518n., 520, 522n.
Prajāpati, 250n., 336.
Prajñā, s. Paññā.
Prajñā-daṇḍa, 339n., 348.
Prajñākaramati, 370n., 374n.
Prajñāpana, s. Pannavaṇā.
Prajñā-Pāramitā, 313-317, 320, 322ff., 332, 342, 348n., 369, 381f., 390, 392, 398, 625f., 630.
Prajñā-Pāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtras, 316, 381, 382 n.
Prajñā-Pāramitā-naya-Śata-Pañcāśatikā, 382 n.
Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra Śāstra, 342, 348.
Prajñā-Pāramitopadeśa-Śāstra, 353.
Prajñapti-Śāstra, 357n.
Prakaraṇa-Āryavācā, 355.
Prakaraṇas, 481, 546.
Prakīrṇa, s. Paiṇṇa.
Prakīrṇakas, 461n., 473.
Prākrit, 226n., 238, 269, 302n., 327, 331, 427, 428n., 430, 466n., 475, 477f., 479n., 480f., 483f., 489, 506n., 507, 510, 511n., 512, 516, 518n., 521f., 525, 531, 533, 536f., 542, 544, 548, 549n., 551, 553f., 557f., 559n., 560f., 564, 571, 574-577, 579, 585f.' 588f., 591, 593, 604.
Prākrita-Sūktaratnamālā, 575n.
Prakṛti, 286f., 419.
Pramāṇagrantha, 516n.
Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā, 589.
Pramāṇanirṇaya, 582.
Pramāṇa-Paribhāṣā, 594.
Pramāṇaparīkṣā, 582.
Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, 582.
Praṇāda, 289.
Praṇidhāna, 311, 327.
Prasada, Ajit, 567n.
Praśamarati-Prakaraṇa, 579.
Prāsaṅgika school, 362, 364.
Prasannapadā, 345, 364, 633.
Praśasti, 526, 528n., 543n., 547n., 582, 590.
Prasenajit, 455n.
Praśnaśata, 554n.
Praśna-Vyākaraṇāni, s. Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ.
Praśnottara-Ratnamālā, 559, 560n.
Praśnottaroṛ āsakācāra, 592.
Prathamānuyoga, 474, 498.
Pratikramaṇa, 474.
Prātimokṣa, 23n., 24n., 233.

Prātimokṣa-Sūtra, 233.
Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha, 587.
Pratītya-Samutpāda, 230n., 369n., 397.
Pratītya-Samutpāda-Dhāraṇī, 382n.
Pratītya-Samutpādahṛdaya, 346.
Pratītya-Samutpāda-Sūtra, 360, 632.
Prativāsudevas, the nine, 497.
Pratyeka-Buddha, s. Paccekabuddha.
Pravacana-Parīkṣā, 593n.
Pravacanasāra, s. Pavayaṇasāra.
Pravacanasāroddhāra, 580n.
Prāyaścittagrantha, 581.
Prāyaścitta-Saṃgraha, 581.
Prāyaścittavidhi, 581.
Prayoga, 592.
Premchand Mody, Vakil Keshavlal, 578n. 579n.
Premi, Nathuram, 584n.
Preta, 99, 280, 308, 311, 390.
Pretavastu, 280.
Printz, W., 405n.
Prodigal son, parable of, 298, 412.
Prose, 69n., 180; prose and verse, 34ff., 48ff., 58, 59n., 60, 62, 88-93, 96, 98, 116-122, 124f., 128, 133, 142n., 143, 151, 156, 177n., 184n., 187, 203, 207, 211n., 221n., 225, 236n., 241, 243, 247, 253, 267, 273f., 285, 291, 302f., 326, 328ff., 333, 334n., 335, 376n., 392, 436, 460, 472, 497, 525, 527, 533n., 534, 537, 571, 604.
Proverbs, 507.
Pṛthivīpāla, 511.
Przyluski, Jean, 41n., 233n., 285n., 288n., 290n., 385n., 397n., 621, 623f.
Pseudo-Kallisthenes, 193.
Psychology, 65, 166ff., 181, 222, 576, 579.
Pubbakammapiloti, 159.
Pudgalavādins, 357.
Puggalapaññatti, 166 n., 168 f., 171; °-Atthakathā, 192 n.
Puini, Carlo, 41 n., 236 n., 299 n., 383 n.
Pūjyapāda Devanandin (Jinendrabuddhi), 478, 497, 558 n., 561, 580, 582.
Pukkusāti, 46.
Pullé, F. L. 427 n., 542 n., 543 n., 573 n., 583 n.
Puṇyacandrodaya-Purāṇa, 495 n.
Puṇyayaśas, 257.
Pupphacūlião (Puṣpacūlikāḥ), 429, 458.
Pupphayanta (Puṣpadanta), 637.
Pupphião (Puṣpikāḥ), 429, 458.
Purāṇas, 20, 43, 46, 53, 94, 145, 147, 204, 224, 244 ff, 248 n., 291 f., 301 f., 306, 310 n., 375ff., 440, 449, 455, 469, 473 f., 490, 494 n., 495, 497 f., 503 ff., 521, 564, 509 n.
Pūrṇa (Maitrāyaṇīputra), 289, 317.
Puruṣa, 250 n.
Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya, 561 n., 584.
Puruṣottama, 550.
Pūrvagatam, s. Puvvagae.
Pūrvas, s. Puvvas.
Puṣkarasārin, 287.
Puṣpacūlikāḥ, s. Pupphacūlião
Puṣpadanta, s. Pupphayanta.
Puṣpakāḥ, 458.
Puṣpasena, 535 n.
Puṣpikāḥ, s. Pupphião.
Puṣyamitra, 286, 288 n.
Puvvagae (Pūrvagatam), 453.
Puvvas (Pūrvas), the fourteen, 431 ff., 442, 453, 462, 473, 476, 489, 498, 507, 572, 579, 587, 592.

Quackenbos, G. P., 385 n., 551 n.
Questions and answers, 166, 168, 170 f., 179 f., 333, 335, 383, 442, 452, 454, 456, 472, 559, 592, 607.

Rācamalla (Rājamalla) II, 585.
Rādhā, 570 n.
Radhakrishnan, 178 n.
Radloff, W. W., 384 n., 628.
Raghuvaṃśa, 209 n., 261 n.
Rahder, Johannes, 246 n., 327 n., 328 n., 355 n., 626 f.
Rāhula, 28, 159, 607.
Rāhulovāda-Sutta, 607.
Raivata, 610.
Rājadharma, 244.
Rājādhirāja-Vilāsinī, 225.
Rājagaha council, 4, 25, 64, 332 n.
Rājamalla, s. Rācamalla.
Rājaprasāda, 521.
Rājapraśnīya, s. Rāyapaseṇaijja.
Rājaśāstra, 340.
Rājaśekhara, 385 n., 520, 543, 561 n., 583 n.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, 342, 378 n.
Rāja-Vaṃśa, 244.
Rājavijaya Sūri, 495, 497.
Rājīmatī, 469 ff., 511 f., 557.
Rākṣasas, 212, 333, 491, 494.
Rākṣasīs, 308.
Ralston, W. R. S., 153 n.
Rāma, 143, 152, 334, 336, 379, 469, 477, 489 f., 492-495, 504, 546; s. also Padma.
Rāmabhadra Muni, 548.
Rāmacandra, 496 n., 546.
Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, 379.
Rāmacaritra, 494 n., 495.
Ramadas, G., 491 n.
Rāma epics, 510.
Rāmānuja, 600.
Ramaswami Sastri, K. S., 391 n.
Randle, H. N., 363 n.
Rāmāyaṇa, 3 n., 106, 135, 147 n., 152, 260, 262 n., 269, 277 n., 473, 487 n., 489 f., 491 n., 492 f., 495, 533, 565; s. also Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa.
Raṇaraṅgasiṃha, 587 n.
Ranga Acharya, M., 276 n.
Rapson, E. J., 1 n., 16 n., 174 n., 612.
Rāsa, 570 n.
Rasaratnākara, 343 n.
Rasavāhinī, 129 n., 223 n., 224, 410 n.
Rāṣṭrapāla, 283 n., 623.
Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā, 329 n., 330 f.
Rāṣṭrapāla-Sūtra, 330.
Ratanas, the three, 79.
Ratana-Sutta, 78 n., 79.

Rathanemi, 469, 471.
Ratnacūḍa-Kathā, 540.
Ratnākara, 557; Pāṭhaka, 588 n.
Ratnākara-Pañcaviṃśatikā, 557.
Ratnakāraṇḍa-Śrāvakācāra, 474, 581 f.
Ratna-Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha-Sūtra, 307 n.
Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra, 312 n., 328 ff., 332, 362, 369.
Ratnakūṭa-Dharma-Paryāya, 329.
Ratnakūṭa-samādhi, 328 n.
Ratnamālikā, 559 n.
Ratnamegha-Sūtra, 368 n., 369.
Ratnanandin, 519 n.
Ratnāvadānamālā, 290.
Ratnolkā-Dhāraṇī, 369, 382.
Raṭṭhapāla, 159, 224.
Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna, 283 n.
Raṭṭhapāla-Sutta, 48 f., 283 n., 330 n.
Raṭṭhasāra, 225.
Rauhiṇeya, 506, 548.
Rauhiṇeyacaritra, 507 n.
Rāvaṇa, 333, 490-494, 539.
Raviṣeṇa, 494, 496, 499 n., 565 n.
Rawlinson, H. G., 417 n.
Ray, P. C., 343 n.
Rāyapaseṇaijja (Rāyapasenaiya, Rājapraśnīya), 429, 443, 455 f.
Raychaudhuri, H., 174 n.
Refrain, 108.
Reichelt, H., 605.
Relics of Buddha, s. Buddha.
Revata, 112 n., 191.
Ṛgveda, 100, 101 n.
Rgyut (Tantra), 387.
Rhys Davids, C. A. F., Mrs., 102, 166, 172, 205, 605, 617, 619, 622, and notes to 6, 11 f., 15, 38, 45, 49, 52 ff., 57-60, 69, 75, 77, 100, 103-107, 109, 111 f., 121, 156 f., 167, 169 ff., 178, 183 f., 186, 190, 192, 201, 203 f., 207, 221 f., 353, 598.
Rhys Davids, T. W., 43, 70, 597, 603, 605 ff., and notes to 1, 8, 10 f., 18, 20, 22, 24 f., 29, 32, 35 f., 38, 41, 44, 46, 58, 69, 75, 77, 80, 84, 88, 92, 100, 115 ff., 121, 138, 149 f., 153, 158, 164 f., 169, 174-178, 182, 186, 190, 192, 194, 206, 214, 217 f., 221 f., 224, 238, 241 f., 259, 263, 288, 405, 407, 411 f.
Rice, B. Lewis, 478 n., 479 n., 582 n.
Richard, Timothy, 305 n., 362 n.
Ridding, C. M., 234 n.
Riddles, 57, 65 n., 96, 136-139, 469, 515, 544.
Robber tales, 139 f., 488.
Rockhill, W. W., 153 n., 238 n.
Rogers, T., 193 n.
Rohagutta, 575.
Rohaka, 541.
Rohaṇa, 620.
Rohde, E., 194.
Rohiṇī, 469.
Romances, 125, 137, 139, 194, 214, 481, 488, 524, 533.
Rosenberg, Otto, 333 n., 340 n., 353 n., 358 n.
Ross, E. Denison, 228 n.
Rouse, W. H. D., 116 n., 133 n., 135 n., 224 n., 366 n.
Roy, D. M., 595 n.
Ṛṣabha, 336; Tīrthakara, 447 n., 461 n., 489 n., 490, 494 f., 498, 503, 506, 510, 517, 548 f., 553 f., 585 n.
Ṛṣabha-Pañcāśikā, 553.
Ṛṣabha-Stava, 554.
Ṛṣi, 71, 94, 240 n., 244 n., 245, 334, 430.
Ṛṣibhāṣita-Sūtra, 476 n.
Ṛṣimaṇḍala-Stotra, s. Isimaṇḍala.
Ṛṣyaśṛṇga (Isisiṅga), 147, 244, 294 n., 508 n.
Rückert, F., 215 n.
Rudra, 396, 552.
Rudrayāmala-Tantra, 401.
Rukmiṇī, 544 n.
Rūpa-Kathā, 604.
Rūpārupavibhāga, 220.
Rūpasiddhi, 223 n.
Rūpavatī, 289 f.

Sabara, 525.
Saccakiriyās, 148 n.
Saccasaṃyutta, 14n., 55.
Sacrifices, 36 f., 50, 94, 379, 385, 387, 389, 398, 491, 524, 534.
Ṣaḍakṣarā vidyā, 284 n.
Ṣaḍaśītikā, 591.
Ṣaḍāvaśyakam, 459, 470.
Ṣaḍāvaśyaka-Sūtra, 470.
Sadaw, Ledi, 171 n., 172 n.
Ṣaḍbhāṣānirmita-Pārśvajinastavana, 558.
Ṣaḍabhāṣāvibhūṣita-Śāntināthastavana, 558.
Saddālaputta, 449.
Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, 479 n., 561 n., 583, 584 n.
Saddhammasaṃgaha, 221, 224 n.
Saddhammopāyana, 222.
Saddhānanda, N., 221 n.
Saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, s. Laṅkāvatārasūtra.
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, 10 n., 115 n., 295, 297, 302-305, 310, 360, 369, 380 n., 386, 402, 412, 625.
Sādhana, 390-393.
Sādhanamālā, 390, 392, 393 n.
Sādhana-Samuccaya, 390.
Sādhu, 459, 461 n.
Sagara, 487.
Sagāthavagga, 57.
Sagāthavarga, 235 n.
Sahajayāna, 393, 635.
Sahajayoginī Cintā, 393.
Sāhasatuṅga Dantidurga, 478 n.
Sahasravarga, 237 n.
Sahassa-Vagga, 237 n., 242.
Sahassavatthaṭṭhakathā, 218.
Sāhityabhūṣaṇa, Kedarnath, 521 n.
Sahni, Daya Ram, 612, 614.
Śaikṣā dharmāḥ, 24 n.
Saint Christopher, 132 n., 416.
Saint Eustachius (Eustace,) 150 n., 416.
Saint Gregory, 508.
Saint Peter, 406, 409.
Saint Placidus, 150 n.
Saint Thomas, 99 n., 408.
Śaka era, 611 ff.

Śakalakīrti, 473 n., 496, 592.
Śakas, 477 n.
Sakka, Śakra, 43, 55, 86, 112 n., 130 f., 137, 149, 150 n., 151 f., 161 n., 215, 272, 282, 317, 334, 514.
Sakkapañha, 69 n.
Sakkapañha-Sutta, 43, 55 n.
Sakka-Saṃyutta, 55.
Śakra, s. Sakka.
Śāktas, 388 f., 397 n.
Śakti, 388, 398, 400.
Śakuntalā legend, 514.
Sakya, Śākya, 37, 97, 113, 198, 280, 333, 336, 599.
Śākyamitra, 396.
Śākyamuni, 230, 244, 291, 295, 300 f., 303, 308 n., 310, 325, 327 f., 336, 378, 397, 399.
Śalākāpuruṣas, the sixty-three, 504.
Sālavatī, 30.
Saḷāyatana-Saṃyutta, 56.
Śālibhadra, 517 f.
Śālibhadra-Carita, 517.
Śālistamba-Sūtra, 369.
Śālivāhana, s. Sātavāhana.
Sallakṣaṇa, 590.
Sāma, s. Ajja Sāma.
Sāmācārī, 463 f.
Sāmācārī-Prakaraṇam, 472 n.
Samādhi, 36, 55, 202, 626; s. Meditation.
Samādhirāja(Candrapradīpa-Sūtra), 295, 337 f., 339 n., 369.
Samādhi-Saṃyutta, 55.
Samādhiśataka, 561, 582.
Sāma-Jātaka, 147 f., 243.
Sāmaññaphala-Sutta, 37, 71, 197.
Samantabhadra (Bodhisattva), 326 f.
„ (Jaina author), 474, 477 n., 478, 497, 552, 579-582.
Samanta-Kūṭavaṇṇanā, 224 n.
Samantapāsādikā, 190 n., 191, 192 n., 208, 218.
Samarāditya, 528.
Samarādityasaṃkṣepa, 522 n.
Samaraicca-Kahā, 518 n., 522 f., 525, 527, 528 n., 532, 535.
Samarasiṃha, 548.
Śāmaśramī, Satyavrata, 306 n.
Samasyāpūraṇa, 512 n., 574.
Samavāyaṅga, 65 n., 429, 441 f., 497 n.
Samayasāra, 576, 582.
Samayasundara, 574.
Sāmāyika, 474.
Sāmayika Pāṭha, 567 n.
Sambhogakāya, 340 n.
Sambhūta, 145, 468 n.
Saṃgītiparyāya, 44 n.
Saṃgīti-Sūtra, 234.
Saṃgīti-Sutta(nta), 44, 168, 607, 622.
Saṃkha-Jātaka, 619.
Sāṃkhya, 269, 334 n., 336, 359, 374, 468 n., 583, 610.
Sāṃkhya-Saptati, 346 n., 359.
Sāṃkhya-Sūtra, 364 n.
Sammatitarka-Sūtra, 580.
Sammitīyas, 226 n.
Sammoha-vinodanī, 192.
Samodhāna, 116.
Saṃsāra, 54, 74, 309, 346, 368, 439, 444, 460, 528, 569, 572, 575.
Saṃsāranāṭaka, 528.
Saṃskāra, 498.
Saṃstāra, s. Saṃthāra.
Samsu-d-dunyā, Sultan, 547.
Saṃthāra (Saṃstāra), 429, 459 f., 461 n.
Samudragupta, 356 n., 611.
Saṃvarodaya-Tantra, 400.
Samyaksambodhi, 307 n.
Samyaktvakaumudī, 541.
Saṃyuktāgama, 234 f., 285.
Saṃyutta Nikāya, 14 n., 34, 41 n., 54-60, 62, 66 f., 69 n., 73 n., 74 n., 77 n., 85 n., 110, 113 n., 124 n., 191, 195, 206 n., 234, 235 n., 242, 289 n., 603 n.
Sanatkumāra, 511 524.
Sanatkumāracarita, 511, 512 n.
Sanatsujātīya, 145 n.
Sāṅchī stūpa, 8 n., 16 f., 120, 149 n., 155, 188 n., 254.
Sandhā-language, 393, 635.
Sandhyā-bhāṣā, 393 n.
Śāṇḍilya, 2.
Sāṅgaṇa, 512.
Saṅgha, 8, 24, 26, 34, 79 n., 122 n., 185.
Saṅghabhadra, 358 n., 374.
Saṅghabhara, 285 n.
Saṅghabhaṭa, 285 n.
Saṅghadāsa Gaṇin, 506 n.
Saṅghakarmans, 234.
Saṅghamittā, 213.
Saṅghapāla, 202 n., 386 n.
Saṅghapaṭṭaka, 570 n.
Saṅghavarman, 347 n.
Sañjamamañjarī, 589.
Śaṅkara, 550, 560 n., 600, 610.
Saṅkaradeva, 324 n.
Saṅkha, 220.
Sanron sect, 351.
Sanskrit, 10 n., 12, 14 n., 226, 246, 427, 428 n., 602; barbaric S., 292, 401; defective S., 392, 521, 542; mixed S., 19, 226f., 231, 242, 246, 253 302 331; s. Buddhist Sanskrit literature, and Jaina Sanskrit Texts.
Sanskrit Canon, 231-239, 269, 279, 284, 384 n., 450 n.
Śāntarakṣita, 374 f., 479 n.
Śānti, s. Śāntinātha.
Śānti Ācārya, 466 n.
Śānticandra, 457 n.
Śānticandra Gaṇin, 554.
Śāntideva, 245 n., 329 n., 338, 365-374, 394 n., 634.
Śantikenidāna, 186, 240 n.
Śāntimati, 395 n.
Śānti(nātha), 510, 517, 554.
Śāntinātha-Caritas, 516, 517 n.
Śānti-Purāṇa, 516.
Śānti Sūri, 468 n., 481, 485 f., 519 f., 588.
Sapta-Buddha-Stotra, 378.
Saptadaśa-Bhūmi-Śāstra, 354.
Saptaśatikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315 n., 316 625.

Saptatikā, 591.
Sarabhāṇakā, 10 n.
Saraha, 635.
Sārasaṃgaha, 221.
Sarasvatī, 308, 340, 590.
Sarasvatī-Stotra, 553, 590 n.
Śāratthapakāsinī, 191.
Sārdhadvisāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315 f.
Sārdūlakarṇāvadāna, 286 f., 380 n.
Śāriputra, s. Sāriputta.
Sāriputra-Prakaraṇa, 266.
Sāriputta, Śāriputra, 15 n., 28, 55, 86, 110, 112, 159, 167, 184 n., 207, 267 f., 273, 317 f., 607.
Sāriputta-Saṃyutta, 55.
Sāriputta-Sutta, 607.
Sarkar, B. K., 579n.
Sarnath inscription, 14n.
Sarvajñamitra, 378.
Sarvārthasiddhi, 580.
Sarvāstivādins, 4n., 6n., 15n., 24n., 44n., 173, 226n., 231ff., 239n., 248, 252, 257, 269, 279, 356f., 450n.
Sarvasukhandadā, 383.
Sāsanavaṃsa, 205n., 206n., 219.
Śāstravārttāsamuccaya, 584n.
Śāstrī, Manohara Lala, 587n.
Śataka, 591.
Śataka(-Śāstra), 350n.
Satakopa Acharya, D. S., 276n.
Śatapañcāśatika Stotra, 271f.
Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 15n., 320n.
Śatārthakāvya, 473.
Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315, 321f., 324, 341, 382, 625f.
Śata-Śāstra, 351, 629.
Sātavāhana (Sālivāhana), 343n., 347f., 544.
Sati, 157.
Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta, 38n., 67.
Saṭpāramitā-sannipāta-Sūtra, 236n.
Saṭprābhṛta, s. Chappāhuḍa.
Śatrughna, 492.
Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya, 503.
Satta, 113.
Satthusāsanam, 11.
Saṭtriṃśatsāhasra, 332n.
Sattva, 113.
Satyasiddhi-Śāstra, 350n.
Śaunaka, 2.
Saundarānanda-Kāvya, 87n., 262, 264f., 623.
Saunders, K. J., 80n., 305n., 312n., 361n.
Śaurasenī, 525, 558, 605.
Sauter, J. A., 410n.
Sautrāntikas, 173, 268, 269n., 326n., 358, 624.
Sāyaṇa, 205n.
Sayings, 76-165 passim, 252, 347f., 358, 465, 467f., 471, 515, 518, 543, 545, 570, 574; s. also Gnomic poetry, and Moral narratives.
Śayyambhava, s. Sejjaṃbhava.
Schaeffer, Phil., 346n.
Schayer, St., 332n., 354n., 633.
Scheftelowitz, J., 127n., 150n.
Scherman, L., 64n., 98n., 244n., 282n., 308n.
Schick, J., 201n., 539n.
Schiefner, A., 137n., 139n., 153, 228n., 238n., 257n., 341n., 358, 359n., 366n., 399n., 560n.
Schisms in Buddhism, 25, 28, 171, 208, 227; in Jinism, 519.
Schmidt, I. J., 284n., 341n.
Schmidt, Rich., 258n., 370n., 407n., 562n., 573n.
Schmidt, T. Y., 316n.
Schnell, A., 292n.
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 419f.
Schrader, F. O., 18n., 36n., 174n., 175n., 177n., 472n.
Schroeder, L. von, 80n., 81n.
Schubring, W., notes to 428, 430, 435-438, 441-445, 449-452, 455, 457, 461, 464ff., 554, 558, 560, 591.
Script, sixty-four kinds of, 252.
Seal, B. N., 579n.
Sects, 50, 69, 114, 154, 206, 361, 382f., 424, 441, 475, 482, 485, 548, 600; s. also Buddhist schools, and Jaina sects.
Seidenstücker, Karl, 21n., 78n., 80, 84n., 85, 88n., 91n., 238n., 406n., 422n., 488n.
Sejjaṃbhava (Śayyambhava), 433, 470, 509, 557.
Sekhiyā dhammā, 23n., 24n.
Sela-Sutta, 93n., 94.
Seler, E., 150n.
Semites, 154.
Sen, B. C., 619.
Sen, Dinesh Chandra, 280n., 494n., 604n.
Sen, Keshub Chunder, 600.
Sen, Sukumar, 260n.
Senart, E., 226, 255, 598, 606, and notes to 9, 116, 118, 120, 177, 237ff., 245, 247, 254.
Seneviratne, J. E., 485n.
Seṇiya, s. Bimbisāra.
Sermon of Benares, 2, 28, 55, 242, 253, 264f., 345n., 607.
Sermons and speeches, 28, 34, 52f., 63, 67, 70, 76, 81, 92n., 93, 105, 115, 118, 140f., 144f., 152ff., 211, 224f., 235f., 278, 402, 436, 441, 444, 449, 451, 454, 460, 466, 470, 484, 490, 492, 494f., 507, 521-524, 530f., 538.
Serpents, s. Snakes.
Ser-phyin, 315.
Sewell, R., 520n.
Seydel, Rudolf, 403f., 406n., 412.
Shadow-play, 548.
Shahidulla, M., 635.
Shakespeare, 136n.
Sharmā, Hirānanda M., 519n.
Sheherezade, 488.
She-Rab Dong-bu, 339n., 348n.
Shin-go sect, 400.
Shin-shu sect, 312.
Shōron sect, 355n.
Siam, 13, 18n., 21n., 77n., 79, 116n., 155, 174n., 192n., 204.
Śibi, Sivi, 149, 267, 282, 548.
Siddha, 390, 459, 628; (poet), s. Siddharṣi.

Siddhacakra-Stotra, 590n.
Siddhānta (Jaina Canon), 426f., **428-474**, 475f., 481, 484, 509f., 536, 544, 559, 579, 592; of the Digambars, 473; secondary Canon of the D., 474; survey of, 472.
Siddhānta-Cakravartin, s. Nemicandra.
Siddhapāla, 546.
Siddhapañcāśikā, 453n., 591.
Siddharṣi, 481, 520, 526f., 528n., 531f., 561n., 591.
Siddhārtha (Siddhattha), 27, 221, 242, 421; (father of Mahāvīra), 490.
Siddhārtha R., 638.
Siddhasena, 638.
Siddhasena, 465n.
Siddhasena Divākara, 477, 478n., 561f, 556, 578ff.
Siddhasena Gaṇin, 580n.
Siddhasena Sūri, 553n., 580n.
Siddhattha, s. Siddhārtha.
Siddhi, 390, 399.
Siddhipriya-Stotra, 558.
Sieg, E., 227n., 271n., 272n., 273n., 622.
Siegling, W., 227n., 271n., 272n., 273n, 622.
Sigālovāda-Sutta, 38.
Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa, 210n., 215.
Sikkhāpada, 22, 23n.
Sikkhās, 221, 234.
Śikṣānanda, 325, 333, 361.
Śikṣās, 234.
Śikṣā-Samuccaya, 245n., 294n., 307n., 316n. 326, 327n., 328n., 329n., 332, 337n., 338, 339n., 340n., **366-370**, 382, 383n., 384n., 394f., 608n., 635.
Śīla, 36, 202.
Śīlācārya, s. Śīlāṅkācārya.
Śīladharma, 328n.
Śīlāditya, 503, 520.
Śīladūta, 574.
Śīlakkhandhavagga, 36n.
Śīlāṅkācārya (Śīlāṅka, Śīlācārya), 438n., 481, 497n., 506n.
Śīlaparikathā, 632.
Śīlaskandha, 379n.
Śīlataraṅgiṇī, 561.
Śīlavaṃsa, 225.
Śīlovaēsamālā, 561.
Śīmāvivādavinicchaya-Kathā, 219n.
Simeon, 97n., 406, 411.
Siṃhagiri, 477n.
Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā, 540.
Similes, parables, and comparisons, 33, 46, 70-75, 81, 83, 86n., 87ff., 107, 110, 133, 145, 168, 179-182, 197, 203, 267f., 297ff., 302n., 330, 336, 364, 394, 402f., 412f., 417, 438, 441, 443, 446f., 460, 466f., 505, 514, 523, 566, 586, 620.
Simon, R., 3n.
Simrock, K., 65n.
Sindbad, 127n., 542.
Sindūraprakara, 473.
Singer, S., 200n., 201n.
Siṅgha, K. G., 617.
Singhalese, 605.
Singhalese texts and translations, 184f., 189ff., 201n., 208, 209n., 210, 212n., 217ff., 224, 253n., 605.
Śiśupālavadha, 517.
Śiṣyahitā, 486.
Śiṣyalekha-Dharma-Kāvya, 365.
Sītā, 493, 494n., 495, 546.
Sitapaṭaguru, 560n.
Sitātapatrā, 387n.
Śiva, 43, 230, 246, 376, 379, 398, 400, 482, 552, 573n., 574n.
Śivaite deities, 390, 400.
Śivaite Tantras, 399, 401.
Śivakumāra Mahārāja, 477n.
Śiva Mṛgeśa Mahārāja, 477n.
Śivaśarmasūri, 453n., 592.
Śivaskandavarman, 477n.
Sivi, s. Śibi.
Skandagupta, 356n.
Slepcevic, Pero, 418n., 419n., 420n.
Śleṣas, 551.
Smith, Helmer, 78n., 92n., 192n.
Smith, May, 171n.
Smith, Vincent A. 1n., 16n., 174n., 211n., 217n., 234n., 255n., 348n., 356n., 597, 606, 609, 611, 613, 615.
Smyth, H. W., 426n.
Snakes, 55, 122n., 129, 133, 204, 209, 212f., 225, 281, 335 343, 383-386, 440, 501, 508, 513f., 523f., 543, 550.
Śobhana, 553f.
Śobhana-Stuti, 553.
Śoḍaśa-Prakaraṇa, 584n.
Sōgen, Yamakāmi, notes to 305, 324, 345, 350, 353, 358, 361.
Soghdian, 152n., 227n.
Solomon, 136, 138, 544.
Soma, 334, 491.
Somacandra, 544.
Somadeva Sūri, 534, 535n., 637.
Somagupta, 336.
Somaprabha (I), 516, 570, 573.
,, (II), 573.
Somatilaka Sūri, 561.
Somendra, 293, 294n.
Songs of the Khuddakanikāya, 76-165.
Song Yun, 152n.
Sophocles, 135, 136n.
Soul, 44, 46, 87, 178, 287, 357, 425, 436, 444f., 455f., 460, 490, 515, 529, 530n., 566f., 572, 575f., 578, 586ff., 592.
Southern Buddhist Literature, 18n., 19n.
Specht, Ed., 177n., 612n., 613.
Speeches (of the Suttapiṭaka), 34-76, 176 186; s. also Sermons.
Speyer, J. S., notes to 41, 113, 132, 150, 254, 258, 273f., 277, 279, 284f., 290ff., 450
Spiegel, F., 25n., 224n.
Śrāddha-Jītakalpa, 465n., 557n.
Śrāddha-Pratikramaṇa-Sūtra, 472n., 591.
Sragdharā-Stotra, 378f.
Śramaṇa-Pratikramaṇa-Sūtra, 472n.
Śramaṇas, 440.
Śrāvakācāra, 584f.
Śrāvakācāra Dohaka, 590n.
Śrāvaka-Piṭaka, 228n., 236n.
Śrāvakaprajñapti, 579.
Śreṇika, s. Bimbisāra.

Śrī, 340.
Śrībhūṣaṇa, 496n.
Śrīcakrasambhāra-Tantra, 398.
Śrīcandra, 511, 512n., 543.
Śrīguhyasamāja-Tantrarāja, 394n.
Śrīharṣa, s. Harṣa.
Śrīmitra, 386n.
Śrīpālacarita, 544n.
Śrīśānti-vṛtta, 516n.
Śṛṅgāravairāgya-Taraṅgiṇī, 573.
Sroṇaparāntakas, 289.
Śroṇa-Sūtras, 234n.
Śrutasāgara, 577n., 592.
Staël-Holstein, A. von, 266, 329, 362n., 384n., 614.
Stcherbatsky, Th., 629f., 632f., and notes to 230f., 333f., 340, 344f., 352f., 356f., 360-364.
Stede, W., 98n., 100n., 108n., 156n., 218n.
Steele, Th., 137n.
Stein, Sir Marc Aurel, 232, 233n., 234n., 238n., 271n., 316n., 387n., 417, 613.
Stein, Otto, 614.
Steinthal, Paul, 84n., 116n., 446n.
Stevenson, J., 462n., 588n.
Stevenson, Mrs. Sinclair, notes to 425, 447, 463, 471, 571, 577, 586, 588.
Sthānāṅga, s. Ṭhāṇaṅga.
Sthavira, s. Thera.
Sthavira-Gāthā, 236, 284.
Sthaviravādins, s. Theravāda.
Sthavirāvali-Carita, 507.
Sthiramati, 360n., 362, 365n.
Sthūlabhadra, 431, 508f., 544n., 561n., 572f.
Stönner, H., 227n., 340n., 347n.
Stories, s. Narrative literature.
Stotras, 246, 375-401, 548f., 552, 555, 557, 559, 590.
Strauss, Otto, 333n.
Strīpūjā, 398n.
Strong, D. M., 84n., 87n.
Strong, S. A., 218n.
Stübe, R., 407n.
Stūpas, 8n., 16f., 41, 44n., 120, 121n., 126n., 127, 134n., 142n., 149n., 150n., 155, 160n., 161n., 188n., 214, 246, 278, 282f., 297, 300, 305, 341, 368, 372, 389, 514.
Stuti, 516n., 548.
Stutterheim, W., 494n.
Suahelis, 126n.
Suali, Luigi, 422, 477n., 506n., 578n., 583n., 594n.
Subandhu, 525, 538.
Subhā, 109.
Śubhacandra, 496, 565n., 583.
Śubhakarasiṃha, 400n.
Śubhaśīla Gaṇin, 544.
Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha, 561, 563 565, 568.
Subhāṣita-Saṃgraha, 389n.
Subhāṣitāvalī, 485n.
Subhūti, 314, 317-320, 323.
Sūciloma-Sutta, 96.
Suddhodana, 97, 213, 249, 323.
Śūdras, 71, 491.
Sugurupāratantrya, 570n.
Suhamma, s. Ajja Suhamma.
Suhṛl-Lekha, 347.
Suicide (voluntary death), 47, 437, 449, 452, 459ff., 467, 479n., 511, 518, 525, 532n., 540, 587n.
Śuka-Sūtra, 234.
Sukhabodhā, 486.
Sukhāvatī, 310ff., 327, 360 385f., 421.
Sukhāvatī-Vyūhas, 310ff., 328, 386.
Sukṛta-Kīrtikallolinī, 547.
Śuktimuktāvalī, 385n., 573.
Sumāgadhāvadāna, 292f.
Sumaṅgala, 620.
Sumangala Thera, S., 80n., 81n.
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 9n., 34n., 191, 192n., 197, 218.
Sumati-Dārikā-Paripṛcchā, 332.
Sumati Gaṇin, 551n.
Sumatinātha-Caritra, 515.
Sumedha, 186f.
Sumedha-Kathā, 225.
Sumitrā, 492.
Sunavala, A. J., 549n.
Sundara Sūri, Muni, 556f.
Sundarikabhāradvāja-Sutta, 93n
Śuṅga dynasty, 286.
Suññata, 77n.
Śūnya, 264f., 319, 388.
Śūnyatā, 77n., 231, 313, 320, 330, 333f., 338, 340, 351, 368, 370, 373, 626.
Śūnyatā-Saptati, 316.
Śūnyavāda, 332, 344, 353, 575, 590.
Supāsanāha-Cariyaṃ, 516.
Suprabhācārya, 539.
Suprabhāta-Stotra, 377.
Śūra, s. Āryaśūra.
Sūrācārya, 511.
Śūraṅgamasamādhi, 339n.
Sūrapannatti (Sūriyapannatti), 429, 457, 476n.
Surasundarī-Cariaṃ, 536.
Suratrāṇa Pīroja, 544n.
Sūri, 480.
Sūriyābha, 455.
Sūriyapannatti, s. Sūrapannatti.
Sūryācārya, 526.
Sūryaprajñapti, 473f.
Sūryaśataka, 377n., 550.
Susa, Shinryu, 627.
Susaḍhakahā, 465n., 591n.
Suśruta, 343n.
Sutākinī, 17n.
Sutasoma, 132.
Sūtra, 9, 24n., 25, 45n., 115, 232n., 234f., 241, 245n., 260, 278f., 295, 301n., 313f., 328, 330f., 332n., 336, 339, 342f., 366n., 369, 381-384, 387, 390, 394, 438n., 441, 453, 464, 470f., 476, 579, 584, 608, 624, 630.
Sūtrakṛtāṅga, s. Sūyagaḍaṃga-Sutta.
Sūtrakṛtāṅga-Niryukti, 575.
Sūtrālaṃkāra, 160n., 258, 265n., 267, 270n., 409n., 623f., 631; s. also Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra.
Sūtrapiṭaka, 278.
Sūtrasamuccaya, 366.
Sutta, Suttanta, 9, 10n., 11, 15n., 17, 22n., 24, 34ff. passim, 115, 143n., 157f., 166,

168, 173, 177n., 183, 225, 248f., 264n., 289, 296, 314, 321, 381, 402, 413, 438n., 440, 608.
Suttāi, 453.
Suttanipāta, 10n., 34, 69n., 78n., **92-98**, 103, 110, 123, 143, 156, 158, 184n., 186, 191f., 198n., 235n., 236f., 242, 247, 253, 466ff., 603, 607.
Suttantika, 11, 17.
Suttapiṭaka, 4, 9, 12, 15f., 21, 22n., **134-165**, 166, 168, 171 173, 176, 186, 609.
Suttasaṃgaha, 77n.
Suttavibhaṅga, 21, 24ff., 27n , 184n.
Suvarṇabāhu, 514.
Suvarṇākṣī, 257.
Suvarṇa-Prabhāsa, 295, 339ff., 369, 628, 635.
Sūyagaḍaṃga-Sutta (Sūtrakṛtāṅga), 428, 431, 438-441, 476n.
Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro, 627, and notes to 256, 325, 328, 332, 353, 361f.
Svalpākṣarā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315.
Svarūpasambodhana, 581.
Svātantra School, 362.
Svātantrika Yogācāra school, 374.
Svayambhū, 265, 296, 306, 334, 376, 378, 552.
Svayambhū-Purāṇa, 375f.
Svayambhū-Stotra, 581n., 582.
Svāyambhuva-Mahā-Purāṇa, 376n.
Svayaṃvara, 127n., 364.
Śvetaketu, 123n.
Śvetāmbaras, 427f., 431f., 434, 447n., 473f., 476n., 477, 479n., 482. 497, 498n., 504f., 507, 534, 546, 549, 551, 560, 576, 578ff., 583, 593, 614.
Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, 145n., 150n.
Swat inscriptions, 14n.
Syādvāda, 575, 581.
Syādvādamañjarī, 88n., 590.
Syādvādaratnākara, 516n.
Śyāma, s. Ajja Sāma.
Śyāmaka-Jātaka, 243.
Syllables, mysterious, 381, 388, 390, 396.

Tailang, Lakshmaṇa Shastri, 193 n.
Takakusu, J., 631 f., and notes to 44, 177, 190, 192, 231 f., 239, 258, 271, 276 f., 284, 294, 305, 312, 325 f., 339, 347, 35 ', 359, 361, 365, 401.
Takkasilā (Takṣaśilā, Taxila), 120 n., 226, 268, 604 f.
Talaputa, 104.
Tales, s. Fairy-tales, and Narrative literature.
Taṃdulaveyāliya (Tandulavaikālika, °vaicārika), 429, 460, 461 n,
Tamil, 428, 535 n., 595.
Tāmraparṇīyanikāya, 18 n.
Tandulavaicārika, °vaikālika, s. Taṃdulaveyāliya.
Tanjur, 266, 276 n., 324, 344 n., 366 n., 364 f., 393, 560 n., 632.
Tantrākhyāyika, 126, 127 n., 150 n.
Tantras, 307, 309, 326 n., 339, 343 n , 376 n., 375-401, 453 n., 623, 634 ff.
Tantrism, 335 n., 341, 351, 392 n., 394, 396, 399 f., 465, 634 f.
Tapāgaccha-Paṭṭāvalī, 478 n.
Tārā, 366, 378 f., 387 n., 388, 391, 398, 400 f.
Tāranātha, 228 n., 237, 270, 273 n., 329, 341 f., 356 n., 363, 365 f., 374 n., 378, 392 n., 396, 399.
Taraṅgalolā, 522.
Taraṅgavatī, 522.
Tārā-rahasya, 401.
Tārā-Sādhana, 392.
Tārā-Sādhana-Śataka, 379 n.
Tārā-Tantra, 400, 401 n.
Ta Tch'eng K'i Sin Louen, 632.
Tathāgata, 45, 73, 77, 157, 251, 258, 314 n., 321, 330, 334, 336, 340, 350, 395.
Tathāgatacintya-guhya-nirdeśa, 394 n.
Tathāgataguhyaka, °guhya-Sūtra, 295, 369, 394, 635; s. also Guhyasamāja.
Tathāgataguṇajñāna, 295.
Tattvabodhinī, 580 n.
Tattvadīpikā, 584.
Tattvānusārinī Tattvārthaṭīkā, 580 n.
Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra, 474, 578, 579 n., 580 ff.
Tattvārthadīpikā, 592.
Tattvārtharājavārttika, 581.
Tattvārthasāra, 584.
Tattvārthasāradīpaka, 473 n., 592.
Tattvārthaślokavārttika, 582.
Tattvārthavidhāyinī, 589 n.
Tattvas, the nine, 588.
Tattva-Saṃgraha, 374, 479 n.
Tattvasāra 585.
Tawney, C. H., notes to 109, 127, 136, 140, 148, 340, 370, 520, 535, 539. 542 f., 549.
Taxila, s. Takkasilā.
Taylor, Arnold C., 157 n., 165 n., 169 n., 171 n.
Tche-mong, 610.
Tejaḥpāla, 547, 591, 593.
Telakaṭāha-Gāthā, 223.
Telugu, 595.
Tendai sect, 305.
Tepiṭaka, 18 n.
Tesakuṇa-Jātaka, 244.
Tessitori, L. P., 544 n., 551 n., 560 n., 575 n., 594 n.
Tevijja-Sutta, 37, 71.
Ṭhāṇaṅga-(Sthānaṅga), 65 n., 428 ff., 441 f., 446 n., 450, 452, 456 n., 457 n.
Theology, 589.
Thera, Sthavira, 100 n., 101, 114, 159, 162. 184 n., 507, 519.
Thera-Apadāna, 158 f.
Theragāthā, 34, 41 n., 77 n., **100-113**, 118 n., 133 n., 161, 205, 236, 331, 423, 438.
Theravāda, Theravādins, 6, 13, 20, 24, 153, 184, 226, 228, 245.
Therāvalī, 463 f., 472, 475, 519.
Therī-Apadāna, 158, 160 n., 206.
Therīgāthā, 34, 77 n., **100-113**, 159 n., 198, 207, 423; commentary, 201 n., 205 n., 206, 207 n.
Therīs (nuns), 58 f., 100 n., 101, 105, 109 f., 159, 198 ff., 204, 206 f., 287.

Thibaut, G., 457 n.
Thiessen, J. H., 194 n.
Thomas à Kempis, 370 n.
Thomas, Edward J., 21 n., 156 n., 407 n., 598 n., 600 n., 602, 605 n.
Thomas, F. W., 352, 613, and notes to 16, 118, 232, 256, 262, 266, 270, 272, 276, 309, 341, 347, 358, 385, 391.
Thūpavaṃsa, 209 n., 218.
Tibet, 14 n., 19 n., 60 n., 150 n., 152, 226, 228 n., 231, 237, 270, 293, 309, 314, 375, 393, 400, 415 n., 611.
Tibetan texts and translations, 3, 14 n., 19, 21, 23 n., 41 n., 129 n., 132 n., 136 n., 139 n., 154, 171, 226 f., 228 n., 232 f., 237, 238 n., 245 n., 246 n., 254, 257, 259, 266, 270 f., 272 n., 273, 276 n., 284, 292, 293 n., 306, 312 n., 313 n., 315, 316 n., 324, 326-330, 339 n., 341 n., 343, 344 n., 345, 346 n., 347 n., 348, 350 n., 351 n., 352, 355, 356 n., 357 f., 360 n., 362-365, 366 n., 374 f., 377, 379 n., 382, 383 n., 387, 397 f., 399n., 401 n., 560 n., 621 f., 625, 627 ff., 631-634, 636.
Tien-tai school, 305.
Tika-Paṭṭhāna, 172, 192 n.
Ṭīkās, 483; s. also Commentaries.
Ṭīlakamañjarī, 534, 553 n.
Tilakaprabha, 516.
Time, division of, 456, 473.
Tin, Pe Maung, 192 n., 610, 620.
Tipiṭaka, the Pāli Canon, **1-21**, 24 f., 34 n. 38-41, 45, 58 n., 60, 62, 68, 76, 77 n., 78, 80, 83 ff., 92, 98, 102, 112-115, 117 ff., 122 n., 123, 153, 156, 160, 162, 164, 167, 169, 174 ff., 177 n., 178 n., 182, 183 n., 184 f., 186 n., 188 n., 190, 195, 203 ff., 207, 210, 213, 219, 228 f., 232 ff., 236 f., 239 f., 242, 247, 264 f., 267, 277, 289, 347, 358 n., 402, 431, 602 f., 606, 608 f., 615, 617; contradictions within, 15, 91, 181; language of, 12.
Tipiṭakālaṃkāra, 225.
Tīrtha-Kalpa, 521.
Tīrthakara, 447, 453, 459 n., 463 n., 470, 472, 486 n., 494, 497 f., 506 f., 511, 516 f., 554; s. also Jina.
Tīrthas, 378.
Tiruttakadevar, 535 n.
Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra, 637.
Tissa, king of Kalyāṇi, 223.
Tissa Moggaliputta, 6 f., 11 f., 169 f., 175 n., 291 n.
Toganoo, Shoun, 382 n.
Tokharian language, s. Kuchean language.
Tokiwai, Tsuru-Matsu, 293 n.
Town planning, 498.
Trenckner, V., notes to 8 f., 18, 46, 149, 174, 177, 179-182.
Trepiṭaka, 18 n.
Trikāya, 340 n., 353 n., 388.
Trilokasāra, 587.
Triṃśikā, 360, 363.
Tripiṭaka, 232 n., 239, 399; the Chinese Tr., 30 n., 92 n., 133 n., 232 n., 235 f., 238, 243 n., 266, 290 n., 311, 314, 324, 328, 352, 370 n., 387, 565 n.
Triśaṅku, 287.
Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-Mahā-Purāṇa, 474, 497, 506 n.
Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-Puruṣa-Caritra, 494, 505, 507, 510, 517, 567 n., 637.
Triṣaṣṭi-Smṛti, 590 n.
Trivarṇācāra, 474, 577.
Trojan horse, 194.
Truths, the four noble, 2, 38, 46, 55, 157, 287, 334, 346.
Tsa A-han king, 285.
Tucci, G., 332 n., 351 n., 352 n., 360 n., 370 n., 380 n., 625, 628 ff., 632, 634 ff.
Turfan, s. Central Asia.
Turner, R. L., 291 n.
Turnour, George, 208 n., 212 n., 228 n.
Tuxen, P., 68 n.

Udāna, 3, 4 n., 10, 34, 81 n., **84-88**, 94 n., 184 n., 203, 205, 236 f., 263 n., 284, 406 n., 607.
Udāna-Varga, 237, 238 n., 488 n., 622.
Udayadharma, 545.
Udayana, 348 n., 536, 567 n., 571.
Udayana-Vatsarāja-Paripṛcchā, 332.
Udayaprabha Sūri, 547.
Udaya-Sāgara-Sūri, 551 n.
Udayasena, 590.
Udayavīra Gaṇin, 516.
Uḍḍiyāna, 393, 634.
Uddyotana, 479 n.
Udena, 194.
Udenavatthu, 194 n.,
Ugra(datta)-Paripṛcchā, 329 n., 332, 369, 627.
Ugra-Tārā, 400.
Uhland Ludwig, 131n.
Uhle, 565 n.
Ui, H., 630, 632, and notes to 350, 352, 354 f., 360, 362, 575 f.
Uiguric texts and translations, 227 n., 272 n., 304 n., 341 n., 384 n., 387 n., 628.
Ullāsikkamathaya, 554.
Umāsvāmin, s. Umāsvāti.
Umāsvāti (°svāmin), 474, 477, 578-582, 584.
Ummadantī-Jātaka, 141 n.
Ummagga Jātaka, 139 n.
Universal literature, s. World literature.
Upadeśapada, 561, 584 n.
Upadeśarasāyana Rāsa, 570.
Upadeśaśata, 517.
Upadhye, A. N., 590 n.
Upagupta, 283, 288, 289 n., 291 f., 415.
Upākhyāna, 493.
Upāli, 11 n., 29, 159.
Upāli-Paripṛcchā, 332, 369.
Upāli-Sūtra, 234.
Upāli-Sutta, 50, **197 n.**
Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā, 525-532.
Upamitibhavaprapañcā-Kathā Sāroddhāra, 591.
Upāṅga (Uvaṃga), 429, 433, 435, 450, 453-458, 473, 537 n., 540.
Upaniṣads, 2, 20, 34, 76, 123 n., **144, 146**, 175, 176 n., 250 n., 430 n., 486, 575

Upapādika, 454 n.
Upāsaka, 62.
Upāsakadaśāḥ, s. Uvāsagadasāo.
Upāsakādhyayana, 534, 581.
Upasampadā, 81.
Upasampadā-Kammavācā, 25 n.
Upatisapasine, 607.
Upatissa, 202 n., 218, 221 n., 607.
Uposatha ceremony, 23, 25.
Uppalavaṇṇā, 199 f.
Uragavagga of the Suttanipāta, 92, 98.
Usabhadatta, 443.
Uṣṇīṣa-Vijaya-Dhāraṇī, 381, 382 n., 387 n.
Utgikar, N. B., 619.
Uttamakumāracaritra, 538 n.
Uttama(-Kumāra)-Caritra-Kathānaka, 533.
Uttamapurisa, 497 n.
Uttarādhyāyāḥ, s. Uttarajjhāyā.
Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra, 474; s. also Uttarajjhayaṇa.
Uttarajjhāyā (Uttarādhyāyāḥ), 429.
Uttarajjhayaṇa (Uttarādhyayana), 94 n., 428 n., 429, 431, 442, **466-470**, 471, 476 n., 481, 485 ff., 488 n., 510, 512 n.
Uttara-Purāṇa, 474, 494, 497 ff., 517 n., 534 f., 561, 637.
Uttara-Tantra, 343 n., 630 f.
Uttaravihāra (Northern Monastery) of Anurādhapura, 184 n., 217.
Uvaēsamālā, 560, 561 n.
Uvaṃga, s. Upāṅga.
Uvāsagadasāo (Upāsakadaśāḥ), 428 n., 429, 445 n., 449, 450 n., 636.
Uvasaggahara-Stotra, 549.
Uvavāiya (Aupapātika), 429, 443, 454 f., 540.

Vācaka, 434.
Vācakācārya, 578.
Vācakaśramaṇa, 578.
Vācaspatimiśra, 581.
Vācissara, 219.
Vādavidhi, 360 n., 632.
Vādībhasiṃha, 535 n.
Vādicandra, 496 n.
Vādirāja Sūri, 515, 535, 555, 585 n., 637.
Vāgbhaṭa, 512.
Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, 512 n.
Vaibhāṣikas, 357.
Vaidya, P. L., 636 f., and notes to 342, 345, 350 f., 362 f., 366, 374 f., 377.
Vaipulya-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra, 236 n.
Vaipulya-Sūtra, 248 f., 295, 395 n.
Vairāgyasāra, 589.
Vairisiṃha I, 550 n.
Vaiśeṣika, 269, 336, 350, 359, 473, 575 f., 583.
Vaiśramaṇa, 491.
Vaiśvānara, 530.
Vaiśyas, 71, 491.
Vaitālīya stanzas, 438 n.
Vajiriyana, Prince of Siam, 192 n.
Vajjālagga, 575 n.
Vajra, 388, 396 n.
Vajrabodhi, 400.
Vajracchedikā-Pāramitāśāstra, 630.
Vajracchedikā Prajñā-Pāramitā, 315 f., 320 n., 323, 355, 360.
Vajradatta, 377.
Vajradhvaja-Sūtra, 368 n.
Vajragarbha, 327.
Vajrānaṅga, 391.
Vajrapāṇi, 388, 400.
Vajrapāṇi-Guhyakādhipati, 395 n.
Vajrasattva, 388.
Vajrasūcī, 265 f.
Vajrayāna, 366 n., 375, 387 ff., 392 f., 395 n., 398, 400.
Vajrāyudha, 548.
Vakīl, Bābū Sūrajbhān, 577 n.
Vākpati, 517 n., 553 n.
Vakragrīva, 476 n.
Vākyaprakāśa, 545 n.
Valāhassa-Jātaka, 131 n., 447 n.
Valkalacīrin, 508 n.
Vallabhadeva, 485 n.
Vallabhi Council, 432 f.
Vālmīki, 260, 336, 489, 492, 623.
Vaṃsa, 209 n.
Vaṃśāvali, 324 n.
Vaṃśāvalī, 580 n.
Vānararṣi 461 n.
Vanaratana Medhaṃkara, 224.
Vandana, 474.
Vandāru-Vṛtti, 591.
Vaṇhidasāo (Vṛṣṇidaśāḥ), 429, 458.
Vannaa, s. Varṇaka.
Varāhamihira, 476 n., 520.
Vararuci, 572.
Vardhamānadeśanā, 449 n.
Vardhamāna-Dvātriṃśikā, 551.
Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, s. Mahāvīra.
Vardhamāna Sūri, 517, 532 n., 536 n., 543, 587.
Varṇaka (Vannaa), 450 n., 451, 454 n.
Varṇanārhavarṇana, 272 n.
Varuṇa, 308, 334, 491.
Vāsavadattā, 536.
Vāseṭṭha-Sutta 93 n., 94, 143 n.
Vasiṣṭha, 400 f.
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Srī Pulumāyi, 348.
Vastu, 239 n.
Vastupāla, 547, 591.
Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-Praśasti, 547.
Vasubandhu, 257 n., 269 n., 271, 324, 340 n., 346 n., 354 n., 355 n., 356-363, 374, 630-633.
Vasubandhu Asaṅga, s. Asaṅga.
Vasubandhu Viriñcivatsa, 356.
Vasudeva, 469.
Vāsudeva, s. Kṛṣṇa.
Vāsudevas, the nine, 492, 497, 505.
Vasudevahiṇḍi, 506 n.
Vāsuladattā, 194.
Vasumatī, 336.
Vasumitra, 374, 622.
Vasunandin, 577.
Vāsupūjya-Caritra, 517.
Väth, Alfons, 408 n.
Vātsīputrīyas, 357 n.
Vātsyāyana, 473.

Vaṭṭagāmani, 8, 184, 213, 617.
Vaṭṭakera, 474, 477, 577.
Vavahāra (Vyavahāra), 429, 461, 464, 476 n., 592 n.
Vayarasiṃha, 550 n.
Veda, 33, 55, 96, 129, 244 n., 265 f., 342, 473 f., 602 f., 610.
Vedalla, 10.
Vedalla-Sutta, 49n.
Vedāṅga, 33.
Vedānta, 302n., 335.
Vedeha, 224.
Veḍha, 451n.
Vedic schools, 185.
Velankar, H. D., 427n., 589n., 593n.
Venkatasubbiah, A., notes to 479, 499, 515, 535, 555, 582, 585, 587.
Venkateśvara Sastri, K., 276n.
Venkateswara, S. V., 615.
Vesāli council, 5, 15n., 25.
Vessantara, 187, 365n.
Vessantara-Jātaka, 151f., 163, 225, 227n.
Vetālapañcaviṃśati, 514, 565n.
Veyyākaraṇa, 10, 36n., 116.
Vibhajjavādins, 6, 13, 15n.
Vibhaṅga, 167f., 192.
Vicārasāra-Prakaraṇa, 518n.
Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna 292.
Videhā, 493.
Vidhi, 33.
Vidhura, 133, 143.
Vidhurapaṇḍita-Jātaka, 133.
Vidura, 65n., 133, 143, 496, 530.
Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Hari Mohan 293n.
Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Satis Chandra. 614, 632, and notes to 270, 336, 341, 344, 378f., 476-479, 575, 578, 580ff.
Vidyābhūshaṇa, Amūlyacharan, 506n.
Vidyādhara, 491, 493f., 501, 511.
Vidyādharakula 479.
Vidyādhara-Piṭaka, 384n.
Vidyānanda (Vidyānandin) Pātrakesarin, 478, 552, 581, 592.
Vidyānandin, s. Vidyananda.
Vidyārājñī, 385.
Vigraha-vyāvartanī, 346, 628.
Vihāras, 305, 389n.
Vijasinha, L. Comrilla, 184n.
Vijaya, 213ff.
Vijayā, 397.
Vijaya Dharma Sūri, 427n., 466n., 551n., 567n., 594.
Vijaya Indra Sūri, 594n.
Vijayapāla, 546.
Vijaya Śrī Śātakarṇi, 348n.
Vijayavarman, 590.
Vijaya Vimalagaṇi, 460n., 461n.
Vijayjee, Muniraj Shree Raja, 536n.
Vijñāna, 388.
Vijñānamātra, 360.
Vijñānamātravāda, 361n.
Vijñānavāda, 332-335, 337, 353, 361.
Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, 360n., 363.
Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Śāstra, 360n.
Vijñapti-mātratā-triṃśat-kārikā, 360n.
Vikrama (Jaina poet), 512.
Vikramāditya, 356n., 477n., 514f., 520, 540.
Vikrama era, 612.
Vikrānta-Kaurava, 546.
Vilhaṇa, 590.
Vimala, Vimalacandra, Vimalacandrasūri, 559n., 560.
Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, 369, 411.
Vimala-Purāṇa, 517.
Vimala Sūri, 477, 489, 493, 494n.
Vimānavastu, 236.
Vimānavatthu, 34, 44n., 77n., 98-100, 207, 236f., 242; commentary, 182, 205, 207.
Viṃśatikā, 360.
Vimuttimagga, 202n.
Vinaya, 4, 9n., 10n., 11, 15n., 22n., 26, 52, 56, 65, 166n., 173, 208, 220, 232n., 233, 239n., 241, 332n., 462, 608, 622, 624.
Vinayadhara, 11.
Vinayapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon, 4f., 8, 12, 15, 21-33, 34, 39, 41, 52n., 85, 115, 120n., 123, 166, 171, 173, 182n., 185f., 191, 199, 208, 221, 245n., 262n., 464n., 607, 609; Cullavagga, 4n., 5n., 10n., 11n., 13n., 14n., 21, 22n, 25, 26n., 28, 32n., 33, 42n., 62n., 64n., 166n., 173, 208, 234n., 239n., 332n., 384n., 601f.; Mahāvagga, 9n., 10n., 11n., 21, 22n., 23n., 24 25n., 26n., 27f., 29n., 30n., 33n., 85n., 114n., 188, 234n., 239n., 240f., 251, 252n., 263n., 267, 292, 603, 607; V. of the Sanskrit Canon, 233f., 239n., 240, 278, 284f., 294, 621f., 624.
Vinaya-Samukase, 607.
Vinayavastu, 239n.
Vinayavijaya, 593.
Vinayavijaya Gaṇi, 462n.
Vinaya-Vinicchaya, 220.
Vinaya-viniścaya-Upāli-paripṛcchā, 332n.
Vindhyavarman, 591n.
Vindhyavāsa, 359.
Vinītadeva, 226n.
Viññāṇa, 180n.
Vipāka-Śrutam, s. Vivāgasuyaṃ.
Vipaścit, 308n.
Vipassi, Vipaśyin, 23n., 42n., 51n, 378.
Vīrabhadra (Virabhadda), 429, 459, 461 n.
Vīradhavala, 547, 591.
Vīra Gaṇin, 554.
Vīranandin, 585.
Vīraprabha, 516.
Vīrasena, 499.
Vīrastava, s. Vīratthaa.
Vīratthaa (Vīrastava), 429, 461.
Visākhā, 195.
Viśālarāja, 555n.
Visaṃvādaśataka, 574n.
Viṣṇu, 43, 246, 250n., 334, 376, 400, 505, 552.
Viṣṇu-Bhakti, 225.
Viṣṇudviṣas, the nine, 505.
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, 457n.
Viṣṇu-Smṛiti, 126n.
Visser, M. W. de, 625.
Visuddhi-Magga, 176n., 182n., 184n., 190f., 192n., 201f., 204, 206n., 221n., 448n
Vītarāga-Stotra, 555, 557.
Vivāgasuyaṃ (Vipāka-Śrutam), 429, 452f.

Vivekavilāsa, 570n.
Viyāhapannatti, s. Bhagavatī Viyāhapannatti.
Vladimircov, B. J., 634.
Vogel, J. Ph., 18n., 612, 617f.
Vratas, 292.
Vratāvadāna, 292.
Vratāvadānamālā, 292.
Vṛddhavādi Sūri, 477n., 478n.
Vṛṣnidaśāḥ, s. Vaṇhidasāo.
Vṛṣṇi dynasty, 458.
Vṛttis, 483; s. also Commentaries.
Vyāḍi, 165n.
Vyākaraṇa, 10, 93n., 278n., 279.
Vyākhyā-Prajñapti, s. Bhagavatī Viyāhapannatti.
Vyākhyāyukti, 360.
Vyāsa, 334, 336, 534, 565.
Vyavadātasamaya, 354n.
Vyavahāra, s. Vavahāra.

Wackernagel, J., 226n.
Waddell, L. A., 612, and notes to 16, 42, 177, 255, 291, 306, 379f., 386.
Wagiswara, W. D. C., 80n.
Wagner, Richard, 287n., 419f.
Waldschmidt, E., 19n., 26n., 233n.
Walleser, Max, 605, 607, 609, 623, and notes to 6, 170f., 173, 178, 192, 200, 231, 314ff., 320, 342-345, 348, 382.
Ware, James R., 284n.
Warren, Henry Clarke, notes to 21, 23, 55, 70, 161, 186, 193, 195, 197, 201, 203f.
Warren, Herbert, 425n.
Warren, S., 458n.
Warren, S. J., 127n.
Warriors (Kṣatriyas), 47f., 71, 75, 125, 151, 161n., 287, 491, 498.
Wassiljew, W., notes to 256, 323, 325, 328, 343, 350, 356, 380, 389.
Watanabe, K., notes to 91, 132, 236, 273, 325f., 328, 339, 386, 394.
Watters, Th., 347n., 349n., 356n., 363n., 394n.
Weber, Albrecht, notes to 138, 176, 194, 198, 265, 406, 424, 426, 430f., 433, 435, 441f., 446, 448f., 452f., 455ff., 459, 461, 464, 470-473, 477, 485 503, 517, 519, 536, 538f., 541, 543ff., 549, 551, 554, 557, 559ff., 567, 570, 573, 576, 580, 583, 588-591, 593.
Weller, Friedrich, 43n., 117n., 118n., 248n, 253n., 259n., 602n., 606, 617f., 529.
Wenzel, H., 347n., 365n.
Wesendonk, Matilde, 287n., 419.
Wesselski, Alb., 114, 637.
Westergaard, 604.
Wickremasinghe, M. de Z., 214n., 222n., 597.
Widmann, Joseph Viktor, 419.
Wieger, L., 400n.
Wijesimha, L. C., 208n.
Wilkinson, Lancelot, 265n., 266.
Wilsen, F. C., 254n.
Wilson, H. H., 378n., 390n.
Windisch, E., 604, 614, and notes to 4, 19, 41, 54, 58, 84, 88, 96f., 129, 188, 195, 239-242, 246, 150f., 260, 289, 407, 412, 426, 567.
Winternitz, Moriz, 617f., 624, and notes to 21, 74, 116, 147, 149, 248, 252, 254, 268, 270, 286, 355, 366, 374, 378, 385, 408, 413.
Wisdom, s. Paññā, and Gnomic poetry.
Wogihara, Unrai, 354n., 355n., 356n., 360n., 631f.
Wohlgemuth, Else, 259n.,
Women, 55, 61, 62n., 63ff., 67, 79n., 102, 104ff., 128, 140f., 168, 199, 280, 325n., 332, 393, 398, 439f., 468, 515, 545, 562f., 569, 573f., 593; tale of the ungrateful wife, 130, 524.
Woodroffe, J., 389n., 401n.
Woods, J. H., 192n., 578n.
Woodward, F. L., 81, and notes to 21, 54f., 60, 78, 82f., 205, 353.
Word-plays, 107.
World literature, 123, 126, 129f., 131n., 136, 154, 193, 200, 214, 225, 293n., 402-423, 484, 508, 513n., 523, 536n., 537n., 542.
Wüst, W., 605, 636.

Yabyum, 399.
Yājñavalkya, 2, 37n., 336, 600.
Yajurveda, 377, 381.
Yākinī, 480.
Yakkha, s. Yakṣa.
Yakkhinī, 131.
Yakṣa, Yakkha, 58, 96, 98, 133, 161n., 212, 245, 280f., 491, 501, 533, 536.
Yakṣī, 500, 525.
Yama, 64, 135, 491.
Yamaguchi, Susumu, 346n., 628.
Yamaka, 171.
Yamakappakaraṇatthakathā, 192n.
Yamakas, 438n.
Yamaka-Stuti, 557.
Yamata, 310n.
Yantra, 395.
Yasa, 27, 262n.
Yaśaḥpāla, 547.
Yaśas, 513n.
Yaśaścandra, 546.
Yaśastilaka, 534, 535n., 637.
Yaśodeva (Sūri), 471n., 513n., 588.
Yaśodhara, 535, 637.
Yaśodharacarita of Puṣpadanta, s. Jasaharacariu.
Yaśodhara-Carita of Vādirāja, 535, 555, 637.
Yaśodhara-Caritra of Māṇikya, 536.
Yaśomitra, 293n., 357.
Yaśovarman, 553.
Yaśovijaya, 561n., 583n., 593.
Yataware, J. B., 139n.
Yati-Jītakalpa, 465n.
Yavanas, 477n.
Yayāti, 468n.
Ymaizoumi, 310n.
Yoga, 244n., 247n., 264n., 353, 389, 391, 396, 399, 568, 610.

Yogabindu, 584.
Yogācāra, 247n., 264n., 352f., 354n., 374, 388, 392.
Yogācāra-Bhūmi-(Śāstra). 354f., 630f.
Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, 355, 631.
Yogacaryābhūmiśāstra, 630.
Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya, 584.
Yogapradīpādhikāra, 583.
Yogasāra, 566 590n.
Yoga-Śāstra, 555n., 567f., 569n.
Yoga-Sūtra, 578n.
Yoga-Tantras, 389, 635.
Yogāvachara, 353n.
Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha, 75n.
Yogāvatāra, 348n.
Yogavibhaṅgaśāstra, 630.
Yogaviśeṣavākya, 472n.
Yogīndra, s. Joïndu.
Yoginī, 397, 636.
Yogirāṭ Paṇḍitācārya, 512n.
Yona-Kambojas, 53.
Yudhiṣṭhira, 58, 143.
Yudhiṭṭhila, 143.
Yüehtêng-san-mei-ching, 339.
Yuganaddha, 398.
Yuktiṣaṣṭikā, 346.
Yuktyanuśāsana, 581.

Zachariae, Th., notes to 131, 138, 141, 215, 276, 339, 485, 544, 565.
Zen Buddhism, 332n.
Zimmer, H., notes to 239, 241, 277, 284, 307, 309, 398.
Zoology, 589.
Zoroaster, 405.

GRETIL e-library
© 2008

FILE

Name: Wiz9272__Winternitz_HistoryIndianLiterature_2_1933.pdf
PURL: http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl/?gr_elib-33
Type: Searchable PDF/A (text under image), indexed
Encoding: Unicode (ā ī ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ ṅ ñ ṭ ḍ ṇ ś ṣ ḥ ṃ ...)
Date: 14.7.2008

BRIEF RECORD

Author: Winternitz, Maurice [= Winternitz, Moriz]
Title: A History of Indian Literature. [= Geschichte der indischen Litteratur <Engl.>]
Vol. II: Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature.
Publ.: Calcutta : University of Calcutta 1933
Description: xx, 673 p.

FULL RECORD

www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gr_elib.htm

NOTICE

This file may be copied on the condition that its entire contents, including this data sheet, remain intact.